Com Against
Jim Crow

WQXR AND WQXQ
THE RADIO STATIONS OF
The New York Times

INTERSTATE BROADCASTING COMPANY
INCORPORATED

730 FIFTH AVENUE · NEW YORK · 19 · CIRCLE 5-5566

March 19, 1948

A. Philip Randolph
217 W. 125th St. Room 301
New York, N. Y.

Your Order No.
Our Order No. 134

Terms: Net Cash

For Broadcasting by Station WQXR

Sponsor

Program "Other People's Business"
Interview with A. Philip Randolph

Time and Dates (as per station log) February 25, 1948
11:05 to 11:30 AM

12" recording of above program	$ 13	00
Packing & shipping		54
	$ 13	54

Delivered to: Mr. Ted Stanford
Pittsburgh Courier
2091 Seventh Ave.
New York 27, N. Y.

2nd request, please remit

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT

MILTON P. WEBSTER
1ST INTERNATIONAL VICE-PRESIDENT
3456-58 SOUTH STATE STREET
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

BENNIE SMITH
2ND INTERNATIONAL VICE-PRESIDENT
1308 BROADWAY, ROOM 305
DETROIT, MICHIGAN

BROTHERHOOD of SLEEPING CAR PORTERS

TRAIN, CHAIR CAR, COACH PORTERS & ATTENDANTS
AN INTERNATIONAL UNION
AFFILIATED WITH THE A. F. OF L.
217 WEST 125TH STREET
(ROOM 301)
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.
MO 2-5080 - 1
NIGHTS, SUNDAYS AND HOLIDAYS
UNIVERSITY 4-8262
440

ASHLEY L. TOTTEN
INTERNATIONAL SECRETARY-TREASURER

E. J. BRADLEY
3RD INTERNATIONAL VICE-PRESIDENT
11 NORTH JEFFERSON STREET
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

C. L. DELLUMS
4TH INTERNATIONAL VICE-PRESIDENT
1716 SEVENTH STREET
OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA

Com
against
Fin
Com

May 22, 1948

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
c/o Arthur A. Hansboro
2121 Magazine Street
Louisville, Ky.

Dear Mr. Randolph:

Find enclosed statement that is self-explanatory. I have paid Mr. Sutherland the twenty dollars and seventy-two cents ($20.72) according to the statement which now depletes the twenty-five dollars you sent me.

Mr. Sutherland is planning a trip beginning Wednesday, May 26 and would like to have some expense money for it.

The New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad has set June 7th as date for conference for the purpose of discussing the proposals contained in your letter to them of May 7th. I have given both Mr. Patterson and Mr. McLaurin this information.

Sincerely yours,

Hazel Alves

enc.

May 21, 1948

TO: A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

FROM: WILLIAM SUTHERLAND

RE: Travel Expense Account from May 12 to May 15, inclusive.

May 12	Train fare to Baltimore -	$ 5.31	
"	Breakfast	.75	
"	Telephone to Washington	.65	
"	Lunch	1.00	
"	Taxi	.80	
			$ 8.51
May 13	Breakfast	.75	
	Postage	.78	
	Lunch	1.00	
	Fare to Washington	1.27	
	Supper	.90	
	Taxi	.50	
			5.20
May 14	Breakfast	.65	
	Lunch	1.10	
	Dinner	1.25	
	Carfare	.30	
	Telephones	.10	3.40
May 15	Lunch	1.10	
	Telephone	.10	
	Taxi	.95	
	Supper	.85	
	Train fare - Washington to New York	6.46	9.46
	TOTAL EXPENSES		$26.57
	On Hand		25.00
			1.57 owed

RE: Travel Expense Account from May 18 to May 20, inclusive

May 18 and 19	Train fare New York to Washington - round trip	11.50	
	Breakfast	.75	
	Lunch	1.00	
	Dinner	1.25	
	Taxi	.50	
	Paper for pledges	1.50	
	Telephone Calls (1 to Balt.)	.95	
	Dinner	1.30	
	Taxi	.40	19.15
	GRAND TOTAL		$ 45.72

1.57
19.15
20.72 owed

Paid by Miss Alves 5/22/48

Com. against Jim Crow

May 11, 1948

To: A. Philip Randolph

From: Bill Sutherland

RE: TRAVEL ACCOUNT

May 8

Train fare: Washington Roundtrip	$11.50
Lunch	1.00
Dinner	1.15
Room	2.00
Taxi	.80

May 9

Breakfast	.80
Dinner	1.10
Supper	1.25
Taxi	.60
	$20.20

Bill Sutherland
BILL SUTHERLAND

Com Against
Jim Crow

June 5, 1948

Application to the Marshall Civil Liberties Trust

In order that further hearings may be held by the Commission of Inquiry into the wartime treatment of Negro soldiers, the following budget is submitted, with the request for an appropriation of $2000.00 from the Marshall Civil Liberties Trust.

Executive director, minimum of 12 weeks, at $65.00 per week.......	$ 780.00
Research assistant to study, analyze and summarize pertinent War Department data, reports on race riots on Army installations, and experiments with integrated units. Four weeks, with documents to be made available by James C. Evans, Negro Civilian Aide to the Secretary of Defense..	200.00
Routine secretarial and clerical services, minumum of 12 weeks....	550.00
Recording of two-day hearings (by wire or tape recorder) in Philadelphia, Chicago, Los Angeles, Atlanta, Boston............	300.00
Special secretarial services for mimeographed copies of testimony and cross-examination, interim and final reports.....	250.00
Travel expenses of executive director, Commission members, witnesses, counsel..	1100.00
Miscellaneous expenses..	100.00
Total	$3280.00

The Committee Against Jimcrow in Military Service and Training would once again, as in the case of the Washington hearings, bear the overhead office expenses, routine telephone, telegraph and postage expenditures. Through interested liberal, interracial and other organizations such as the American Civil Liberties Union and through special appeals to individuals we would make every effort to raise the balance of $1280.00.

A. Philip Randolph, National Treasurer,
Committee Against Jimcrow in Military
Service and Training
Suite 301, 217 West 125th Street
New York 27, New York

Mr. Simon Gross
Manager
Marshall Civil Liberties Trust
c/o James Marshall
150 Broadway
New York 7, New York

Dear Mr. Gross:

You are perhaps aware that a prominent group of white and Negro citizens constituted themselves, at our request, as a Commission of Inquiry into the wartime treatment of Negro GIs. This Commission held initial hearings in Washington on May 8 and 9, and the concensus among Commission members, witnesses and the general public was that the two days of hearings provided an excellent educational forum on the grievances which are still so keen and bitter in the minds of Negro citizens.

Arthur Garfield Hays served as counsel for the Commission, and he was so favorably impressed with the educational worth of this project that on his own initiative he obtained an initial $100.00 appropriation from the Board of the American Civil Liberties Union. In quite a detailed letter to me he recommended that we map out a program to hold additional hearings in practically every major city of the country as soon as possible, to assign a research person to work with the Negro Civilian Aide to Secretary of Defense Forrestal who stated that a wealth of pertinent data would be made available to us, and to obtain the services of several law school students and one or two Negro war correspondents in the writing of the Commission's interim and final reports.

The Committee Against Jimcrow in Military Service and Training financed the initial hearings out of an extremely low treasury and members of the Commission and witnesses who journeyed from as far away as St. Louis financed their own travel and housing expenses. However, if we are to extend the hearings on an adequate basis, we cannot expect to duplicate the Washington situation in other cities, especially where cross-country travel would be involved. For this reason it has been suggested to us that we apply to the Marshall Civil Liberties Trust for an appropriation to continue the work of the Commission of Inquiry. I am enclosing an application which I trust is in proper form. Because of his connection with the American Civil Liberties Union and because he has indicated his willingness to serve as counsel in future hearings, Mr. John F. Finerty of your Board is already familiar with this project.

In all publicity it has been emphasized that this Commission had its origin in the failure of Congress to conduct an official investigation of the subject matter under consideration. The Republican platform in 1944 contained a specific commitment to make such an investigation.

Cordially,

A. Philip Randolph, National
Treasurer

Com
Against
Jim Crow

June 17,1948

TO: A.PHILIP. RANDOLPH
FROM: BILL SUTHERLAND

RE: TRAVEL EXPENSES FROM JUNE 1 TO JUNE 6 INCLUSIVE.

JUNE 1	Train fare New York-New Haven (Yale) rd. trip	4.76	
	Taxi	1.20	
	Supper	.95	
			6.91
JUNE 2	(in Washington)		
	Breakfast	.75	
	Lunch	.85	
	Supper	1.25	
	Carfare	.30	3.15
JUNE 3	Breakfast	.55	
	Lunch	.90	
	Baltimore-Washington (Morgan) rd.trip	2.54	
	Taxi	.70	
	Supper	1.25	
	Carfare	.40	
			6.34
JUNE 4	"Y" meeting room honorarium	5.00	
	Lunch	1.00	
	Taxis for Woodards	2.00	
	Supper	1.25	
	Taxi	.60	
			9.85
JUNE 5	Breakfast	.75	
	Lunch	.90	
	Supper	1.10	
	Lodging (coop house)	1.25	
	Carfare	.30	
			4.30
JUNE 6	Breakfast	.60	
	Lunch	1.00	
	Supper	1.25	
	Taxi	.60	
	Carfare	.40	
			3.85
		TOTAL	34.40
	telephone calls (entire trip)		1.50
			35.90

Bill Sutherland

(Note: rd trip to and from Washington donated by my father - automobile. all lodging donated by friends except 1 night.)

File

Com against Jim Crow

[1948]

LEAGUE FOR NON-VIOLENT CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE AGAINST MILITARY SEGREGATION

Outstanding Bills as of August 17, 1948 (Tuesday)

Fellowship of Reconciliation		
Telegrams	$ 8.83	
Telegrams	$ 2.23	
Telephone	$ 14.66	
Stamps	$ 9.16	
Mimeograph paper, supplies, etc.	$ 205.67	
Philadelphia F.O.R.		
Picketing	$ 3.25	
Republican Convention	$ 10.70	
New York Telephone Company	unknown ✓	
Duane Press		
Letterheads (2000 mimeo; 2000 bond)	$ 48.96 ✓	
A.B.C. Press		
Envelopes (5M @ $6.50M)	$ 32.50	
Atlas Rubber Stamp Co.		
League address rubber stamp	$ 1.70	
Ira Rosenberg		
Printing (various)	$ 143.19 (balance due)	
Bayard Rustin		
Loan	$ 50.00	
Connie Muste		
Loan	$ 100.00	
Bill Sutherland		
Salary	—	$120.00 *
Arthur Wright		
Salary	$ 100.00	$ 40.00 *
Lynn and Robert Kirk		
Salary	$ 25.00	
Debbie Bennett		
Philadelphia Trip	$ 10.00 ✓	
2 wks. subsistence-lunches, carfare, telephone calls	$ 25.00	
TOTAL	$ 790.85	$160.00*

* On July 22, it was decided that the staff should be informed that the League, being in financial difficulties, did not feel able to promise salary in future, but if it were later possible for such salary to be paid it would be. The salaries listed above for Arthur Wright and Bill Sutherland are the salaries due them after July 28, when the above mentioned decision became effective.

LEAGUE FOR NON-VIOLENT CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE AGAINST MILITARY SEGREGATION

Owed to A. Philip Randolph

For Philadelphia League	$ 50.00
For field trip expenses	$ 225.00
For current expenses	$ 100.00
TOTAL	$ 375.00
	70
	445.00

LEAGUE FOR NON-VIOLENT CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE AGAINST MILITARY SEGREGATION

Salary Arrangements for Field Secretaries

Bill Sutherland

$40 per week starting June 23, 1948, thru July 28, 1948, five weeks .... $ 200.00 paid

Arthur Wright

$40 per week starting June 23, 1948 thru July 28, 1948, five weeks .... $ 200.00
100.00 paid
Balance due .... $ 100.00

Lynn and Robert Kirk

$200 for month of July, 1948 ...... $ 200.00
F.O.R. paid $100.00 100.00
$ 100.00
League paid $75.00 75.00
Balance due .... $ 25.00

LEAGUE FOR NON-VIOLENT CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE
AGAINST MILITARY SEGREGATION

League Account opened at National City Bank of New York, 111th Street Branch, on July 14, 1948

Total Deposits	$1100.41
Total Checks	$1096.91
Balance	$ 3.50

Com against Jim Crow

September 27, 1948

Mr. Arthur D. Wright
1289 Franklin Avenue
Bronx 56, New York

Dear Arthur:

Just a word to thank you for your letter of September 8th. I note your reference to the balance owed you by the League.

I am signing a letter along with A. J. Muste which is being sent to the members of the League requesting a contribution, with the hope that we may be able to raise funds to make payments on outstanding bills and especially to persons who worked like yourself. I will let you know how this campaign for funds works out.

Whenever it is convenient for you, I will be glad to have you stop in so that we may have a chat. It was a pleasure to be associated with you.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR:BB

1229 Franklin Avenue
Bronx 56, New York
September 8th,1948

Mr. A. Phillip Randolph
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York

Attention: Mr. McLauren

Dear Phil:

Held off as long as possible before deciding to send this on. I suppose in my own mind I confused the purposes with the responsibilities of the League. I hesitated to submit a bill in the face of the noble purposes for which the League was organized.

As it developed, the League incurred a salary debt of $200.00 to me. Of this amount $100.00 was paid, which leaves a balance of $100.00. Additional personal monies expended to insure the New England tour, I'm perfectly willing to mark off as a contribution to the former organization.

I would appreciate immediate consideration being given to this item for no reason other than the fact that, right through here, the money would meet a real need, which is also a good social service.

As I indicated to you during the close of the C.D. campaign, it was a real opportunity to have been able to work along with you. Your stature as a leader has grown tremendously. It is a tragedy that the lessons of democracy are lost on so many who are its most articulate spokesman.

I do hope to see you again soon.

Sincerely,

Arthur D. Wright
Arthur D.Wright

cc-B.Rustin

Com
Against
Jim Crow

October 28, 1948

Mr. B. F. McLaurin
c/o Mr. Thomas W. Culpepper
942 Parsons Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mac;

Find enclosed cards to be signed concerning drawing and withdrawing funds from the bank account for the Committee Against Jimcrow. Kindly sign on the line marked Treasurer and return.

Fraternally,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR:ha
enc.

[illegible]

September 29, 1948

Mr. Bayard Rustin
Campaign to Resist Military Segregation
2289 Broadway, 9th Floor
New York 25, New York

Dear Bayard:

Just a word to say that I received your letter requesting that I reimburse Lynn and Robert Kirk. May I say that I have no funds, and that the bills incurred by the League will have to be met by funds that we get from a joint letter which Brother Harte and myself are sending out to members of the League Committee.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR:RB

The **DUANE PRESS**
PRINTERS • LITHOGRAPHERS

Forty-five Rose Street
New York
Beekman 3-0138

December 9, 1948

Mr. A Philip Randolph
217 West 125th Street
New York, 27, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

We are enclosing herewith a statement amounting to $48.96, which is for Letter Heads delivered to your office at 2929 Broadway on July 7, 1948. We are also enclosing a duplicate Bill.

This account is long past due. We have sent you several statements.

We telephoned to the Fellowship of Reconciliation, who referred your account to us, and told them that the bill was still unpaid. They have advised us to write to you.

Will you kindly send us your remittance for the above amount, so that we can close this item on our books.

Thanking you, we remain,

Yours very truly

THE DUANE PRESS
M. Polak
M. POLAK
per S. Gutman

MP:SRG

The DUANE PRESS
PRINTERS • LITHOGRAPHERS

Forty-five Rose Street
New York 7, N. Y.
Beekman 3-0138

League for Non-Violent Civil Disobedience
Against Military Segregation
2929 Broadway - 5th Floor
New York 25, N. Y.

July 7, 1948

Our Order No. 8099 **Your Order No.** 398 **Terms: Net Cash**

2,000 Letter Heads - Mimeo 2,000 " " - Bond including corrections	48.00
2% City S. T.	.96
	48.96

LFNCDAMS

DUPLICATE INVOICE

STATEMENT

Telephone BEekman 3-0130

New York, Dec. 10, 1948

M Mr. A. Philip Randolph
217 West 125th Street
New York 27, N. Y.

THE DUANE PRESS
Printers and Lithographers
45 ROSE STREET

Terms: Net Cash

July 7	48.96	
		48.96

PAST DUE

KINDLY REMIT

December 16, 1948

Mr. Grant Reynolds
[illegible] Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Grant:

Find enclosed copies of letters that are self-explanatory.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR:[illegible]
encl.

December 16, 1948

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
New York, New York

Dear Sir:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of December 9th with bill for $[illegible] for printing for the League for Nonviolent Civil Disobedience Against Military Segregation, which was located at [illegible] Broadway.

May I say that Mr. A. J. Muste and myself have jointly sent out a letter to persons interested in the League, for funds to pay the bills incurred by the League, of which yours is one.

I am not responsible for the payment of the bills of the League any more than any other member of the League, although I want you to know that everything possible is being done to raise funds for the purpose of paying the debts that have been accrued.

Now, we have not gotten sufficient funds from the letters sent out to begin payment of the debts. I imagine it will be sometime after the first of the year before we will be able to do anything about the debts. You may be assured that we will get in touch with you concerning our debt to you.

Very truly yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR:RB

Comm agreed [illegible]

THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

2929 BROADWAY • NEW YORK 25, NEW YORK • UNIVERSITY 4-2670

RACIAL - INDUSTRIAL DEPARTMENT

GEORGE HOUSER } CO-SECRETARIES
BAYARD RUSTIN }

A. J. MUSTE, SECRETARY
HOWARD THURMAN, VICE CHAIRMAN

December 27, 1948

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
217 West 125th Street
New York 27, New York

Dear Mr. Randolph:

Since A. J. Muste is out of town, as is George Houser, I am sending you the form letter that came this morning from the telephone company, together with the note that I have just written to them, since I understand A. J. has been in touch with you about this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Catharine Raymond

Catharine Raymond
office secretary

oeiu 153

CF-56 4-48

NEW YORK TELEPHONE COMPANY
435 West 50 Street
New York 19, N. Y.
EXCHANGE 9-4400

December 23, 1948

League for Non-Violent
Civil Disobedience
c/o B. Rustin
2929 Broadway

Gentlemen:

We have not as yet received a response to our previous requests for payment of the charges still due for your former telephone service.

We should regret the necessity of referring this account to our attorney for collection, but feel that we now have no alternative unless payment is made promptly or some satisfactory reason is received for further delay in your payment. We shall be glad to cooperate with you in arranging a plan for payment over a period of time if this will assist you in meeting this obligation.

We would appreciate hearing from you within the next five days.

Yours very truly,

H W Marquardt

H. W. Marquardt
Manager

Telephone Number: MOnument 2-4780

Amount Due: $130.33

December 27, 1948

New York Telephone Company
435 West 50th Street
New York 19, New York

Dear sirs:

In the absence of both Bayard Rustin and A. J. Muste from the city, I am sending your communication of December 23rd to Mr. A. Philip Randolph, the former chairman of the League for Non-Violent Civil Disobedience.

Sincerely yours,

Catharine Raymond
office secretary

oeiu 153

copy to Mr. A. Philip Randolph, 217 West 125th Street, New York 27

The attached is the estimated budget for six hearings to be held by the Commission of Inquiry. As will be noted, March 13 or 20 has been set as the date for the next public hearing - to take place in St. Louis. Two other hearings have been scheduled to follow almost immediately - one in New Orleans on April 20 and one in Los Angeles on May 29. Our aim is to schedule the maximum number of hearings while Congress is in session.

The Committee Against Jimcrow in Military Service and Training has just added a field secretary to its staff who will take the responsibility for arranging and executing these hearings. It was felt that such a person was needed if the Commission was to proceed with such a heavy schedule of hearings. Such a schedule is necessary at this time so that the issue of military segregation may be kept before the public.

Actual preparation for such a hearing takes about a month. Witnesses must be secured with regard to the pertinence and variations of testimony. Persons of a high calibre must be secured to serve on the Commission and hear the testimony. Proper publicity must be arranged so that the educational value of the hearing may be at a maximum. It is impossible to ask any person serving as field secretary to travel continually for the next four or five months. This explains the apparently large figure in the budget for travel.

It is the hope of the Committee Against Jim Crow in Military Service and Training that the trustees of the Robert Marshall Civil Liberties Trust will wish to continue to aid this work in public education with a substantial grant. In addition, the Committee has submitted an application to another Fund and is awaiting a reply. Applications to two other funds are being contemplated.

It is also the hope of the Committee that should the trustees of the Marshall Trust grant further financial aid to the hearings, a substantial portion of the grant will be made available to the Committee immediately as working capital, since it is impossible to operate on credit - especially away from New York.

Commission of Inquiry

Budget

6 Hearings: St. Louis (March 13 or 20)
New Orleans (April 20)
Los Angeles (May 29)
Philadelphia
Atlanta
Detroit

Field Secretary, minimum of 18 weeks, $65/week	$ 1,170
Routine secretarial service, minimum 18 weeks, $50/week	900
Special secretarial service, minimum 12 weeks, $50/week, (mimeograph extra copies of testimony, cross examination, interim and final reports)	600
Travel (field secretary, executive secretary)	3,000
Rental of hearing room	300
Telephone, telegraph, postage	600
Publicity (flyers, newspaper ads, etc.)	600
Per diem expenses (hotel, meals, local transportation, etc.)	600
	$ 7,770
Special travel - Governor William Hastie, former wartime civilian aide to Secretary of War (from Virgin Islands to New Orleans)	409.86
	$ 8,179.86

[redacted]

STATEMENT

Telephone BEekman 3-0138

New York, January 1, 1949

M League for Non-Violent Civil Disobedience
Against Military Segregation
217 West 125th Street, N. Y. 27

THE DUANE PRESS
Printers and Lithographers
45 ROSE STREET

Terms: Net Cash

July 7, 1948	48.96	
		48.96

We would appreciate your remittance for the above amount which is long past due, so that we can close this item on our books for 1948.

Conf
agenda
[illegible]

January [illegible], 19[illegible]

Mr. A. J. Muste
Fellowship of Reconciliation
2929 Broadway
New York, N. Y.

Dear Brother Muste:

I called you the other day but could not reach you concerning the bills of the League for Non-Violent Civil Disobedience. I received the bill you sent from the Telephone Company. Someone from the Telephone Company called me up later about it. I also received bills from the [illegible] Press and the [illegible] Press.

As I pointed out to you and Bayard, I do not consider that I am morally obligated to pay these bills personally. I consider that the group of people who composed the League are legally and morally responsible for the payment of the bills. At the same time I am willing to cooperate and to do my bit to help pay these bills.

Now I had a check for $[illegible] and a Money Order for $10 contributed to the fight against segregation in the armed forces not indicating which organization the money was for. I assume we could use the money for the League since we were fighting segregation and discrimination through the League and the Committee, and since the Committee does not happen to have any bills such as the League, except salary to Brother Worthy. Now I find that the Money Order is too old for redemption and the check has been held too long to be cashed. However, I shall write the people who sent them and ask them to make out a new check and a new Money Order.

Now I think we ought to get together on these bills and have some understanding as to what is going to happen with them.

Sincerely yours,

APR:[illegible]

A. Philip Randolph
International President

[illegible] ST., NEW YORK 13, N. Y.

file

LAEGUE FOR NON VIOLENT CIVIL
DISOBEDIENCE
217 WEST 125TH ST.
NEW YORK, NY

Period Ended
MAR 49

Please draw check to the order of The Western Union Telegraph Company
and mail with this stub to the address shown above.
Bills are due and payable when rendered. Thank you.

Detach Here NYT Amount $ 15.78

To THE WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH COMPANY, Dr.
60 Hudson St., New York 13, N. Y.

NAME OF POINT	CHARGES	NAME OF POINT	CHARGES
1948			
JUL			
12 DETR	.72		
14 CHGO	.72		
"	.72		
"	1.10		
19 BELOIT	1.08		
27 BFLO	.36		
AUG			
2 CHGO	.85		
9 PHILA	.45		
9 NYC	.29		
BKN	.46		
11 BKN	.58		
18 SEATTLE	2.16		
20 CHGO	1.19		
20 "	1.69		
SEP			
7 NYC	.25		

	12.62		
TAX	3.16		

	15.78		

THIS BILL COVERS TELEGRAMS WITHDRAWN BY THE TELEPHONE CO. FROM YOUR FINAL BILL FOR DIRECT COLLECTION. PLEASE SEND CHECK TO WESTERN UNION TEL. 60 HUDSON STREET, N. Y. C.

1145-E

New York City sales tax included in charges for intra-city messages.

Com— approved [illegible]

March 23, 1949

Mr. A. J. Muste
Fellowship of Reconciliation
2929 Broadway
New York, New York

Dear Brother Muste:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of March 21st with enclosure of two checks of $10 and $5 in payment of bills incurred with the telephone Company for two days following the dissolution of the League for Non-Violent Civil Disobedience Against Military Segregation. May I say that I am now in the process of paying on an installment plan the telephone bill for the League. I have already paid up to date $77.11 on account and will pay the balance . I want to thank you for the checks.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR:HB

THE BELL TELEPHONE COMPANY OF PENNSYLVANIA

7055 TERMINAL SQUARE, UPPER DARBY, PA.

M. T. SHORE, JR.
COLLECTION AGENT

[illegible] AS minute

March 25, 1949.

W3-49-1349.

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
2929 Broadway,
New York

Dear Mr. Randolph: Re: League Against a Jim Crow Army

Your local Business Office has referred to me for collection an account in the amount of $23.82 for telephone service furnished under Stevenson 4-1070.

I should appreciate it greatly if you will kindly forward me a remittance by April 5, 1949.

Yours very truly,

M. T. Shore, Jr.

Collection Agent

THE BELL TELEPHONE COMPANY OF PENNSYLVANIA

7055 TERMINAL SQUARE, UPPER DARBY, PA.

M. T. SHORE, JR.
COLLECTION AGENT

April 7, 1949.

W3-49-1349.

B Worthy
B Rustin
A J Muste

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
217 W. 125th Street, Room 301
New York, New York.

Dear Mr. Randolph: Re; League Against a Jim Crow Army

Kindly forward me a remittance, covering your former telephone account, Stevenson 4-1070, in the amount of $23.82.

Yours very truly,

M. T. Shore Jr.
Collection Agent.

phil

low
approval
invitation

April 5, 1949

AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY

Dr. A. W. Dent, President
Dillard Unive sity
New Orleans 19, Louisiana

Dear Dr. Dent:

Many thanks for your prompt reply. It is indeed heartening to receive your pledge of wooperation.

I shall write immediately to Mr. Mitchell as you suggested. It might well help if you paved the way for us with an advance word of explanation.

I shall also drop a line to Mr. Lewis, Mr. Holtry and Dr. Frederick, and then have Bill Worthy contact them upon his arrival. He plans to arrive at New Orleans airport Friday evening, April 8, via Eastern Airlines, at 9:14 P.M. I am asking Brother Ernest Wright of Textile Workers Union if he can meet the plane.

Brother G. C. Garran of my union (503 S. Rampart Street — home: 1303 S. Genois Street) may be in touch with you this week inasmuch as I just received word that he is getting a group together to arrange the mock trial. I shall ask him to delay the meeting if possible until Bill Worthy, who has behind him the experience of our previous hearings, arrives.

Because of a tight schedule in New Orleans, could you check with me about April 15 on the matter of my addressing the students and faculty? I greatly appreciate the invitation.

Cordially,

A. Philip Randolph

apr/p
encl.

Committee Against Jimcrow in Military
Service and Training
Suite 706
112 East 19th Street
New York 3, New York

Statement of Income and Expense
February 1, 1948 to March 31, 1948

COPY

INCOME:		
Contributions		$ 614.50
Marshall Civil Liberties Trust		2,000.00
Meetings Income		746.96
Literature		20.00
Loan – A. Philip Randolph		50.00
Total Income		$ 3,431.46
EXPENSE:		
Loans payable		$ 50.00
Salaries:		
Administrative	$ 808.00	
Secretarial and clerical	360.91	1,168.91
Stationery and supplies		15.18
Postage		69.75
Duplicating and printing		70.31
Telephone and telegraph		46.40
Travel		516.32
Meeting Income (bad check)		8.25
Meeting expense		92.50
Literature		11.00
Insurance		1.25
Contribution (Post War World Council)		5.00
Unanalyzed petty cash		59.75
To open Philadelphia petty cash account		20.00
Miscellaneous expense		37.52
Total Expense		$ 2,156.97
CASH in bank per March statement		$ 2,554.16
Less outstanding checks		1,009.54
Cash on hand as of March 31		$ 1,544.62

Date (April 5, 1949)

Com against Jim Crow

Number A 4868

POST WAR WORLD COUNCIL

112 EAST 19th STREET • NEW YORK CITY

We gratefully acknowledge receipt of your contribution for the purpose indicated below. Your support helps to make possible our continuing fight for a democratic post-war world.

GENERAL	DUES	LITERATURE	SPECIAL
$5.00			

Comm. Against Jim Crow in Military
Service and Training
112 East 19th St.,
New York 3, N Y

Thanks!
Norman Thomas

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD
Treasurer

369

$ 5.00

[illegible]

April 14, 1949

Mr. [illegible]
Collection Agent
The Bell Telephone Company of Pennsylvania
[illegible] Terminal Square
Upper Darby, Pa.

Dear Sir:

This will acknowledge your letter of March 28th for bill of $[illegible] against the League for Non-Violent Civil Disobedience Against Military Segregation. I don't know what this bill is all about. I am in the process of paying our telephone bill with the New York Telephone Company as per bill sent me, February 4, 1949 amounting to $114.56.

The phone number under which this bill was made was MO 2-4760 whereas I note that the phone number given by yourself over which bill was made is Stevenson 4-1070.

Moreover, I am not responsible for the payment of the bills personally. The accounts are against the League for Non-Violent Civil Disobedience Against Military Segregation which was composed of a number of persons including A. J. Muste, Bayard Rustin both of 2929 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

Very truly yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR:ba
cc: A. J. Muste
Bayard Rustin

[illegible]

April 15, 1948

Mr. Charles L. Farrell
140 Broad Street
New York, 4, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

RE: Claim of New York Telephone Company
vs. League for Nonviolent Civil
Disobedience-[illegible] $114.35

Find enclosed balance of bill, thirty-seven dollars and thirty-seven cents, on my indebtedness of $114.35.

Very truly yours,

APR:bs
enc.

A. Philip Randolph
International President

March 11, 1949

Mr. Charles L. Farrell
108 Broad Street
New York 4, N. Y.

Dear Sir;

Re: Claim of New York Telephone Company vs
League of Non-Violent Civil Disobedience
MOnument 2-4780, $114.55.

Enclosed please find check for thirty-nine dollars as second payment on the indebtedness of the League for Non-Violent Civil Disobedience Against Military Segregation, in accordance with my letter to you of January 31st.

Very truly yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR:ha
enc.

Com
Against
Jim Crow

February 17, 1949

Mr. Charles L. Farrell
104 Broad Street
New York 4, New York

Dear Sir:

Re: Claim of New York Telephone Company
vs. League for Non-Violent Civil
Disobedience - Monument 2-4780
$114.45.

In accordance with my letter to you of January 21st agreeing to pay one-third of the indebtedness of The League for Non-Violent Civil Disobedience Against Military Segregation, which amounts to $114.45, I am, herewith, enclosing a check as the first payment of one-third of the indebtedness, or $38.15.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR:RB
enc.

CHARLES L. FARRELL
ATTORNEY AT LAW
104 BROAD STREET, NEW YORK 4, N. Y.
BEEKMAN 3 - OFFICIAL 50

February 4, 1949

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
c/o Brotherhood of Sleeping
Car Porters
217 West 125 Street, Rm. 301
New York 27, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

Re: Claim of New York Telephone Company
vs. LEAGUE FOR NON-VIOLENT CIVIL
DISOBEDIENCE - MOnument 2-4780
$114.55

This is to acknowledge and thank you for your letter of January 31 relative to the above subject. It will be satisfactory for you to pay this indebtedness as indicated in your letter namely, 1/3 February 15, 1/3 on March 15, and the balance on April 15.

Kindly send the payment directly to this office.

Very truly yours,

Charles L. Farrell

Com against Jimcrow

THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION
2929 BROADWAY
NEW YORK 25, N. Y.

April 20, 1949

Civil Disobedience file

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
217 W. 125th Street
New York 27, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Randolph:

In reference to your letter of April 15, let me say that it was my understanding that you were taking the responsibility for the League's telephone bills. Therefore, when the bill came to my desk, I directed my secretary to see that it was sent to you.

I note that the bill is with the Telephone Company of Pennsylvania. I would therefore assume that it is the unpaid portion of the telephone bill for the local Philadelphia office for the League.

I am afraid that there is little that I can do to investigate the matter and suggest that you might get in touch with Milton Henry, who was, as you know, Chairman of the League in Philadelphia.

Sincerely yours,

Bayard Rustin
Bayard Rustin E

BR:E

Enclosure

April 14, 1949

Mr. M. T. Shore
Collection Agent
The Bell Telephone Company of Pennsylvania
7055 Terminal Square
Upper Darby, Pa.

Dear Sir:

This will acknowledge your letter of March 25th for bill of $22.82 against the League for Non-Violent Civil Disobedience Against Military Segregation. I don't know what this bill is all about. I am in the process of paying one telephone bill with the New York Telephone Company as per bill sent me, February 4, 1949 amounting to $114.55.

The phone number under which this bill was made was MO 2-4780 whereas I note that the phone number given by yourself over which bill was made is Stevenson 4-1070.

Moreover, I am not responsible for the payment of the bills personally. The accounts are against the League for Non-Violent Civil Disobedience Against Military Segregation which was composed of a number of persons including A. J. Muste, Bayard Rustin both of 2929 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

Very truly yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR:ha
cc: A. J. Muste
Bayard Rustin

THE BELL TELEPHONE COMPANY OF PENNSYLVANIA
7055 Terminal Square, Upper Darby, Pa.

M. T. Shore, Jr.
Collection Agent

March 25, 1949
W3-49-1349

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
2929 Broadway
New York

Dear Mr. Randolph: Re: League Against a Jim Crow Army

Your local Business Office has referred to me for collection an account in the amount of $23.82 for telephone service furnished under Stevenson 4-1070.

I should appreciate it greatly if you will kindly forward me a remittance by April 5, 1949.

Yours very truly,

M. T. Shore, Jr.
Collection Agent

THE BELL TELEPHONE COMPANY OF PENNSYLVANIA

7055 TERMINAL SQUARE, UPPER DARBY, PA.

M. T. SHORE, JR.
COLLECTION AGENT

Com
against
Jim Crow

June 10, 1949.

W3-49-1349.

Mr. A. Philip Randolph,
International President,
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters,
217 W. 125th St., Rm. 301,
New York 27, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Randolph:

Re: League Against A Jim Crow Army

Kindly forward me a remittance, covering your former telephone account, Stevenson 4-1070, in the amount of $23.82.

Yours very truly,

MT Shore Jr

Collection Agent. M

THE BELL TELEPHONE COMPANY OF PENNSYLVANIA

7055 TERMINAL SQUARE, UPPER DARBY, PA.

M. T. SHORE, JR.
COLLECTION AGENT

Comm against Jim Crow

June 15, 1949.

W3-49-1349.

Mr. A. Philip Randolph,
International President,
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters,
217 W. 125th St., Rm. 301,
New York 27, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Randolph: Re: League Against A Jim Crow Army

Thank you for your remittance in the amount of $23.82 which has been applied to the above mentioned account, Stevenson 4-1070, paying it in full.

Your cooperation in this matter has been very much appreciated.

Yours very truly,

M. T. Shore Jr.

Collection Agent.

August 26, 1949

Bank balance (as copies from July bank statement) on Sunday, July 24 (day W.W. returned to NYC)	-	$134.55
Deposits between July 26 and August 26	-	898.00
		$1032.55
Checks drawn (total) between July 26 and August 26	-	962.06
		$ 70.49 - Balance

Won agreed for WW

Bill 50.00 Bal 20.49

Aug 26/49

Checks:

$99.18 -	May & June telephone
200.00 -	Morrison Press
60.00 -	petty cash
107.34 -	Santa Fe R.R.
12.52 -	B & O R.R.
143.35 -	Morrison Press
138.88 -	(combined: petty cash - $37.57; N.Y. Central - $7.82; July telephone - $38.49; W.W. salary - $50)
200.79 -	Santa Fe R.R.
$962.06	

We owe Santa Fe $200.00, not $400.00.

THIS CHECK IS IN FULL PAYMENT OF THE FOLLOWING ACCOUNT AND THE PAYEE ACCEPTS IT AS SUCH. NO OTHER RECEIPT REQUIRED			
DATE		AMOUNT	

COMMITTEE AGAINST JIM CROW IN MILITARY SERVICE AND TRAINING
217 WEST 125TH STREET, SUITE 301, NEW YORK 27, N. Y.

1-337
260

No. 517

PAY TO THE ORDER OF ______ NEW YORK ______ 19 ___

$ ______

______ DOLLARS

MEMBER FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM

THE AMALGAMATED BANK
11-15 UNION SQUARE
OF NEW YORK

COMMITTEE AGAINST JIM CROW IN MILITARY SERVICE AND TRAINING

______

______

THIS CHECK IS IN FULL PAYMENT OF THE FOLLOWING ACCOUNT AND THE PAYEE ACCEPTS IT AS SUCH. NO OTHER RECEIPT REQUIRED			
DATE		AMOUNT	

COMMITTEE AGAINST JIM CROW IN MILITARY SERVICE AND TRAINING
217 WEST 125TH STREET, SUITE 301, NEW YORK 27, N. Y.

1-337
260

No. 518

PAY TO THE ORDER OF ______ NEW YORK ______ 19 ___

$ ______

______ DOLLARS

MEMBER FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM

THE AMALGAMATED BANK
11-15 UNION SQUARE
OF NEW YORK

COMMITTEE AGAINST JIM CROW IN MILITARY SERVICE AND TRAINING

______

______

Committee Against Jim Crow in Military Service and Training
Suite 706 - 112 East 19th Street
New York 3, New York

+ x
3 weeks for [illegible] 50.00 Rev. Wk
$100
$100.00 R.P.

Statement of Income and Expense
April 1, 1949 to June 30, 1949

INCOME:			
Meeting Income			
St. Louis	$157.00		
New Orleans	267.00		
Los Angeles	840.50		
New York	42.00		$1,306.50
Appeal Contributions			17.00
Pamphlet sales			218.97
General contributions			35.00
Travel (Buffalo.trip few Grant Reynolds)			40.00
Meeting Expense			14.15
TOTAL INCOME			$1,631.62
EXPENSE:			
Salaries			
Administrative			
William Worthy Jr.	$110.00		
Lynn Seitter Kirk	600.00	$710.00	
Secretarial			
Esther Becker	$200.00		
Mildred Thompson	50.20		
Dolores Hiebert	30.00		
Core Kaufman	10.00	290.20	$1,000.20
Stationery & Supplies (including letterhead)			155.02
Postage			222.87
Travel			321.81
Hotel			172.97
Meals			352.00
Telephone & Telegraph			196.71
Meeting Expense			
Philadelphia		$ 17.65	
St. Louis		76.20	
New Orleans		254.75	
Los Angeles		355.76	
New York		40.00	744.36
Newspapers			20.00
Literature			2.35
Medical Expenses			5.00
Miscelleneous Expense			25.54
TOTAL EXPENSE			$ 3,198.83
CASH in bank March 31			$1,544.82
Plus Income			1,631.62
			3,176.44
Less Expense			3,198.83
Cash on hand as of June 30			$ 22.39

COPY

3 +4 Weeks for Lynn 50.00 Per. Week

$2,100

400.00 R.R.

L19497]

Com against Jim Crow

Monday - October 17th

Dear Phil,

Got your letter from Seattle today. Sorry that convention netted no funds because even with the $100 we sent printer yesterday the balance is still $1610. We've now given him over $1100, including the $524 from UAW. The $600 to the railroad; telephone bills; postage; miscellaneous, have eaten up the rest of the $2500 we have taken in since I got back to New Yorkx in July. So anything you can do with unions et al. in other places would help.

If we hear nothing from either Sullivan or Tom Young in ahother week or ten days, I'll ask Mc to contact Young or I'll try to reach Sullivan directly.

I hope that you feel it was worthwhile my having sent the poster out. Somstimes the value of a striking and catchy medium of communication, while not translated into immediate cash, is very great. A good number of the delegates had letters from you awaiting them when they returned from the convention, and as a result of the poster the letters may strike a responsive bell.

Because Lewis is making clwver and sound moves looking toward labor unity and because I understand his own record on discrimination is good, I thought of this idea which might give our 1950 Congressional fight a forceful opening gun: for you to invite (in December or early January) Lewis, Murray and Green to a joint press conference with you and Grant, at which time solid labor support for our program would be pledged. I talked it over with Gabe DeAngelis who said that even if Murray or Green failed or refused to appear, there would be a lot of news value in Lewis alone. And they'd be on the spot if they did not show up: Lewis shows signs of going over their heads to the rank and file on labor unity, and he probably would not object at all to making a grand bid for the active or tacit support of Negro workers.

If we could get such a pointed public declaration of support from national union figures, we could capitalize on it limitlessly in local areas where a lot of secondary officials never seem to do any independent thinking of their own and always await the infallible cues from Green and Murray. I think it could be the beginning of a more genuine level of support by unions for the entire civil rights program.

Mrs. Smith of the Ladies Auxiliary in Portland and president of the local NAACP has ordered 100 copies of "Nobody Knows". So has Attorney John Drake of Oakland, a friend of Dellums, for distribution to local ministers.

There has been a lot of praise for your Times letter, including Martin Kyne (whom I saw last week re booklets -- his union will probably buy some) and Charlie Ervin of Amalgamated. The JLC suggested that it be reproduced (photo-offset). Ervin, now 84, reminisced about the time in 1919 you went to see him about the Messenger. Said he expected to attend your funeral soon because you appeared to be tubercular!... He is still vigorous and apparently going strong.

Regards,
Bill

I hope that in L.A. you can speak with Bill Black briefly about what he is attempting locally. He's doing this work for us tho going to school and also working on a Negro paper.

3712 S. San Pedro,
Los Angeles 11

Phil

COPY

[illegible]

October 27, 1949

Mr. David Sullivan, President
Local 32B, Building Service Employees, AFL
570 Seventh Avenue
New York 18, New York

Dear Brother Sullivan:

May I express our thanks to you for getting your executive board to vote us a contribution of $100.

As you requested on the telephone, I am informing Brother Randolph who is now on the West Coast.

Because the hitherto patient printer is understandably pressing us for an immediate $500 payment on our $1600 balance for the booklets, we would greatly appreciate receiving the check at your earliest convenience.

Fraternally and sincerely,

William Worthy, Jr.
Executive Secretary

ww/s

cc: Mr. A. Philip Randolph

11/5/49 – rec'd $100.00 check

Com approved [illegible]

December 25, 1949

Income, July 25 - December 25, 1949 (including deposit of $100.00 on 12/25/49)	——	$5989.55
cash in bank — (including $100 deposit on 12/25/49)		120.00 (app.)

Accts. payable:

Barbara Weinstein (stenotypist for June 5th NYC hearing)	95.00
Esso Standard Oil Co. (gasoline bought on credit card for use in my sister's car for Committee business) -	3.17
Morrison Press	810.96
Pennsylvania Railroad	15.50
Aberdeen Typewriter Co. - repairs & overhaul	9.70
	$934.33

Pledges:

$100	-- Local 669, UAW-CIO
50	— another UAW local
100	— State CIO Council
	— Louis Stulberg, Local 62
	— Zimmerman, Local 22

Com against Jim Crow

MONEY ADVANCED TO COMMITTEE AGAINST JIMCROW IN MILITARY SERVICE AND TRAINING AND THE LEAGUE FOR CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE AGAINST MILITARY SEGREGATION

Bill Sutherland

May 19	Expenses	$25.00
June 16		40.00
June 19		40.00
June 24		40.00
July 2		40.00
July 9	Expenses	35.00
		$220.00
		225.00
		$445.00

money advanced to
Committee against Jim Crow
Military Service and Training
& the League for Civil
agn Military Segregation

HOTEL FORT DES MOINES
DES MOINES, IOWA

Bill Sutherland

May ~~March~~	19 expenses	$75
June	12	40
"	19	40
"	24	40
"	2	40
"	9	40
"	16 Expenses	35
		220.
		225
		$445

A TANGNEY-McGINN HOTEL

July 19, 1950

COPY

Amount of collection (cash and checks) at April 14th reception in Philadelphia — $100.45

Cash expenses (rent of Reynolds Hall; collation; linen, etc.) paid directly out of collection that same night (receipts on hand): $85.53

Balance deposited in bank on April 17th: $14.92

* * * * * * * * * * *

Amount of collection at Rayburn Plaza in Philadelphia on May 28th: $51.05 (deposited in bank on June 2)

* * * * * * * *

1950 income of Committee:

January —	$1537.75
February —	1162.60
March —	221.75
April —	257.42
May —	701.20
June —	303.93
July (1st to 19th) —	486.30
	$4670.95 — Total

N.B. — $1000.00 in January came from L. Rosenwald.
500.00 in February came from UAW-CIO.
500.00 in February came from Mrs. M. Ascoli.
Most of the May income came from the budget mailing.

Check book balance on July 19, 1950: $151.70.

July 19, 1950

Bills connected with March of Silence and Memorial Service in Philadelphia (*already paid)

* $50.00 — Mid-City Press, Phila. - 10,000 rush fliers

* 14.50 — Commercial Office Supply Co., Phila. - 5000 envelopes

* 45.00 — Ace Sound Service, Phila. — P.A. system

* 30.00 — Ace Banner & Flag Co., New York City — flags

* 37.84 — Ace Banner & Flag Co., New York City — banners and signs

* 45.00 — Carol Brice (thru A. Philip Randolph) — travel & accompanist

* 12.75 — Philadelphia Inquirer — ad

* 15.00 — G. Marshall Wilson, Phila. photographer — glossies provided for wire services (Ap & INS)

* 11.00 — Philadelphia Afro-American - ad

* 35.00 — Patty Sperling — moving of piano for Carol Brice

* 27.10 — Eugene W. Jones — reimbursement for wires and toll calls

451.61 — Morrison Press — 50,000 four-page folders

* 12.59 — Phila. CIO Council — toll calls & wires

9.90 — 2 ads in 2 University of Pennsylvania campus papers

50.00 — Isaac Woodard — honorarium

10.00 — Richard Parrish — approximate expenses in organizing motorcade from NYC

* 171.45 — (NOT PAID BY COMMITTEE CHECK):

- $10.00 — gas and oil — approx.
- 19.00 — train travel (William Worthy)
- 40.00 (at least) — postage
- 8.25 — envelopes in addition to those listed above
- 12.18 — Evening Bulletin ad
- 5.00 — glossy of Isaac Woodard (bought from Amsterdam News)
- 2.00 — extra glossy prints of parade
- 75.00 (at least) — miscellaneous: cabs, local calls, meals, etc.

$171.45

$1028.72 -- approximate total cost of the event

July 19, 1950

OUTSTANDING BILLS (** checks which have been signed but not dispatched) hence counted as unpaid)

	$512.26	Morrison Press (balance on budget mailing folders and the March of Silence folders)
	4.50	Pennsylvania News (University of Pa.) — ad
	7.00	approximately — Mildred Thompson (back secretarial services)
**	54.22	Hale Associates — multigraphing budget appeal letter
	50.00	Isaac Woodard (same amount we gave him in '48 to go to Washington)
	4.50	Mrs. Madeline Trimmer (reimbursement for "postage due" on business reply envelopes)
	75.00	American Association for a Democratic Germany - rent, May**, June, July
	5.40	Daily Pennsylvanian (Univ. of Pa.) -- ad on parade and Memorial Service
	26.38	N.Y. Telephone Co.
	3.62	A. Philip Randolph (Philadelphia-New York train ticket on April 14th)
	14.00	approx. -- Harold Hubert - help on getting out the budget mailing
	10.00	Richard Parrish (motorcade expenses to Philadelphia (approximately)
	15.00	approx. -- toll calls and misc. - Albert Black, Washington, D.C.
	8.00	approx. -- Hannah Rose, Philadelphia - reimbursement for memorial wreath which was laid on pylon (Torch of Memory) -- approx.
	$767.88	Total

N.B. — No bill has yet been submitted where "approx." amount is stated above.

A bill for gas and oil is expected any day from ESSO (for driving in Philadelphia, Washington, Gettysburg, etc.)

JULY 19, 1950

CHECKS WHICH HAVE CLEARED THROUGH COMMITTEE ACCOUNT OR BEEN DISPATCHED TO CREDITORS SINCE MAY 15 (an arbitrary starting point but one which includes most of the expenses of the March of Silence and Memorial Service):

$75.00 — William Worthy
70.38 — Morrison Press (second run of 8-page budget mailing folder)
22.89 — William Worthy (for Norman Thomas' travel expenses to Gettysburg)
5.49 — Esso Standard Oil Co.
47.00 — Dolores K. Hiebert (back secretarial services)
75.00 — William Worthy
8.25 — Western Union Telegraph Co.
14.50 — Commercial Office Supply Co., Philadelphia (envelopes)
48.45 — Morrison Press (5000 business reply envelopes — printed on two sides)
45.00 — Ace Sound Service, Philadelphia (public address system for Reyburn Plaza)
50.00 — Mid-City Press, Philadelphia (10,000 initial rush fliers)
25.00 -- Amer. Assn. for a Democratic Germany (rent for April)
17/20 -- Clark Printing House, Inc., Philadelphia (invitations for April 14th reception)
30.00 — Ace Banner & Flag Co., New York (flags for parade)
75.00 — William Worthy
4.00 -- Norman Thomas (out-of-pocket expenditures on trip to Gettysburg)
75.00 — William Worthy
44.36 — N.Y. Telephone Co.
37.84 — Ace Banner & Flag Co. (banners and signs for parade)
45.00 -- A. Philip Randolph (reimbursement for expenses of Carol Brice & accompanist)
40.15 — N.Y. Telephone Co.
12.75 -- Philadelphia Inquirer (ad on Memorial Service)
15.00 — G. Marshall Wilson (glossy prints of parade provided for Associated Press & INS)
50.00 — Jefferson Scott (tape & recordings of speeches at reception)
11.00 — Philadelphia Afro-American (ad on March and Memorial Service)
35.00 -- Patty Sperling (reimbursement for paying the cost of piano for Carol Brice)
27.10 -- Eugene W. Jones (reimbursement for wires and toll calls at his house)
100.00 -- Morrison Press
28.65 -- N.Y. Telephone Co.
12.59 — Philadelphia CIO Council (wires and toll calls on its office phone)
75.00 — William Worthy

$1222.58 — Total

N.B. Because of irregularity of Committee income and consequent impossibility of maintaining a regular petty cash fund, a sizeable portion of the checks made out to William Worthy has gone for various petty cash expenditures, in Philadelphia, New York, Washington, Gettysburg, etc. Vouchers are on hand for practically all outlays (except newspapers, car and cab fares and the like).

Approximate cost of Philadelphia March of Silence and Memorial Service (including bills unpaid to date): $1028.72. Since the April 14th reception (a necessary preliminary to the March) largely paid for itself, the expenses of it are NOT included in this figure.

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

SUBJECT FILE Committee To End "Jim Crow" in The Armed Services

CORRESPONDENCE

1950-51
+
UNDATED

(4)

Com against Jim Crow

January 25, 1950

Pearl Buck
John Day Publishing Co.
62 W. 45th Street
New York City

Dear Pearl Buck:

I have taken the liberty of writing this letter to you to ask if you would have time to see William Worthy, who is working actively in the Committee Against Jim Crow in Military Training. A. Philip Randolph is Chairman of the Committee, and I have recently become chairman of the board. We are trying to make it a real organization which will fight against discrimination in the Army. We are confident that in the long run we will be successful here, and we are trying to enlist the aid and support of many people like yourself.

I don't think that it is necessary for me to argue the importance of a Committee like this. The work we do now, the success which we might have in our effort to end discrimination in the Army will be of the greatest importance as far as the peoples of the East are concerned. Only last week, I was talking with Harold Isaacs. He told of how he had been in Burma with a group of Burman trade union leaders during this last year. They were talking to him along this line: "You are a democratic fellow and we trust you. But with the Americans we don t know where we are. We knew where we were with the British, and we knew how to act. But suppose the Americans, instead of the British, had occupied Burma? Would we have had soldiers like you? Or would we have had soldiers who believed in discrimination, and who practiced Jim Crow policies?"

I was also talking with a representative of the Indonesian Government recently, and he was telling me the same kind of story concerning the effects of American racial discrimination in the East. He also pointed out how America had lost precious opportunities right after the end of the war. My own experiences in England and in France this last Spring further document the fact that the one terrible flaw in American life is, as you and I both know, the persistence of racial policie As far as the world at large is concerned, a continuation o Jim Crow in the Army is one of the most dangerous aspects the inexcusable racial situation which we have. As far a establishment of a clear and decent foreign policy is c cerned, this is terribly important. In thelight of thi are now going to try to heighten and develop the work o Committee.

During the recent FEPC Mobilization, A. Philip Randolph went to see Mr. Niles, an assistant to President Truman, and they had a satisfactory interview. Mr. Worthy will be able to tell you about this.

At all events, I do hope you won't consider my letter an imposition, and I hope that when Mr. Worthy gets in touch with you, you will be able to see him and talk to him about this. I believe you must know A. Philip Randolph, and the mere fact that he is leading and organizing this work is, in itself, a sufficient guarantee of the seriousness of this Committee.

With all best wishes to you and Mr. Walsh, I am

Cordially yours,

James T. Farrell

[illegible]
against
Jim Crow

April 7, 1950

Mr. Charles Wesley Burton
6637 Champlain Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Burton:

We have worked out a plan to hold silent marches to the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, the Gettysburg Monument in Gettysburg, Pa., Independence Square in Philadelphia, Pa. and to the home of Abraham Lincoln in Springfield, Illinois all to take place at the same time on May 21st. We hope to have some Negro G.I.'s to march in the silent parades.

Now I wonder if you could set up a small committee to develop a motor cave to the home of Abraham Lincoln in Springfield for a brief ceremony with as many G.I.'s as you can secure. No doubt you will have to get some people who have cars and would be willing to drive there for that purpose and who could pay their own expenses. Won't you let me know what you think of this and what you can do on it? If we can even get twenty cars it would make a good showing. I would be able to be with you for the occasion, but I will have to leave the night of the 21st for Kansas City.

Sincerely yours,

APR:hs

A. Philip Randolph
International President

Phil

COPY

Com against
Jim Crow-

April 10, 1950

AIR MAIL

Dr. Charles Wesley Burton
6657 Champlain
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Burt:

This is to supplement my previous hote to you about the four outdoor memorial services to Negro war dead for Sunday afternoon, May 21.

At Drew Pearson's suggestion we plan to attempt a service in Philadelphia, Washington, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, and Springfield, Illinois. Pearson pledged advance publicity. In at least Philadelphia the service would be preceded by a March of Silence, composed largely, but not exclusively, of Negro veterans.

I feel that for the Springfield service we ought to be able to draw some cars — a motorcade — from both Chicago and St. Louis. I understand that there is in Springfield a Lincoln Home at Eighth and Jackson Streets, a Lincoln Tomb at end of Monument Avenue in Oak Ridge Cemetery and a Lincoln statue near the Capitol, going toward Second Street. We would have to determine which site would be preferable for our purposes and then seek official permission to use it for the service. Incidentally, I shall reach Chicago about May 20 and could drive to Springfield with you on Sunday to speak.

In case of intolerable weather we should have in reserve an indoor meeting place.

I am trying to line up nationally prominent speakers for all four services. Since May 21 is "I Am An American Day", we might have to adjust the hour of our service in case the city, state or American Legion is sponsoring a ceremony in the spot we desire.

Within two weeks I shall in all probability send our executive secretary, Bill Worthy, to Chicago, Springfield and St. Louis to coordinate plans. With a great deal of experience behind him, his judgment on details and strategy is usually sound, and I am confident that you and he will work harmoniously together.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph
Co-Chairman

apr/s

Ans around Jun [illegible]

ATLANTIC 8367 SUITE 1 AND 2

CHARLES WESLEY BURTON
ATTORNEY AT LAW
4304 SOUTH PARKWAY
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

April 22, 1950

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
217 West 125th Street
New York City

Dear Randolph:

Your letter concerning the proposed memorial meeting in Springfield was duly received, and I think the idea is a good one. I have delayed answering till I could "feel out" certain friends here to get their reaction. Web and I have talked it over, and you know Web; he is not at all enthusiastic over the idea and says he has no time to give it. However, he said he would try to give me a list of people who might be interested, which means he will help in a limited way. Jean and Ruth and Merritt Williams, as well as a man named Pierce who works at the Juvenile Court and is a GI, have promised to work up the motorcade, that is, to help work it up. We shall meet Tuesday evening to discuss the matter thoroly and to make the necessary plans for prosecuting it.

As you know, my time is more limited now that I am back at the Court but I am willing to do what I can to push the plan ahead. We shall set a minimum goal of 20 cars, carrying at least 100 persons to Springfield; naturally, we shall get more if we can. As to Bill Worthy's coming here, I am inclined to agree with Web that there is not much good he can do. Probably a better plan would be to have you write individual letters to a group of friends here whose names could be furnished you later, urging them on to full cooperation in the plan. However, if Worthy is sent here I shall give him full cooperation.

I have been thinking that if in some way we could give FEPC a plug in such a march or parade, it would be abundantly worthwhile. What do you think of the idea? Appropriate streamers or banners might well be carried on the automobiles, commemorating our soldier dead and demanding fair employment practices in recognition of their sacrifices--as well as an adequate defense force, free of racial discrimination and segregation. On the spur of the moment, something like this:

WE HONOR OUR SOLDIER DEAD AND WAR HEROES
AT THE TOMB OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN
WILL OUR STATE AND NATION WIPE OUT SEGREGATION
AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN ITS ARMED SERVICES
AND GIVE US FAIR EMPLOYMENT?

With kindest regards, I remain

Sincerely yours,
Charles W. Burton
CHARLES WESLEY BURTON

CWB:cr

ATLANTIC 8367 SUITE 1 AND 2

CHARLES WESLEY BURTON
ATTORNEY AT LAW
4304 SOUTH PARKWAY
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

Com
opposed
Jim Crow

May 3, 1950

Dear Randolph:

Complying with my promise via telephone in conversation with you this morning I am writing to say that I spent the afternoon and evening in Springfield yesterday in furtherance of your plan to hold a memorial service there May 21, and to get the "low down" on the local situation and scene. It was well that I did so for the reason that I found a local group, Col. Otis B. Duncan Post 809 of the AMERICAN LEGION, was already planning its annual celebration in a memorial service honoring Colonel Duncan and other soldiers. Springfield was his native city.

Mr. Jerome Irwin, Adjutant of the Post, 2133 E. Stuart street, is the Correspondent Secretary and will communicate with you directly with reference to the plans of the meeting in Springfield. In brief, here is what we agreed on: 10 A. M. a service by the Post at Butler Camp, nearby, where Col. Duncan is burried; at 2 P.M. a pilgrimage to Lincoln's Tomb where you will speak and lay a wreath; photographers, newsmen, and a radio hookup is planned; at 3:30 P.M. services will be resumed at the Post headquarters, 1127 East Monroe street, with ample grounds, chairs etc., on the Post grounds and an adjoining school grounds. Lunches will be served here after the return from Butler Camp, 12-2p.m., certain drills will be held, and then from the Post headquarters we make the pilgrimage to Lincoln's Tomb.

The Legion will have certain speakers, music, drills, etc., but their programs will be at Camp Butler and Post headquarters. You will be the only speaker at the Tomb, our other speakers will speak at Post headquarters where facilities are better. I visited the Lincoln Home at 8th & Jackson streets and found that the site did not lend itself to an open air meeting; in fact, it is near down town in a thickly residential section where space is at a premium.

Last evening I met with the Legion's Executive Board and Planning Committee and we surveyed the field and situation thoroly; the question of subversiveness came up, the "Red" scare, militancy, radicalism, etc. Naturally, they want nothing to do with speakers who might bring disrepute to their organization nor impair their influence in the community, and their standing with the American Legion. I assured them that altho you were militant and had been called "radical," that you were a bitter opponent of communism, and that the "Reds" considered you their Number One enemy; also that we would safeguard that anxiety, while taking an uncompromising stand for equality, justice, and first-class citizenship without regard to race, religion or nationality.

Make sure that you invite Governor Adlai Stevenson, Executive Mansion, Springfield, to speak at our memorial service; the local group there will also invite him. Do you have any other committed speakers? If so, send their names to Jerome Irwin. We are doing what we can here to get the motorcade lined up, but are not meeting with the response we want; however, we shall get all the cars we can. Let me hear from you.

Sincerely,

Charles W. Burton

Charles Wesley Burton

May 5, 1930

Mr. Charles W. Burton
6637 Champlain
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Burt:

Just received telegram from Jerome Irwin, Adjutant Colonel, Otis B. Duncan Post 809, American Legion stating: "A special meeting of Post tonight rejected previous action of Board supporting your program May 31st in Springfield, Illinois. Sincerely regret joint meeting impossible at this time."

Evidently, somebody got scared and caused the Post to take this action. What can be done about our carrying on our meeting? I think we ought to try to hold our meeting anyway. May I hear from you by return mail.

Sincerely yours,

APR:ha

A. Philip Randolph
International President

Nineteenth Triennial Convention · Baltimore, Maryland · October 23-28, 1949

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MISS SHIRLEY STEIN
Chairman, Junior Division

MRS. ELSIE ELFENBEIN
Executive Director

Com against Jim Crow

Sent copy of this letter to Mr. Worthy, February 7, 1950

January 10, 1950

JAN 11 1950

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, Co-Chairman
Committee Against Jim Crow in Military Service and Training
Suite 706
112 East 19th Street
New York 5, New York

Dear Phil:

Our Washington Representative, Mrs. Olya Margolin, has written to me saying that the Civil Liberties Clearing House, which was organized to coordinate activities of groups interested in civil liberties, is planning its Annual Conference for the end of February and is eager to broaden participation in the Clearing House.

I know that they are particularly anxious to have the participation of the Committee Against Jim Crow in Military Service and Training. I know also that a letter about the conference has been sent to you by them, and I am writing to urge that you give this request and invitation favorable consideration. I am sure that it will be useful to both the Clearing House and our Committee to have this relationship.

How are you? It is such a long time since I saw you and Mac that I feel that I have been completely out of touch with what has been happening. Hiram and I often talk about you and wish it were possible for us to get together once in a while. Perhaps you will come out to Jersey City to a brotherhood meeting. If you are planning to do so, won't you give me a ring at my office and tell me when you will be in so that we may ask you to have dinner with us. We would love it.

Cordially,

Elsie Elfenbein

(Mrs.) Elsie Elfenbein
Executive Director

EE:mmo

Mrs Miller
Kind
Send copy to Mr. Worthy

Council believes that: *What Unites Jewish Women in America is More Important than What Divides Them*

Founder — Hannah Greenebaum Solomon
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***Vice-President, National Council of Jewish Women of Canada*
****Chairman, Junior Division, National Council of Jewish Women*

PHIL:

I believe the letter below is self-explanatory.

I'm going to try to speak to Javits and/or Dollinger in the next few days. With regard to Lehman, I'll probably try to work thru Frances Williams, one of his assistants whom I know.

Bill

Conn
against
Sen
Case

August 3, 1950

Mr. Merle E. Frampton
New York Institute for Education
of Blind
999 Pelham Parkway North
New York 67, New York

Dear Mr. Frampton:

The secretary to Norman Thomas suggested that you might be of help to us. We are endeavoring to obtain regular employment for Mr. Isaac Woodard, the World War II veteran who was blinded permanently and irrevocably by South Carolina police on a segregated bus in 1945 for refusing to say "yes, sir" to the driver.

When the incident first made world-wide news Mr. Woodard was taken on speaking tours of the country. Mammoth benefits were held; and a home was even supposed to have been purchased for him. If the decrepit house he now lives in on Forest Avenue in the Bronx is that home, there evidently was graft somewhere along the line.

Twice — in 1948 and in May of this year - Mr. Woodard graciously journeyed to Washington to lobby for our program and to Philadelphia to lead our silent march. Both times we were able to give him only a nominal sum for the time he spent.

I am sure that he would be willing to go see you any time at your convenience. When last we spoke with him two weeks ago he was not working. Besides a job, we hope to persuade two members of Congress — perhaps Senator Lehman and Representative Javits or Dollinger — to introduce a special bill into Congress to obtain federal indemnity for him. I might say that despite the great tragedy that befell him Mr. Woodard is remarkably normal and free from bitterness.

Sincerely yours,

apr/ww

A. Philip Randolph
Co-Chairman

COMMITTEE AGAINST JIMCROW IN MILITARY SERVICE AND TRAINING

SUITE 301

217 WEST 125th STREET

NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

Telephone: WAdsworth 6-4949

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[illegible]

[illegible]

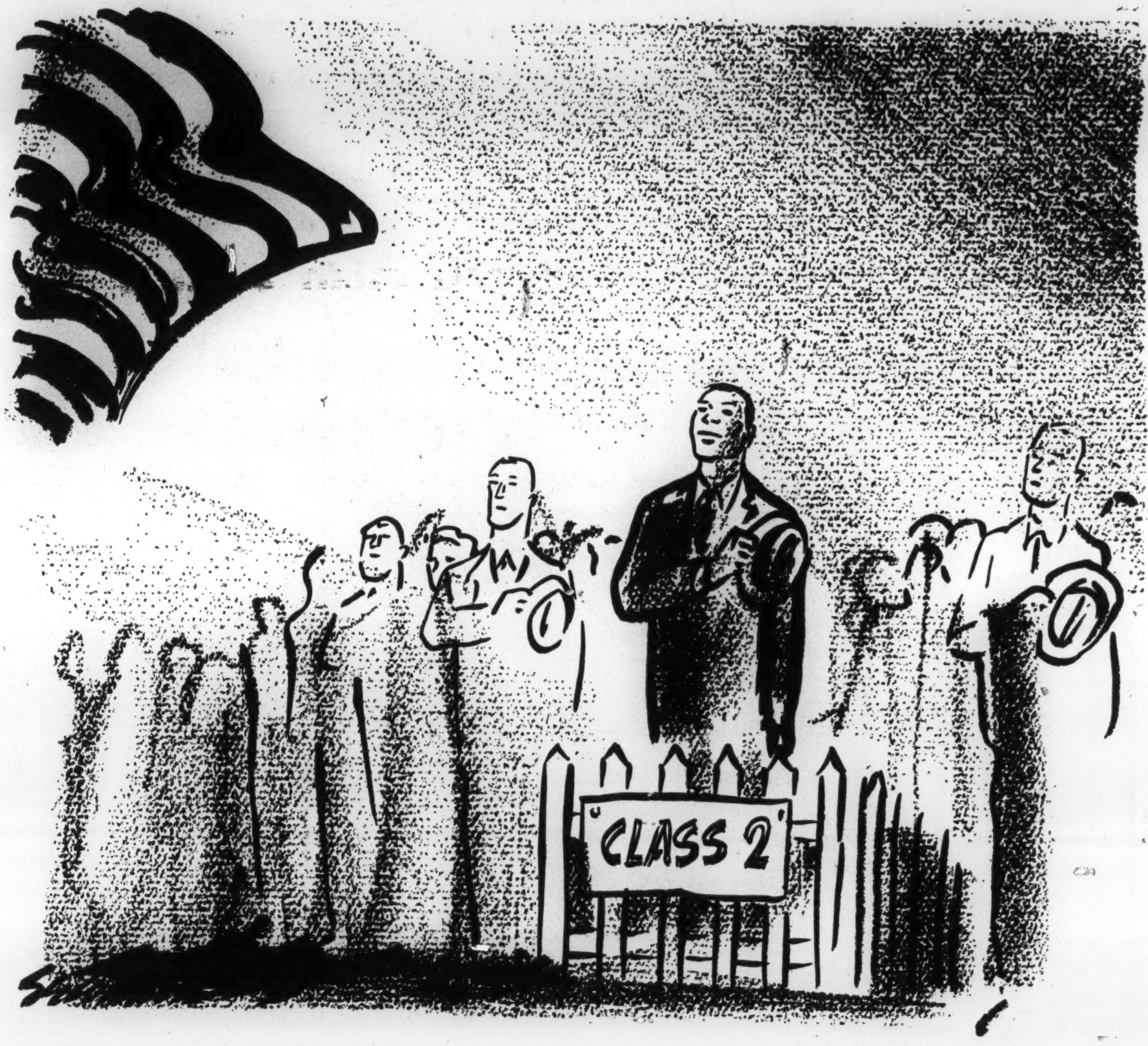
[illegible]

Sincerely yours,

[illegible]

15

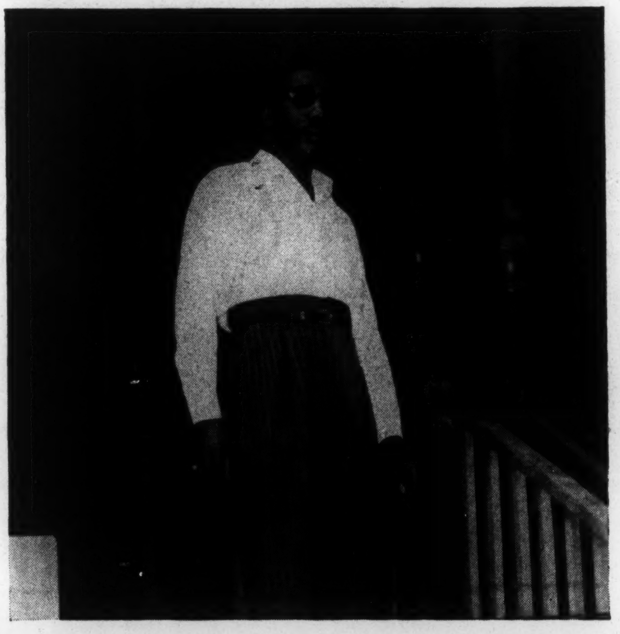
The World's Faith In America



America cannot achieve world leadership while we maintain a second class citizenship, while we tolerate in our nation the evil spectacle of segregation and discrimination. Men of good-will must build in America a perfect democracy — THE WORLD WILL ACCEPT NOTHING LESS.

Hangs In The Balance

Our nation stands on the threshold of history. It can go forward to real democratic achievement, to effective and progressive world leadership, or decay into international and spiritual insignificance. The choice is clear, Americans must learn that the problem of our minorities is no longer exclusively ours. How we treat that problem is no longer our own affair. Three-quarters of the people of the world are colored. It is inconceivable to imagine, and stupid to believe, that they would place their hopes in a nation which tolerates the twin evil of segregation and discrimination.

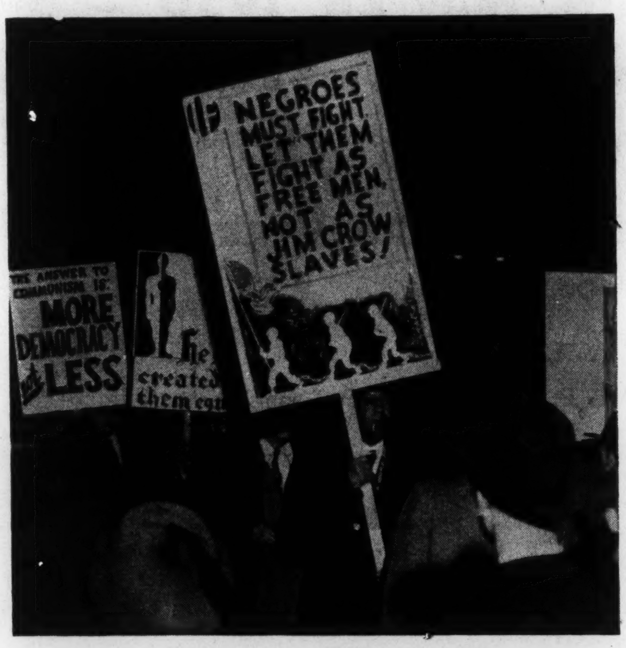


G.I. ISAAC WOODARD whose eyes were gouged out by South Carolina police on a Jim Crow bus. Woodard will lead the Philadelphia "March of Silence" on May 28th.

Our policy toward the Negro dramatizes this "tolerance." In practically all segments of our national life, he is a second class citizen. In the armed services he is asked to die for his country, but he must die in isolation —segregated from his white comrades. He is asked to die for a freedom and democracy he has never known. That is an evil in America, an evil which renders futile our claim to world leadership.

In World II, thousands of Negroes died. Most of them died without hope, without the sense of achievement which would have given meaning to death. For long before they died, segregation and discrimination had shorn them of the dignity and equality which America owes to all men.

These Negroes died in vain, and America lives in vain, unless men of good-will can breathe life and meaning into democracy, unless men of good-will can eliminate this evil from America.


NEGROES MUST FIGHT. LET THEM FIGHT AS FREE MEN, NOT AS JIM CROW SLAVES!
THE ANSWER TO COMMUNISM IS: MORE DEMOCRACY LESS
He created them equ

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH leading a demonstration in New York City, December 21, 1949.

A start is being made. A "March of Silence" and memorial services for the Negro war dead will be held in Philadelphia, Pa. In Springfield, Ill., and Gettysburg, Pa., and Washington, D. C., similar services will be held. These services are designed to dramatize the problem of minorities in America; they are designed to bring together men of good-will, men who are dedicated to democracy and who will act to the end that we achieve it without reservation.

The world's faith in America hangs in the balance.

You, Too, Must Serve

All America must work for freedom, must build for a perfect democracy. Liberty is not a task for the man next door. It is the task of all of us. We can make a start. All of us, who believe in fair play; all of us who believe firmly in democracy must attend the Memorial Services to the Negro war dead . . . RAIN or SHINE.

Philadelphia, Pa.

Reyburn Plaza, Broad and Arch Streets

Sunday, May 28, 1950 – 5 P.M.

"MARCH OF SILENCE"—assembles at 3 o'clock, Broad and Jefferson Streets

To be led by Isaac Woodard, blind veteran. All who believe in human decency should march.

SPEAKERS:

ISAAC WOODARD and others

CAROL BRICE, Contralto

OMEGA GLEE CLUB, directed by Dennis M. McNeill

Gettysburg Military Park - - Sunday, May 21, 1950

SPEAKERS:

HON. HERMAN P. EBERHARTER, (Democratic Congressman, Pittsburgh, Pa.)

NORMAN THOMAS, Socialist leader

MRS. JESSIE VANN, Publisher, Pittsburgh Courier

JAMES L. McDEVITT, President, Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, AFL

HARRY BOYER, President, Pennsylvania Industrial Union Council, CIO

Springfield, Illinois - - Tuesday, July 4, 1950

Washington, D. C. - Lincoln Memorial - Tuesday, July 4, 1950

COMMITTEE AGAINST JIM CROW IN MILITARY SERVICE AND TRAINING

Co-Chairmen, A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
GRANT REYNOLDS

NATIONAL CITIZENS MEMORIAL COMMITTEE

Chairman, HOBSON R. REYNOLDS

Printed by MORRISON PRESS, 200 HUDSON ST., NEW YORK 13, N. Y. 328

Com against
Jim Crow

January 13, 1950

Mr. William Worthy, Jr.
Executive Secretary
Committee Against Jim Crow In
Military Service and Training
Suite 706
112 East 19th Street
New York 3, New York

Dear Mr. Worthy:

I am deeply grateful to you for explaining Mr. Randolph's schedule for the next two months.

We shall be happy to have Mr. Randolph visit Philadelphia on the 1st, 15th, or 22nd of March, 1950. If it is possible to arrange at least a tentative date immediately, we could build our series of luncheons around that engagement.

I shall look forward to confirmation of one of these dates or any other in March suitable to Mr. Randolph's schedule, in the very near future.

Sincerely yours,

S A Harmon

SHERMAN A. HARMON
Program Secretary

SAH/lpl

Ans. Jan. 20

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of North America

AFFILIATED WITH THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR
1500 NORTH BROAD STREET • PHILADELPHIA 21, PA.
TELEPHONES: POplar 5-7671-2-3-4

SAL B. HOFFMANN
President

JUN 28 1950

Comm against Jim Crow

June 27, 1950

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, Chairman
Committee Against Jim Crow in Military Service and Training
Suite 706
112 East 19th Street
New York 5, New York

Dear President Randolph:

I am enclosing a check for $50.00 in token of our International Union's sympathy with your purpose and program in this special national Committee. It is only a token amount, but I believe our genuine interest is more fully attested by the time that your eloquent Executive Secretary Bill Worthy persuaded my Administrative Assistant Art McDowell to spend on this work both in Philadelphia and in Washington.

The considerable stir that was made in connection with the Russell Amendment and the counter anti-lynching amendment introduced by Hubert Humphrey and supported by Paul Douglas of Illinois, seems to me excellent proof of the shrewdness and strategic insight which you have shown in picking up and concentrating on this key issue of civil rights as evidenced in the military establishment. Judging by reports, practically the entire agitation in this connection outside of that supplied by the Truman Administration and possibly the military establishment itself, was a one-man proposition by your young Bill Worthy with no consistent support from anyone or any organization except our man McDowell.

The usual pressure groups of the Negro community were evidently as completely lacking in imagination and understanding of their strategic opportunity as were, for example, the Jewish and other pressure groups so active in the F. E. P. C., but who have no selfish or sustained interests in this issue whatsoever. The whole experience, as reported to me by McDowell, raises in my mind a question which possibly only you can effectively raise among these pressure groups on their "F. E. P. C. or nothing at all" policy on the civil rights fight.

The result of this policy, fed by what I must bluntly describe as the selfish support and sectional interests of northern Negroes and national Jewish groups who have no personal stake in such items as the repeal of the poll tax, anti-lynching legislation, establishment of vital civil rights machinery in the Department of Justice and the Congress, etc., has been that we have futilely shattered our lance on an impossibly strong parliamentary stronghold held by the Senators from the 13 southern states, and the entire civil rights movement launched by Truman's message in 1948 has been stalemated.

The Southerners who are the core of our reactionary opponents on all issues, have been in the happy position of having to fight us only on the one matter on which they have the strongest cards. As shown by the Russell Amendment, the continuance of this situation, where all civil rights progress for more than two years has been solely through action in the Executive and Judicial Departments with a complete blank on legislative enactment, is that our enemies are now on the offensive. Such revolting experiences as that of the Workers' Defense League recently with the Department of Justice on investigation of their peonage cases, shows that our forces are fragmented and therefore ineffective.

The federally enforced F. E. P. C., which would be unenforceable in private industry in the most acute areas in the South and which, as the most advanced of the civil rights measures, has the narrowest real support outside of our own pressure groups and has been used by rather grisly and effective alliance between the pressure groups and the Dixiecrats to channel off support which might otherwise have gained us something in the fields of education and civil rights machinery at a minimum.

Meanwhile, as I understand it, the base remaining from this war-time enforced F. E. P. C. in all federal contract legislation, has not been exploited or even understood. As the one individual more responsible than any other for the achievement of the war-time F. E. P. C., you are probably the only one in a position to speak up within the councils of the civil rights groups and bring about a more realistic strategy with a broader basis of support and some chance of getting off dead center, which is where we are right now on all civil rights legislation progress.

I foresaw the result of this same fatal error in the labor movement's "all or nothing" policy on Taft-Hartley repeal. As an individual International President, I took the unpopular course of speaking up about the unpalatable truth in the A. F. of L. Legislative Council. While the response was belated, in fact so belated that we still lost the issue, the impact of one individual daring to stand up and say the unpleasant truths about our position and its dangers was remarkable.

I believe that in this civil rights stalemate, you are in an even more strategic position to get the movement for legislation back into the field of practical political possibility and avoid the consequences of a very prolonged stalemate of the more dangerous kind which we now apparently face in the other field as a result of the Taft-Hartley repeal fiasco.

We sincerely hope, after this experience on the Russell Amendment where the representative of your Committee found himself the isolated champion of a cause which had the broadest possible appeal, that you think this thing through and then assume the leadership in a new drive which will net us some success and our enemies, some badly needed defeats.

With every regard and good wish, I am,

Fraternally yours,

Sal B Hoffmann

Sal B. Hoffmann
INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT

SBH:tdf
oeiu 14
Enc. 1

P. S.:

I hope that you will not fail to send personal letters of thanks to Senators Hubert Humphrey and Paul Douglas who, in the face of the hostility of their Party leadership and the whole adjournment-rush-minded Congress, introduced and spoke for the anti-lynching amendment to the draft extension bill. This is essential tactics in acknowledging good service of our friends whom we sometimes are in danger of criticizing more ferociously for their detailed tactics than we do our enemies for opposing us from A to Z.

S. B. H.

X

COMMITTEE AGAINST JIM CROW IN MILITARY SERVICE AND TRAINING

SUITE 706, 112 EAST 19TH STREET, NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

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ROBERT L. CARTER
EARL B. DICKERSON
CHARLES H. HOUSTON
BELFORD V. LAWSON, JR.
JAMES M. NABRIT, JR.

Com against Jim Crow

January 15, 1950

Secretary of Defense Louis Johnson
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Johnson:

COPY

If a front-page story in the Thursday edition of the Washington Post is accurate, the more the racial policy of the Army has recently changed, the more it remains the same.

Notwithstanding the volume of words and high-sounding democratic language, a close study of the so-called "curbs on Army segregation" reveals that there are still two armies within an Army - United States Army white and United States Army black. While the Washington Post article claims that an exception in the segregation pattern is hereafter to be made in the case of a limited number of Negro specialists, we must point out that this practice already exists at Fort Benning and on numerous Army posts.

If you are unable to force the Army to move more rapidly toward President Truman's goal of integration, we believe that you should confess failure and resign. At the snail-like pace at which the Defense Department is now traveling toward integration, it will take at least a thousand years to end all the Jim Crow barriers in the Army.

Because the Washington Post article was not based on an official release from your office, we should like to feel that some underling leaked this story without your authorization. After the universal criticism you received in September for approving an Army segregation program, we find it difficult to believe that you would again sanction the racial status quo in the Army under the guise of a "progressive step".

We shall continue to press for the Congressional investigation of armed forces' racial policies as called for by the Javits resolution. In view of the recent policy statements on Army Jim Crow and the general indignation among those concerned with a bias-free Army, we should like respectfully to ask if you are formulating any genuine anti-segregation program or if this Washington Post story is your interpretation of eliminating racial labels and democratizing the Army.

Very truly yours,

Grant Reynolds
Co-Chairman

A. Philip Randolph
Co-Chairman

328

Com Agst —
Jim Crow

April 7, 1950

Mr. Eugene Weyman Jones
Berean School
1926 South College Avenue
Phila., 21, Pa.

Dear Gene,

In reply to your letter of April 6th may I say that you would not be able to get Eisenhower for anything. We have tried it before. It may be that some other persons would be able to get him.

I am sure I will not be able to get the necessary time to run down for the Marshall Trust matter, but I can call Attorney Finerty and tell him what we wish from the Trust.

I can write Ralph Bunche about speaking in Philadelphia.

I am in accord with requesting Hobson Reynolds to serve as National Chairman of the four observances and also requesting a contribution from Ted Spaulding. I would suggest however that you and Bill talk with him and give him the complete picture which he will need.

I think a press conference will be good following the luncheon as suggested by Joe Baker if we can get some top notch speakers to serve.

Sincerely yours,

APR:ha

A. Philip Randolph
International President

LOUISE B. YERGAN
PRINCIPAL

EUGENE WAYMAN JONES
DIRECTOR, SPECIAL ACTIVITIES

BEREAN SCHOOL
1926 SOUTH COLLEGE AVENUE
PHILADELPHIA 21, PENNSYLVANIA

Department, Special Activities
THEATRE ARTS GUILD
BEREAN A'CAPPELLA CHOIR

HARTO M. BROWN
PRESIDENT
SAMUEL L. GAINES
1ST VICE PRES. & ASST. DIRECT.
CHARLES L. SUDLER
2ND VICE PRES. OF PERSONNEL
OLIVE J. DOUGLAS
SECRETARY
ROBERT McCULLOUGH
TREASURER
BERNICE E. JOHNSON
MEMBERSHIP SECRETARY
RUTH WILKINS
FINANCIAL SECRETARY
JOHN S. RIGGS
BUSINESS MANAGER

April 4, 1950

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
217 West 125th Street
Room 213
New York 27, New York

Dear Phil:

I was glad to have the opportunity of speaking with you yesterday in reference to the Memorial Services.

I talked with Jos Baker immediately afterward and he very enthusiastic - but felt rather strongly that Esenhower is the man - rather than Taft or Roosevelt, Jr. - who would produce the impact we desire.

Would you consider asking several of the trustees of the Marshall Trust, which fund, Bill tells me has withheld $1500 for a report on the overseas trip and $1800 for further hearings - if they could not see their way clear to diverting some or all of these funds to the four Memorial services.

I understand from today's press that Ralph Bunche has returned to the U. S., would you be in a position to ask him to speak - either at Washington or here in Philadelphia.

May I suggest that you call Hobson Reynolds, ST 40057 and ask that he serve as National Chairman for the four observances. As grand director of the Elks Civil Liberties, he is in a particularly strong position to help. I would, in addition request that he arrange for a contribution from the Elks to start the ball rolling. Ted Spaulding has, this week been endorsed for Congress on the Republican ticket. It may be, that as the new President of the Pyramid Club he can be urged to make another contribution. (Atty. Theodore O. Spaulding, 154 North 15th Street, Phila.)

Jos Baker strongly recommends a press conference immediately following the luncheon at the Broadwood.

See you next week.

Sincerely,

Gene
Eugene Wayman Jones

Per: JMEllis

EWJ/jme

COMMITTEE AGAINST JIMCROW IN MILITARY SERVICE AND TRAINING

SUITE 301
217 WEST 125th STREET
NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK
Telephone: WAdsworth 6-4949

Com against Jim Crow

OFFICERS
Grant Reynolds
Chairman
A. Philip Randolph
Treasurer
Charles J. Patterson
Executive Secretary

LEGAL COMMITTEE
Raymond Pace Alexander
Sadie T. M. Alexander
Matthew W. Bullock, Jr.
Robert L. Carter
Earl B. Dickerson
Charles H. Houston
Belford V. Lawson, Jr.
James M. Nabrit

March 10, 1949

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
c/o Matthew Gregery
2624½ 29th Avenue
Tampa, Florida

Dear Phil,

The enclosed memo is a report of my trip to St. Louis. As I indicated, I am very optimistic about the outcome of a hearing and reception in St. Louis. I neglected to mention in the memo that there are still serious repercussions from the civil disobedience campaign, so I think it is all the more valuable that we be there. Also, there is a good nucleus there for real activity if and when the issue of Army jimcrow comes up in Congress.

I am wondering now if it will be possible for you to be in St. Louis on March 26 for the reception. Perhaps you will be in Chicago at that time, in which it would mean just a short trip to St. Louis. When I talked with Bill yesterday he said that in all probability the reception in New York at Alma Haskins will be postponed until May or later. Gibbons, McNeal and others urge that you try to be at the reception. Please wire me immediately so that invitations and publicity can go out in plenty of time.

Best wishes on your Florida trip.

Sincerely,

Lynn

Lynn Seitter Kirk
1106 Pine Street
Philadelphia 7, Pa.

MEMORANDUM

TO: GRANT REYNOLDS March 10, 1949
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
WILLIAM WORTHY

FR: Lynn Seitter Kirk

SB: St. Louis Hearing and Reception

The following is a brief report of my trip (March 2-7) to St. Louis to start preparations for a Commission of Inquiry hearing and a reception.

DATE: March 26 (reception) and March 27 (hearing).

HEARING: As of the time I left and the word I have had since then, eight persons have already been secured to serve on the Commission. These are Bishop Scarlett, Rabbi Thurman, Harold Ross, Arnold Rose, Harold Gibbons, to name some of them.

The place of the hearing will be the City Hall, and the sessions will be 2:30 to 5:30 p.m. and 8 to 10 p.m., Sunday, March 27.

RECEPTION: It is planned that a reception will be held in one of the St. Louis Hotels (probably the Jefferson) on Saturday, March 26, probably at 8 p.m. The guests of honor will be A. Philip Randolph, Grant Reynolds, and one or two local persons--possibly Archbishop Ritter (who opened parochial schools in St. Louis to all persons regardless of color). The reception will be sponsored in the name of three or four local prominent persons, but will be financed almost entirely, if not entirely, by Harold Gibbons' union, the Teamsters, Local 688. It is expected that there will be about 200 guests--trade union representatives, ADA persons, persons in other liberal groups, and some persons in the "social upper-crust". Local opinion there is that there is a real possibility of raising some $500 at the reception.

Here are a few impressions I got while there. Gibbons, McNeal and others are giving their whole-hearted support to the events, and in addition, Miss Betty S'Rence is giving her full time to arrangements in my absence. Everyone with whom I talked feels certain that the hearing and reception will be very successful. I agree with that feeling. I have full confidence in the persons who are doing the work while I'm gone. It is unfortunate that there are many personality conflicts among those I contacted, and I was caught in the cross-fire once or twice. However, I believe that the difficulties have been ironed out with the help of Ted McNeal.

As to expenses to the Committee, they are few. The hearing will not involve much cost except for a stenotypist. The cost of the reception, as I said, will be assumed by the Teamsters. As to my expenses, I was able to stay with Bernice Fisher at no cost, so spent a total of $7 for food and transportation in the six days I was there. Perhaps the Committee will find that the travel expenses for a woman are much less than for a man? Could be, because I didn't starve !

Com against Jim Crow

October 17, 1950

Mr. B. H. [illegible], Secretary-Treasurer
Joint Board Dress and Waistmakers Union
218 West 40 Street
New York, New York

Dear Brother [illegible]:

Permit me on behalf of the Committee Against Jim-Crow in Military Service and Training, to express our appreciation for your donation of ten dollars. May I say that while our Committee has not been active because of lack of funds, this check will help us meet some of our pressing obligations.

May I also inform you that as a result of the work of our Committee, great and substantial progress has been made in breaking down discrimination in the armed forces of our country with special reference to the Air Corps and Navy and even to some extent in the Army. We appreciate the part you have played in helping to make this possible.

Fraternally yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR:RB

LAW OFFICES
RAUH AND LEVY
1631 K STREET, NORTHWEST
WASHINGTON 6, D.C.

JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR.
IRVING J. LEVY
MITCHELL J. COOPER

REPUBLIC 7795

January 3, 1950

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
International President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York 27, New York

Dear Mr. Randolph:

The enclosed exchange of letters between the ADA and Secretary of Defense Johnson concerning the proposed trip of the Commission of Inquiry is self-explanatory.

I have a number of thoughts about this matter that I would like to present to you. If you are going to be in Washington at any time in the near future, I would like to talk them over with you.

With all best wishes for the coming year.

Sincerely yours,

Joe Rauh

Joseph L. Rauh, Jr.

Enclosures

Rau
Against
Jim Crow

January 9, 1950

Mr. Joseph L. Rauh, Jr.
1631 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Rauh:

Thanks a lot for your letter of January 5, 1950 with enclosure from you to Secretary of Defense Johnson and enclosure from Mr. Johnson to you. I am glad to get these letters since I was informed that there was criticism in the Negro press about letters going to Secretary Johnson and President Truman with my rubber stamp signature. I assure you that I greatly regret this and consider it quite a blunder. Because of this blunder I feel it necessary to make an apology to Secretary Johnson and the President and I plan to do so. Bill Worthy sent out these letters without my having seen them. Of course, he is under great pressure trying to run an organization without money and I can understand that he may do many things that are not according to official government protocol.

Yet, I do not want to have our efforts stymied by alienating people in the government because of apparent slights or insults that have nothing to do with policy.

When I am in Washington attending the National Emergency Civil Rights Mobilization, I will give you a ring so that we may have a chat.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR:RB

Com
against
Jim Crow

April 7, 1950

Mr. Milton P. Webster
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
3947 Drexel Blvd., 2nd Fl.
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Web:

In the fight against jimcrow in the armed services, we are planning silent parades to the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, to the home of Abraham Lincoln in Springfield, Illinois, to the Gettysburg Monument in Gettysburg, Pa., and Independence Square in Philadelphia, all to take place at the same time, May 21st.

I have written Burton to find out if he could get a small committee together to arrange to have about 20 cars to drive to Springfield for this occasion. I will be out there on that date, since we will leave that night no doubt, for Kansas City and I could participate in the ceremony. What do you think of this and could you help Burton work this up?

Fraternally yours,

APR:ha

A. Philip Randolph
International President

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

DOCUMENT IS DAMAGED IN THE ORIGINAL

1/12/50 - Thursday

Phil:

The enclosed release from Javits, which came in today, is self-explanatory. Will you show it to Mc?

Because Rosenwald had, on his check, corrected ~~changed~~ the date from 1949 to 1950, I chec this afternoon with Amalgamated Bank to make sure that his bank (Chase National) had cleared the check. Then I sent off the $625 to the printer. We are now completely ou of debt to him. In the two nights since the $1000 check arrived, I've actually slept more relaxed.

I told Mc that if Channing Tobias is in D.C., we would have an opportunity to discuss with him our application to the Phelps-Stokes Fund for about $3000. I'll try t bring down with me the draft.

I can be reached while in D.C. thru Al Black (DEcatur 0680) or my sister (Linco 5-5570).

Regards,

Bill

1/29/50

Phil:

Enclosed is self-explanatory. Similar letters, in Grant's name, will go to the Herald Tribune and Washington Post.

Grant is testifying tomorrow (Monday) before the House Armed Services Committee, en route South. Before I last left Washington with Brownie I lined up some potential witnesses for us — veterans, i.e. When I get back there tomorrow, I'll ascertain if we can get more time before the Committee, which, judging from the papers, is rushing the hearings. Grant said very specifically that he thought either you or he should testify, so I wired the Committee chairman (Vinson) for him. From the standpoint of the public, which would no doubt look for both or one of you to be present, I agree with Grant. But I also hope that we can get some veterans time to testify.

You might tell McM that I'm writing to him later today or tomorrow c/o J. C. McFarlin.

All on the whole goes well. By the end of this week Brownie and I should have that appointment with Rosenwald's sister here in NYC.

Bill

Jainte is testifying for us tomorrow also.

cleared with Brownie on this

Committee Against Jim Crow in Military
Service and Training
SUITE 706 · 112 EAST 19th STREET
NEW YORK 3, NEW YORK

Com
against
Jim
Crow

COPY

January 28, 1950

To the Editor of the New York Times:

After thoroughly studying Army Secretary Gray's revision of the 1946 "Utilization of Negro Manpower" circular, I have come to the conclusion that the Times editorial which hailed this new policy immediately after its promulgation was over-enthusiastic and precipitate. I will readily admit that in some respects the new order appears to be a step in the right direction. However, it seems logical to analyse it in terms of what it does not do.

Obviously, the Army does not intend to abolish its racist quota system or its segregation. It makes this plain when Mr. Gray tells us that a relative handful of "ROTC students...will remain together and be trained together without regard to race or color". Under the order the only other Negroes to be integrated into white units are "scarce specialists".

Moreover, the order itself is vague. We have become suspicious of language which is susceptible to loose application. We have had numerous orders that "sounded good". The bitter reality remains that Jim Crow in the Army is still with us and going strong. And a clear indication of the fact that this new order will likely be no more effective than those of the past lies in the absence of teeth. Its provisions concerning the responsibility for enforcement by commanding officers scattered around the globe are at best lukewarm. With impunity antagonistic and prejudiced commanding officers can file it in the wastebasket.

What we need, if our democratic way of life is to attain full maturity, is an order clearly spelled out, effectively and specifically administered and rigidly enforced. Negroes in America, especially those in the armed forces, can no longer be fooled with a semi-sop, even when released from the Pentagon with considerable rhetoric. In a letter to Secretary of Defense Johnson we stated, in all seriousness, that at the present snail-like rate of change it will take at least a thousand years to end Army Jim Crow.

The armed services of America, dedicated to the defense of democracy, should lead the way in this fight for decency and individual dignity. The Army certainly is not living up to its full responsibility in this respect when it issues an order which at best pays ineffectual lip service to the problem of racism in America. Surely Secretary Johnson, who has moved with such vigor in implementing unification, should be able with equal efficacy to put into operation a democratic racial policy despite the objections and personal antipathies of antediluvian generals.

A. Philip Randolph
Co-Chairman, Committee Against Jim Crow in
Military Service and Training

apr/w

Copy
again
[illegible]

Apartment 2
210 East 19th St.
New York 3, New York

February 11th - Friday evening

Dear Miss Brandon and Miss Alves,

I have a chance to drive with Bernie Rifkin to Atlantic City tonight - part pleasure, part business. I'll be back in New York by Saturday evening.

If there is any mail there Saturday morning, would you be so good as to send it to me first class? I would have been coming up to the office on Saturday if it hadn't been for this trip out of town.

Thanks a million.

Sincerely,

Bill Worthy

Phil

[illegible]
appointed
[illegible] crowd

April 27, 1950

Mr. Joseph L. Rauh, Jr.
1631 K Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D.C.

Dear Joe:

Phil is now convinced that Chapman is ducking: he just cannot be reached on the telephone. After two days of futility Phil wired him last night asking that he telephone "because the Negro papers are pressing me before weekly deadlines".

As you may know, Phil will be in Washington for several days beginning Wednesday, May 10, for the Firemen's conference. He asked me to let you know that if an informal evening get-together of journalists and organizational leaders could conveniently be arranged for Wednesday or Thursday evening, May 10 or 11, he would be available to discuss the status of Jim Crow in the armed forces and also the purpose behind the Memorial Services on May 21st.

You probably recall that you and I discussed some time ago the possibility of the Washington ADA chapter getting together a few sympathetic correspondents and columnists to meet with Phil. Since we are now working on the May 21st ceremonies, it would help us a lot, in building popular interest and large crowds, if a number of Washington columnists were to publicize the Memorial Services during the week prior to May 21. If a few organizational persons — AVC, Jewish Congress, etc. — were also invited, we could obtain their cooperation on arrangements.

Let me stress the above condition of "convenience" for you and the ADA. If the meeting is feasible, I should think that getting together twenty or thirty key persons at the most, perhaps at the AVC Clubhouse, would excellently serve the purpose Phil has in mind.

Sincerely yours,

William Worthy, Jr.
Executive Secretary

ww/s
encl.

Com.
agreed
in Com

May 5, 1950

Mr. Bill Worthy care of
Mr. Eugene Wayman Jones
Berean School
1926 South College Avenue
Phila. 21, Pa.

Dear Bill:

Dr. Burton of Chicago went to Springfield, Illinois and found that the American Legion, colored, was planning a demonstration at Lincoln's Tomb as we had planned and when it was explained to them that we wanted to hold our demonstration, the Negro American Legion known as the Otis B. Duncan Post 809 agreed to merge their meeting with ours. I thought this was a good thing because it would give us an audience and moreover, the American Legion being composed of Negro veterans, would be just the thing we wanted.

However, I got a telegram from the head of the Post, Jerome Irwin, Adjutant Colonel, saying that they had another meeting and it turned down the idea of a merger of our meeting with theirs. It is the opinion of Dr. Burton and Brother Webster that in view of this situation we ought to call off our meeting since the Springfield authorities, naturally, will favor the American Legion over us. I thought of having Dr. Burton go back to Springfield to see what could be done to have them change their minds, but upon reflection, this will be a waste of time and money.

According to Dr. Burton, the American Legion plans practically an all day affair so that we have no other course but to call it off, much as I hate to do this. Of course I will see if Dr. Burton can find any other place connected with Lincoln where we could hold services but I think the Springfield authorities will not grant it to us if the American Legion refused us.

Sincerely,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR:ha

35. copies went out Saturday via special delivery to important Negro ministers. The balance of close to 500 have gone out in part and are still going out.

ALL PHILADELPHIA CITIZENS MEMORIAL COMMITTEE
1416 North Broad Street
Philadelphia 21, Pennsylvania

Phil

Co-Chairmen:

Father Jesse F. Anderson — PO 5-4535
Reverend William P. Stevenson

Com organized Jim Crow

Dear Pastor:

Were there servicemen from your Church in World War II - men who served in the cause of a greater, freer world? Men who marched away in the hope that upon their return civil rights for all people would be no longer a dream but a reality?

You, as a minister in the service of Christ, are of course deeply aware of the yet tragic inequalities existing in our country, and you are also aware of the very small number of us who are doing anything about these inequalities.

To point up the strength of an aroused and militant community in this month when Congress will consider the FEPC Bill, there is being planned a Memorial Service to Negro War Dead on Sunday afternoon, May 28th, here in Philadelphia.

These giant services, preceded by a March of Silence, will be held at Reyburn Plaza in center city at four o'clock. Nationally known speakers, together with stars of the theatre and concert stage will appear. Isaac Woodard is coming to Philadelphia to personally lead the march.

It is our hope that every minister in Philadelphia will lead his own congregation, with his choir in robes, in the March of Silence. Each minister would bear a memorial wreath to be placed at the Torch of Memory in the Plaza. The Torch will burn for twenty-four hours.

Further, we are requesting that 100 ministers preach on the subject of CHRIST AND CIVIL RIGHTS on Sunday, May 28th, at their morning service. Can you visualize the impact of these mass sermons upon the world? One hundred sermons on one day on one subject.

May we have the assurance of your participation?

Sincerely yours,

William Worthy, Jr.

William Worthy, Jr.
for
Revs. Jesse F. Anderson and
William P. Stevenson

Phil

May 9, 1950

Michigan 4321
(home + office)

Mr. Drew Pearson
2820 Dumbarton Avenue, N.W.
Washington 7, D.C.

Dear Mr. Pearson:

Mr. A. Philip Randolph asked me to drop you a note to say that he expects to be in Washington for several days late this week at the emergency conference of Negro locomotive firemen and would like to telephone you for an appointment, if convenient for you.

He would like to discuss our now crystallized plans for the Memorial Services to Negro war dead -- ceremonies which now take on added significance because of the filibuster. Whatever publicity you find it possible to give us in advance of the services will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

William Worthy, Jr.
Executive Secretary

ww/e
enclosures

311 Blindern Student Hall
University of Oslo Summer School
Oslo, Norway

July 7th -- Saturday

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
Hotel Continentale
(International Confederation of Free Trade Unions)
Milan, ITALY

Dear Phil:

I got an air mail letter from Miss [illegible] yesterday (dated June 29th) saying that my letter to you (mailed when our boat stopped in Bergen, Norway on June 20th) reached NYC after you had left. She said she was forwarding it to you. I imagine that you have it by now.

She indicated that Norway was definitely on your itinerary, and I certainly hope you can make it before the Summer School ends on August 4th. (After that, depending on the finances, several of us plan to hitchhike for 2 weeks thru Norway, Sweden and Denmark, before [illegible] at the Danish Folkschool on August [illegible].) So far the experience of being in a foreign country has been most worthwhile. I have several good contacts, and now that I'm settled down here I plan to get around and meet some union, Labor Party & co-op people. Our conversational course in the language is good as it is rapid, but anyway most people here have learned English, French & German in their gymnas & high schools.

I'm sure you'd enjoy this corner of Scandinavia, and hope you can spend at least 3 or 4 days in and around Oslo. Everyone asks about the race problem, and one white New Yorker now at the University of South Carolina was asked in all seriousness by a student here when he had last participated in a lynching. We've been interviewed (especially the 7 Negro students) several times by reporters, and were once asked how we managed to get out of the USA! Yesterday a reporter on the Labor Party daily in Oslo asked me to write a 3000-word piece on civil rights.

Whatever you might like in the way of meeting trade unionists et al. I'd be glad to arrange. I imagine also that the Summer School would welcome a speech or perhaps a lecture or seminar led by you in one of the classes; we have already had a number of govt., ECA, Labor Party & other lecturers in classes. Or if that would be too strenuous, there are at least several dozen students -- some rather naive on the problem in their own backyards back home - who would probably enjoy an informal bull

OVER→

NORGE
45
ØRE-POST

OSLO

AEROGRAM To:

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
Hotel Continental
Milan, Italy

(c/o International Confederation of
Free Trade Unions Conference)

BRETT HER

Avsender:

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
Oslo, Norway

MERK! VIL IKKE BLI SENDT FRAM MED FLY, DERSOM DET ER
LAGT NOE INN I ELLER HEFTET NOE VED AEROGRAMMET.

1-51.

SALGSPRIS 50 ØRE

[illegible] the cultural development of this [illegible]

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LEGIBILITY IS DIFFICULT IN THE ORIGINAL

Com Against
Law

Boston, Mass. — August 22, 1950

Mr. Isaac Woodard
1075 Forest Avenue
New York 56, New York

Dear Mr. Woodard:

Just a brief note to report the following to you. Mr. A. Philip Randolph wrote to Mr. Merle E. Frampton, Principal of the New York Institute for the Education of the Blind.

Mr. Frampton was tied up until after September 10th with their summer camp. But he said he would be very happy to meet with you after September 10th in regard to employment, the Federal program of Rehabilitation, etc.

For such an interview Mr. Frampton said he would like to have you bring a full record of the history of your case, the action (if any) taken by the Veterans Administration, all medical reports, and any other pertinent documents and records.

So perhaps in the next two weeks you can collect all these data and then as soon as I get back to New York after Labor Day I shall get in touch with you. Mr. Frampton's office is at 999 Pelham Parkway in the Bronx.

I also spoke to the head of the AFL Bakery Clerks Union in New York about a possible job. They are getting ready to print their own union newspaper after Labor Day, and Mr. Durst said that he probably would be able to hire you to help in the print shop in some way. Their building is right off Union Square on 4th Avenue and 14th Street. I do not know if this is too far from your home to journey five days a week.

Best regards to your family.

Hastily,

Bill Worthy

Phil:

The above is self explanatory. I'll be on Gotts Island, McKinley Maine till Labor Day, if anything arises! No telephone on island.

Bill

Com
agreed
Jim Card

November 17, 1950

Mr. William Worthy
210 East 19th Street, Apt. 2
New York City

Dear Bill:

Find enclosed check for ten dollars and copy of letter expressing appreciation for same.

Fraternally yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR:RB
enc.

[illegible] January 7 - Sat.

Dear Phil,

Mc will no doubt tell you the results of today's finance committee's meeting... Since Finerty confided that the Trust had referred the appropriation request for more hearings to a person outside the Trust and since it might well be Granger (as it was the last time), you might want to call Granger (WA. 4-0505) on it. He goes to his office briefly each day now... Mabel Durham Fuller of Local 62, who was at the meeting the other day, suggested that if anyone sees or talks to Dubinsky, he be asked not only to have the International make a contribution but to notify the locals to contribute. Mabel says that Dubinsky does that when he is so inclined, and it would save us from wasting time going to each local. She says a great deal can be raised thus...

I believe that Charlie Ervin at Amalgamated (AL 4-6500) would do anything you asked him in regard to approaching Potofsky for a donation. At least he'd advise you on procedure and chances.

Regards, Bill

Apt. 2
210 E. 19th St.
New York 3, N.Y.

return postage guaranteed

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

NEW YORK
MADISON

C.I.O.
Chas./Gramegan
Pa 6-8077
Martin Gaizer
Lo 4-5666

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
217 West 125th Street
New York 27, New York

Suite 301

Philadelphia [1950]
Monday, May 14th (following our
phone converation)

Dear Phil, Con Bayard
Jim

In contacting Local 32B of the Building Service Employees (570 Seventh Ave., I think) for an emergency contribution for the Memorial Services, it would be my opinion that quicker and conclusive results would come from speaking directly with David Sullivan. Once, well over a year ago, we tried to get Tom Young to take it up with the local's board, and exactly nothing happened. But when you spoke personally with Sullivan at the AFL convention, $100 ~~c~~arrived quite quickly.

I'm convinced at this point that we can make the Philadelphia service a mammoth affair if we have immediate money for: a simple banner stretched across Broad Street from the Elks Home (just as Negro College Fund has had); window stickers saying "We are Marching on May 28"; decorations for the outdoor platform at Reyburn Plaza and other bandwagon items. Also ads. Bill

Worthy
c/o CIO Council
Room 1005
1411 Walnut St.
Philadelphia 2, Pa.

PHILADELPHIA, PA. 3
MAY 14
7-AM
1950

BUILD YO[illegible] [illegible]URE
WISE[illegible] [illegible]Y
U.S. SA[illegible] [illegible]DS

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THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
217 West 125th Street
New York 27, N.Y.

Suite 301

Dear Mo, [illegible] agreed [illegible] [illegible] May 16th - early Tuesday

Between working with the sign and banner man, with Dick Parrish on the N.Y.-to-Phila. motorcade and with Gabe on the flier and Declaration of Indep. for May 28th, Monday (yesterday) in New York sped by, and it was almost 6 P.M. train deadline time (for an evening arrangements committee meeting atcReyholds Hall) when I got Phil on the phone and explained my inability to get uptown. The UAW office was willing to send the checks up to you, so I checked with your wife to see of someone would be home when the messenger service arrived. I hope everything connested.
Have meant to ask you if you plan to drive down to Philly on May 28th. The motorcade will leave from Theresa Hotel at 10 a.m. after, I hope, press photos.

Regards, Bill

Have averaged 2-3 hours sleep a night for a week, along with 3 A.M. suppers.

Worthy
c/o CIO Council
Room 1005
1411 Walnut St.
Philadelphia 2, Pa.

PHILADELPHIA, PA. 34
MAY 1
10-AM
1950

ADDRESS YOUR M
TO
STREE
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THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

Mr. B. F. McLaurin
Hotel Manger
Boston, Massachusetts

c/o A. Philip Randolph

624

Con appeal [illegible] Thursday night- May 18

Dear Phil,
Simultaneously with this card tonight I'm sending to Drew Pearson the data on the phila. March of Silence and all 4 services -- the first chance I've had. Earlier today I sent him a wire that it was on the way, because his mail is as heavy as many senators'.

It would clinch things -- and I do not believe it would be overdoing it, in view of his cordiality over the telephone with you - if on Saturday you would call him at MIchigan 4321; ask if the material came to his persdnal attentiom; and suggest how very helpful it would be if he mentioned the Marhh and services on this Sunday's broadcast. The House is due to act on our amendments this coming week, and a word from Pearson would make the congressmen know they were being watched. Sincerely, Bill

Worthy
c/o Henry Shipherd
CIO Council
Room 1005
1411 Walnut St.
Philadelphia 2, Pa.
return postage guaranteed

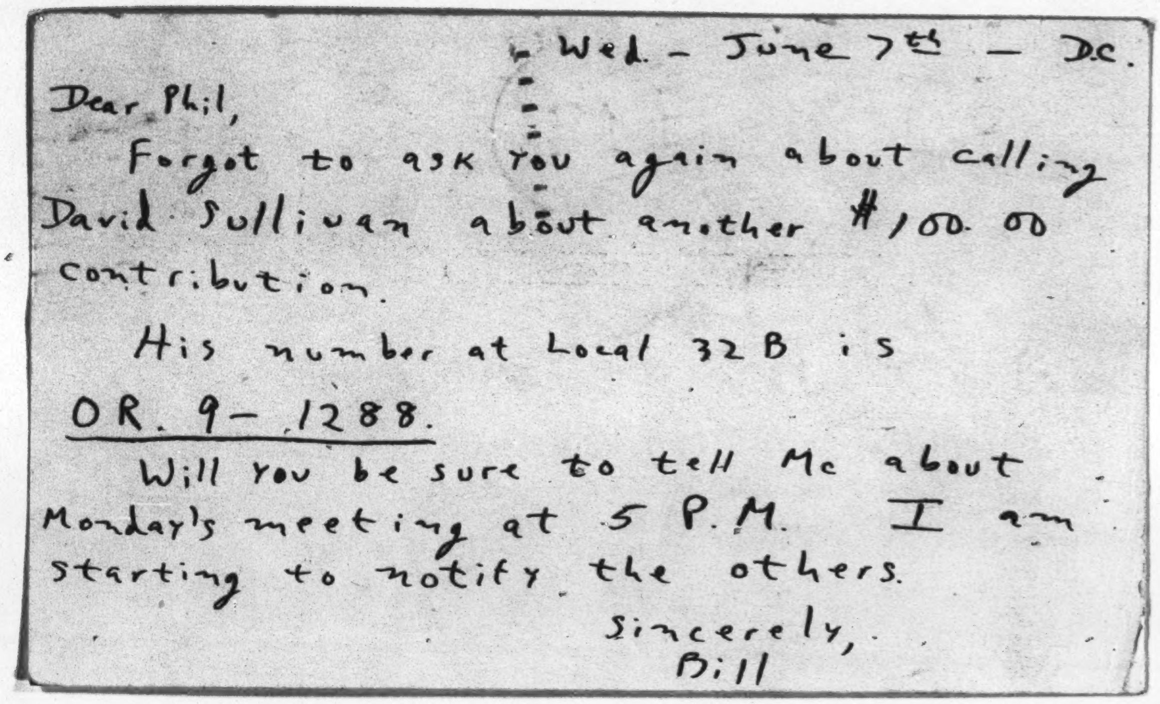
PHILADELPHIA PA. 35
MAY 10
8 AM
1950

ADDRESS YOUR MAIL TO STREET AND NUMBER

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
217 West 125th Street
New York 27, New York

Suite 301



Wed. - June 7th - D.C.

Dear Phil,

Forgot to ask you again about calling David Sullivan about another $100.00 contribution.

His number at Local 32B is OR. 9-1288.

Will you be sure to tell Me about Monday's meeting at 5 P.M. I am starting to notify the others.

Sincerely,
Bill

Worthy
c/o Al Black
1515 Tenth Street, N.W.
Washington 1, D.C.
return postage guaranteed

WASHINGTON, D.C.
JUN 7
11³⁰AM
1950

BUILD Y TURE
WIS LY
U.S. S NDS

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

[illegible]

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
217 West 125th Street
New York 27, New York

Room 301

Com against for Com July 4th - Tuesday

Dear Phil,

Because a number of the Philadelphia locals which promised to give substantially toward the March of Silence deficit have not yet come through, I thought I'd go down there, probably tomorrow and Thursday, and jog their memories. (Knit Goods, Hotel & Restaurant Workers, IUE, Dress Joint Board, an Upholsterers local, etc.) I'm anxious to clear up the printer's bill in particular, and from now on some of these union officials will be away on rather long vacations.

Between catching up on correspondence I've been trying to get together a financial statement for the last quarter. When the bank statement arrives in the next few days, I can complete it. Thought of trying to arrange that meeting early in the week, by which time Gabe will be back from vacation.

Regards, Bill

Worthy
210 E. 19th St.
New York 3, N.Y.

return postage guaranteed

NEW YORK, N.Y.
JUL 12 1950
MADISON SQUARE

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
217 West 125th St.
New York 27, New York

Suite 301

173.50
36
137.50

Com against Jim Crow

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE DEAN

January 1, 1951

Mr. William Worthy, Jr., Executive Secretary
Committee Against Jim Crow in Military Service and Training
Suite 706 112 East 19th Street
New York 5, New York

Dear Mr. Worthy:

I appreciate your writing to me about the records of the Committee Against Jim Crow in Military Service and Training. I am glad to know that the records are being turned over to the Schomburg Collection of the New York Public Library.

Since this is the case there will be no need for me to attempt to get any of the records for use in Atlanta or at the headquarters of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Your plans for having all of the records filed in the Schomburg Collection end a sort of fear that I had that the records might be scattered after the ending of the work of the Committee Against Jim Crow in Military Service and Training. When I start to work on the study of Randolph's activities in earnest I shall be sure to get in touch with you so that we can talk about the work of the Committee Against Jim Crow in Military Service and Training.

With every kind wish, I am

Yours sincerely,

B.R. Brazeal
B. R. Brazeal
Dean

1/25

BRB:G

Phil—
The above pertains to our phone conversation today. Brazeal wrote me in Nov. or December after speaking with Grant... It has been a slow

over

process turning things over to Schomburg Collection because I've been tied up with other things. It'll probably take me a couple more months to complete it.

Bill

200 West 133 Street
New York 30, New York
April 1, 1951

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
217 West 125 Street
New York, New York

My dear Sir:

The segregation clause in the draft bill of the Armed Services Committee is an insult to humanity and democracy, not to mention the millions of Black, Yellow, White and Brown people here in America who are more than fed up with the very thought or even the talk of segregation. It hurts to think for one moment that the Congress of the United States, the home of the so-called home of the free and the brave would even consider such a bill. That word free has been abused too long in America. It is time that it had a true meaning and not be a lie as it is in the southern states and too many of the other states.

An enemy of America is an enemy and there is no greater enemy than segregation. We must not lose sight of the real enemy of America. The leaders are allowing segregation to still go on in some parts of America. They must stand up on their hind legs and protest. The present so-called leaders have acted like whipped children too long. Sometimes there is reason to wonder whose side or what side of the issue do they uphold. Is it a case with them of maintaining a status quo in order to keep a Job?

Millions of the young have been and are looking to the leaders to remove the shame of America. The Black, Yellow, White and Brown men are tired of dying, the youth in particular. They are taught that they are fighting for freedom. During their training to fight, many of them are segregated because of race or color, and the government itself allows this to happen. The young men and women of today do not want to be separated by race or color anymore.

Yours truly;
R. E. Eley

signed by E. E. Eley

Cm against Jim Crow

April 9, 1951

Mr. R. E. Ely
[illegible] West [illegible] Street
New York [illegible], New York

Dear Sir:

Permit me to thank you for your letter of April 1st expressing protest against the segregation clause in the draft bill of the Armed Services Committee of the Senate. I am unqualifiedly opposed to all forms of segregation in the armed services and have fought it consistently and will continue to do so.

You may be assured that we will leave no stone unturned in trying to defeat this sinister jim-crow legislation for the armed services.

Very truly yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR:HB

Committee against Jim Crow in Armed Forces

April 9, 1951

Hon. J. K. Javits, M.C.
House Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Congressman Javits:

Permit me to thank you for your letter of April 2nd assuring me of your intention of fighting the jim-crow provisions of the draft legislation. I am glad to know this, and of course, I knew you would.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR:BB

LAW OFFICES
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1036 ANDRUS BUILDING
MINNEAPOLIS 2, MINN.

GEORGE B. LEONARD
ARTHUR L. H. STREET
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BENEDICT S. DEINARD
MELVIN H. SIEGEL
GEORGE D. LEONARD
SIDNEY LORBER
SIDNEY BARROWS

February 6, 1951.

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
International President,
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street, Rm. 301
New York 27, New York

Dear Mr. Randolph:

Re: Segregation in the Army

We enclose herewith, some additional newspaper coverage on the above matter. We are particularly proud of the editorial in this morning's paper.

On Friday, February 9 at 9:45 p.m. Mr. John Simmons of Minneapolis is going to speak on radio station WDGY on Racial Segregation in the Army.

Little by little we have been building up some kind of a steam roller.

We would appreciate your comments on the campaign as you are an old hand at the game and eminently qualified to advise us.

Very truly yours,

Sidney Lorber

Sidney Lorber

SL/vm

[illegible] to the [illegible] Florida's only [illegible] It's that far [illegible]

[illegible] higher brass, [illegible] for temporary [illegible] Minnesota [illegible] Infantry [illegible] about us.

[illegible] first Minnesotans [illegible] Negro recruits.

[illegible] Stone of [illegible] a bitter letter [illegible] in clothing [illegible] of movement [illegible] camp, and in recreation.

[illegible] went from [illegible] Minneapolis to the [illegible] Thye in [illegible] D.C.

Result: A [illegible] denial from camp authorities but a quiet admission to me by an officer in the Negro area that things had opened up for his boys.

"There is no discrimination at Camp [illegible]," [illegible] of the headquarters officers. I decided to see for myself.

So I took off and headed for the section of camp where Negro troops are quartered.

The barracks are newly painted. This is more than one can say for much of the area in which the 47th division boys live.

I walked by a group listening to a lecture by a Negro sergeant. Their clothing was the same as that worn by men in the rest of the camp. I looked into the barracks—the same there.

DISCRIMINATION often isn't something one can see or photograph. Rather, it is something one may feel. It may be an unspoken threat or a misplaced order. I sought out the company commander of Pvt. Stone.

He was a Philadelphian, a white first lieutenant named Eckard.

"You had better talk to Col. Chandler," said the lieutenant. "I think that would be better."

I tried to see the Colonel. He brushed by me in the narrow upstairs hallway of the barracks. He then sent word back out that I had to clear this sort of thing with camp headquarters.

Up at headquarters, the phone had already rung.

"Understand you've been down in Stone's company area," said a captain. "Ask us anything you want to know. We'll bring Stone up here if you want to interview him."

I declined. That sort of interview cannot produce straightforward answers and might embarrass both reporter and subject.

Instead, I went to the main post exchange.

IN FRONT of me in the line, were three Negroes, who picked up their food, paid for it, selected a table, and sat down to coffee and doughnuts. Several times, during my days at Camp Rucker, I returned to that post exchange restaurant. There was, quite obviously, no discrimination there.

There are a few Negroes in the 47th division. They apparently are to remain with that division, in its own area, which is a good two miles from the barracks of Negro troops. Our own 47th boys, any of them, can use the camp facilities any time, anywhere.

But when, after Feb. 10, the boys can go to the surrounding towns of Dothan, Ozark, Enterprise, or Troy, they may find trouble.

"We had a separate recreation building for Negroes during the last war," said a Dothan businessman. "But it's not running now."

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

LEGIBILITY IS DIFFICULT IN THE ORIGINAL

[illegible] President; GARDNER COWLES, Chairman of [illegible] Vice President and Executive Editor; [illegible] Vice President and Business Manager; [illegible] Vice President and Treasurer; STANLEY HAWKS, Vice President; HAROLD PERKINS, Vice President and Secretary; [illegible] BINDER, Editorial Editor.

Published Daily [illegible] Company. Entered as Second Class [illegible] Minneapolis, Minnesota, under the Act of March 3, [illegible]

Telephone ATlantic [illegible]
In St. Paul, [illegible]

PAGE 6 VOL. LXXXIV NUMBER [illegible] TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1951

It's Time Army Gave Negro a Better Break

THE IDENTIFICATION of Negro recruits as "colored" on their first army travel orders is offensive to many persons who see in this practice a means for perpetuating racial segregation.

Two Minneapolis attorneys affiliated with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People are currently protesting such identification. They feel it is inconsistent with the President's efforts to wipe out discrimination in the armed forces. They suspect that Negroes are being identified as such to facilitate their assignment to all-Negro units.

It would be a step forward if the army put an end to this identification. The navy does not label recruits as colored on its travel orders, and if there is any good reason why the army does so, it has not yet come to light.

EVEN IF THE PRACTICE did not directly abet segregation, it would remain one of those irritants which tends to humiliate and anger the Negro. It would still be nagging at his morale at a time of difficult psychological readjustments. It would still be saying to him:

> "See, the army can't forget you are a Negro. It is not enough to identify you as an American who may be asked to die for his country. You must be identified, beyond that, as a *colored* American."

Thus there is a rankling in the Negro's mind, a resentment in his heart, even as he begins his army service.

It is not easy for the white citizen to understand this feeling of injustice and humiliation. One must be a member of a minority group, long accustomed to segregation with its cruel taunts of second rateness, to fully comprehend the Negro's bitterness toward any policy which draws the harsh and narrow line of color.

So the question of race identification on army travel orders is not as trivial as it may seem at first glance. It is involved, quite inescapably, in a much more basic question: whether we shall continue to fight discrimination in the armed services during the present emergency, or whether we shall suspend that fight until the emergency is over.

GREAT PROGRESS has already been made, particularly in the navy and the air force. Should not the Negro, then, be content with that progress, insisting on no further concessions while this country is confronted by world crisis?

There are some Negroes, including Rep. Adam C. Powell of New York, who feel that [illegible] should be re-

Negro is first and last an American who makes the same sacrifices and endures the same perils as those whose skin is white? And if we cannot press the fight against segregation at a time when we are saying that American democracy stands for the freedom and dignity of the individual, when shall we be in a better mood to press it?

The army has thus far been a laggard in the fight, trailing the navy and the air force. Yet the progress made within the navy and the air corps should prove reassuring to the army. The difficulties of integration have not proved as mountainous as they appeared. As a matter of fact, they began to evaporate the very moment that integration was attempted.

The old arguments for segregation have been examined and found wanting. They could not stand up against the fact that integration, when tried, quite generally worked out in satisfactory fashion.

The policy of identifying the Negro as such on army travel orders ought to be abandoned. Even as a small weight on the side of segregation, it has no place in the American scheme of justice for the Negro.

[illegible] racial [illegible] army can- [illegible] on any basis [illegible] with the doctrine of [illegible]uality which is an essential [illegible] of America's democratic [illegible]

The progress in eliminating segregation made by the air force and navy re-emphasizes the unfavorable position of the army in not having done likewise in line with policies for unification of the three services and the directives of the President.

In the interests of our own respect for what is right and the advancement of understanding of the foreign policy of the United States, it is high time that segregation in the army should be abolished in practice as well as in theory.

—STANLEY K. PLATT,
Minneapolis.

***Editor's Note:** See today's editorial: "It's Time Army Gave Negro a Better Break."*

J.C.–

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SIDNEY LORBER
SIDNEY BARROWS

February 9, 1951

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
International President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street, Rm. 301
New York 27, New York

Re: Segregation in the Army

Dear Mr. Randolph:

We enclose herewith, some additional newspaper coverage in the above matter. As you might surmise, the local NAACP was instrumental in getting these letters written and published.

Com. Agenda [illegible]

On Sunday, February 11, 1951, the Minneapolis Tribune will carry a feature story and an extensive editorial on the subject of Segregation in the Army.

We have been informed that the Associated Press is checking on the story in connection with the issuance of a feature release.

Yours very truly,

Sidney Lorber

Sidney Lorber

SL/vm

EVERYBODY'S IDEAS

MPLS. STAR 2-18/51

CIO Council Demands Army Stop Its Segregation Policy

Editor's Note: This letter so ably expresses the view of the Star that we heartily join reader Wishart and the Hennepin County Industrial Council in demanding that President Truman's anti-segregation order be obeyed.

To the Editor: Current reports revealing racial segregation in the air force and the army are clear-cut evidence that immediate action should be taken by President Truman to force the carrying out of his order against such segregation. [illegible] and that this order was [illegible] ago and why [illegible] are not [illegible] able [illegible] our [illegible]

How [illegible] the world [illegible] when we practice racial segregation and discrimination in our own army? How can we appeal to the people of Korea that our army is an army of liberation when that very army discriminates and segregates as to race?

Certainly the Communists in Asia can use this racial segregation in the army to point out to the people of Asia that America does not mean what it says, that we are not interested in the welfare of their race. They can increase the prejudice against America. Our billions spent for Marshall plan aid will be wasted if it is to mean anything in terms of spreading the gospel of American democracy. The Russian propaganda that American armies are for the purpose of spreading American imperialism will be greatly enhanced with a continuation of racial segregation in the armed forces.

In our community some employers took the position that they would not hire Negroes because their white employes wouldn't work with them and wouldn't get along with them. The facts are that this theory has been completely refuted by the employment of Negroes in industry in this very community. The results of such employment have shown that no such problem actually exists once Negroes are given an opportunity for employment without discrimination on every type of work.

If Negroes can be integrated into all types of work in the community, they can certainly be integrated into the armed forces without segregation.

The Hennepin County Industrial Council has written to Senator Humphrey asking him to use his good offices to influence the President to see that his order against segregation is completely carried out in the armed forces. We have also written to President Truman direct on this matter.

We cannot continue to expend billions for defense and have these billions go down the drain through propaganda that will be used against us in nations that we are trying to win over throughout the world to our way of thinking. In short, we must practice what we preach!

—[illegible] Wishart, President,
Hennepin County [illegible] Council,
Minneapolis.

[illegible] Race Bias [illegible] for Freedom

Mpls. Tribune 2-18/51

[illegible] EDITOR: The [illegible] is to be congratulated [illegible] attention to the pro- [illegible] various organizations [illegible] racial designation and [illegible] by the army and [illegible] force.

[illegible] aspect of the struggle [illegible] and democracy [illegible] important than the [illegible] waged to make [illegible] armed forces democratic in character. No defeat [illegible] battlefield can be more [illegible] than public indifference to [illegible] of Negroes in the armed forces.

[illegible] of civilian [illegible] (since it is democracy we are defending) is an offensive against segregation and inequality in all phases of American life.

—FRANK WINER.
[illegible]

Jim Crow
Armed Forces

Jonas G. Schwartz
Counselor at Law
LIncoln 6781

500 Pence Building
Minneapolis 3, Minnesota

January 22, 1951

Mr. A. Phillip Randolph, President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125 Street
New York 27, New York

In re: Segregation in the Army

Dear Mr. Randolph:

Supplementing the correspondence and documents which I have heretofore sent to you I am enclosing herewith a copy of a telegram which I have this date received from Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, as well as my response to him, together with a copy of my letter to Walter White of the National office of the NAACP.

I remember most distinctly that you invited me to join with you on the committee, to abolish segregation in the armed forces. My recollection is that that committee itself became somewhat inactive as the years progressed though some of us, you and I included, remained steadfast in our determination to see during our lifetime that segregation in the armed forces of our country would be a reality.

From what I have been able to learn the Navy and the Air Force have for all practical purposes abided by the president's directives for complete elimination of segregation in those respective services. We are hopeful that within the coming weeks the Chief of Staff of the Army will learn that he is subject to the commands and directives of the President in the same fashion as enlisted men. And that is going to be accomplished, I hope, as a result of a conference with President Truman that Senator Humphrey is presently arranging.

From Minnesota we intend to bring the President of the Minneapolis Chapter of NAACP, the President of the State Conference of NAACP, Mr. Sidney Lorber, one of its attorney, and myself and a secretary. We plan to get to Washington the day before the scheduled meeting for the purpose of sitting down with those who are to be in attendance and map out the nature of our request and those who are to make the proposals. The delegation from Minnesota will be as disciplined and informed this time as we were when we came to Washington on FEPC in 1945. We have been given professional advice by a high ranking Army officer so that we were able to present our demands in a proper fashion to the proper authorities. We, therefore, feel that one of our men from Minnesota should make the factual presentation to the President and we are hopeful that you and Walter White will sum up the case and set forth the proposals as outlined in our letter to Secretary Marshall, a copy of which has been heretofore sent to you.

I am aware of the fact that you have asked for a conference some weeks ago at the White House to discuss the over-all civil rights picture, and I am hopeful that you will be able to obtain that appointment for that purpose in the very near future. However, I want you to know that we intend, should Senator Humphrey be successful in his efforts for the appointment for the Minnesota delegation with President Truman, to limit the discussion and requests solely to the one problem of"abolishing segregation in the United States Army".

I know that you will agree with me that the methods and remedies we propose for this conference with the President are necessary to accomplish our purpose successfully, and I am sure that you will go along with us down the line in this matter.

I am hoping that your health is now much improved so that we may be able to go together "In Our March to Washington".

I would appreciate very much hearing from you as soon as possible.

With warmest personal regards and best wishes, I am

Very truly yours,

Jonas G Schwartz

Jonas G. Schwartz

JGS/do
Encs.
Airmail.

COPY OF TELEGRAM

January 22, 1951

Jonas G. Schwartz
Pence Building
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Re your letters January 13 and 16, communication from Earl D. Johnson Assistant Secretary of Army dated January 17th just received assuring full investigation Camp Rucker. Representative Department of Army Staff will visit Camp Rucker during first week 47th Division is there in order to make complete survey and investigation. His letter includes following "It is the intention of all of us in the Department of the Army that no racial discrimination of any sort will be permitted at any army camp during the training of any organization". Will attempt arrange appointment with President Truman or Secretary Pace as soon as preliminary investigation completed and further word of delegation received from you.

(Signed) HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

January 22, 1951

Dr. Walter White
N. A. A. C. P.
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

In re: Segregation in the Army

Dear Dr. White:

Enclosed you will find a copy of a telegram which I received from Senator Hubert H. Humphrey today, as well as a copy of my response to him.

You will note from the telegram that Senator Humphrey asked for the make up of the proposed delegation. You will also note from the enclosed copy of my letter to him that it is our intention and desire to have you and Clarence Mitchell present as representatives of the NAACP nationally. We feel that the proposed delegation is of approximately the proper size and constituency to present the matter most effectively to the President.

We propose of course to have a disciplined delegation so that the matter can be presented properly to the President. It is our intention to confer personally particularly with you and A. Phillip Randolph with regard to the presentation of the problem to the President. We propose to have three people only to speak at the conference. One of the persons who is to speak should be Sidney Lorber, onf of the attorneys for the Minnesota State Conference and the Minneapolis branch of the NAACP, who is well acquainted with the aspects of this situation, both so far as it effects men from Minnesota and so far as it effects the national scene.From our work in this matter and our contacts we have developed an approach to the problem which we feel can be best presented by the aforementioned person.

Of course we will want you to be present and to summarize the national situation and the national objectives of the NAACP.

And in addition we would like to have A. Phillip Randolph speak. He and his organization have been working for years on the problem of segregation in the armed forces and we feel that he can present a logical and able approach to the problem.

I am cognizant of the fact that Mr. Randolph has requested a conference with the White House to speak on the over-all picture of civil rights. I am confident that at this particular conference he will go along with us in limiting the scope of the subject matter solely to the abolition of segregation in the Army because if we try to encompass too much, we will probably wind up with too little.

As soon as Senator Humphrey wires us the date of the conference we will immediately communicate further with you.

Very truly yours,

Jonas G. Schwartz

JGS/do
Encs.
Airmail.

January 22, 1951

Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey
U. S. Senator
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Re: Segregation in the Army

Dear Hubert:

My associates and I were thrilled to receive your telegrams dated January 20 and 22, 1951. I find it difficult to express my own personal gratification and appreciation for everything you have done and are doing with regard to the above matter. At the Local NAACP meeting yesterday we had representatives of the State Conference and of the St. Paul Chapter and had a large audience congregated at the Phyllis Wheatley House. Upon reading your telegram to us the audience applauded and cheered as they realized that finally the end of our disgraceful policy of segregation was in sight. We read your prior correspondence with us to the assembled group and thereafter dozens of the people who were there came up to express their personal appreciation for everything you have been doing in this matter.

Of course you have in mind the broad problem with which we are confronted. We now feel fairly sure that the 47th Division will be operated on an interracial basis, both as to present membership and as to fillers or replacements which will be sent to bring the Unit up to full strength. Of course care will have to be exercised to make sure that the fillers that come in are on an interracial basis. The present Army investigation will not be on the sight at the time the fillers and replacements arrive. Consequently they will not be able to observe the nature and constitution of the groups being added to bring the Division up to full strength.

As you know the 47th Division is only one small portion of the problem that we want to cover in our Washington conference with President Truman. The fact that basic training is conducted to a large extent on a segregated basis and the fact that all-Negro units are being set up, both in large and in small groups indicates clearly to us that the policy of integration on a completely interracial basis has not yet been accomplished in the United States Army in spite of the President's orders and directives. Segregation in the Army is the very vice we seek to abolish immediately. As you know there can be no equality of treatment in segregated units and as you know segregated units breed racial hostility not unity.

In your telegram dated today you inquired about the make-up of the group which would meet with President Truman. We are proposing that the following groups will be represented at the conference:

1. A delegation of five people from the State of Minnesota representing the Minnesota State Conference of NAACP and the Minneapolis Branch of NAACP.

2. A representative of the National Office of NAACP which in all probability will be Walter White.

3. Clarence Mitchell, Executive Secretary of the Washington Bureau of NAACP.

4. A representative of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, in all probability, A. Phillip Randolph, who I understand, has already requested a conference with the President on this very problem.

5. A representative of the National office of the American Federation of Labor.

6. A representative of the National C.I.O.

7. A representative of the American Veterans Committee.

8. A representative of Amvets.

9. A representative of B'nai B'rith.

10. We are also going to invite the Veterans of Foreign Wars to send a representative.

In addition, of course, we would very much like to have present, yourself and Senator Thye, as well as any other persons that you might suggest.

The Army investigation of the Camp Rucker situation will not solve the problem of segregation generally. Regardless of what happens to the 47th Division and regardless of what happens at Camp Rucker, we propose to hold the aforementioned conference with your wonderful cooperation in order to end discriminatory classification and segregation in the armed forces.

Hubert, I must express again my sincere appreciation for the wonderful job you are doing.

As soon as you learn the date of the proposed conference, I would appreciate a telegram from you and I will thereupon let you have the names of the persons who will actually attend the conference so that they may be cleared for security purposes.

Mrs. Schwartz joins me in sending our best greetings to you and yourself and we look forward to your return to Minneapolis with enough time to break bread with us again.

Respectfully yours,

JGS/de

Com
against
Jim Crow

January 24, 1951

Mr. Jonas Schwartz
800 Pence Building
Minneapolis, Minn.

Dear Brother Schwartz:

Just a word to thank you for your letter of January 22nd and your previous letter concerning your plan to have a conference with President Truman on the abolition of segregation in the army. I am in complete accord with your program and will be glad to participate in the conference if you will let me know when it is going to be held.

While some progress has been made in the air corps and navy, not much progress has been made in the army, and I am very glad that you have gotten Senator Humphrey interested in this effort. Keep up the good work.

Fraternally yours,

APR:RB

A. Philip Randolph
International President

Jonas G. Schwartz
Counselor at Law
LIncoln 6781

500 Pence Building
Minneapolis 3, Minnesota

Com
against
him
Card

January 29, 1951

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
International President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
Room 301
New York 27, New York

Re: Segregation in the Army

Dear Brother Randolph:

I was thrilled to get your letter of January 24, 1951, because I was confident that you would participate in the proposed conference with the President where we hope to limit the discussion to abolishing segregation in the Army.

Notwithstanding the fact that we are in the hinterlands, we are hopeful to focus the attention of the whole country on this grave problem. I want to tell you off the record that I was able to secure a conference on Saturday morning, January 27, 1951, with Mr. John Cowles, the President of the Minneapolis Star and Tribune Company, and for all practical purposes, the owner thereof. Mr. Cowles' family also control the Des Moines Register and Look Magazine. We started our conference off with him by presenting him with a photostatic copy of the original Army induction orders of November 25, 1950. We told him of the various requests made by national leaders for conferences with the President and the proposed subject matter for those conferences. I am not using hard language when I tell you that Mr. Cowles was incensed by these orders, sufficiently so that without solicitation he gave us a personal check to help defray expenses of the Minnesota Delegation to Washington. We gave him copies of the pertinent communications which we have heretofore sent out on the subject and he led us into the office of Mr. Gideon Seymour, the executive Vice-President and editor of our local papers and he himself gave a short synopsis of what we had told him in an hour conference. Mr. Cowles suggested that it would be essential that the paper take proper steps to help in this matter. We were then left with Mr. Seymour. The latter has held various high positions in the field of journalism and knows by the first name most of the editors of the leading newspapers in the country. Mr. Seymour told us that he is going to put a crack reporter on the case to build up a news item for publication in the Star during this week; that he himself would see to it that all of the national press associations get the story; and that he would himself alert various editors of leading papers in the country on this subject. That thereafter, both the Star and the Tribune would commence a series of editorials on the subject.

Both Mr. Cowles and Mr. Seymour agreed with us that when we get the appointment with President Truman, the subject matter should be limited to abolishing segregation in the Armed Forces for the reason that the President can do that himself without an act of Congress and without further appropriations.

I want you to know that notwithstanding the fact that these communications are coming on my own stationery, these letters are being dictated in the presence of the members of the N. A. A. C. P. Committee charged with the responsibility of implementing this project. For them, too, I want you to know that they express their sincerest thanks for your steadfast efforts over these long years and that we will continue to work together with you and others as our leaders to make our country a better place to live in.

Needless to say, we will keep you fully advised as to major developments and once Senator Humphrey secures the appointment with President Truman, I shall telegraph or call you to give you the date.

Mrs. Schwartz joins me in extending to you our personal greetings.

Respectfully yours,

Jonas

JONAS G. SCHWARTZ

JGS:jb
Enc.

Jonas G. Schwartz
Counselor at Law
LIncoln 6781

500 Pence Building
Minneapolis 3, Minnesota

COPY

January 29, 1951

Dr. Walter White
c/o N A A C P
20 West 40th St.
New York 18, New York

In re: Segregation in the Army

Dear Dr. White:

I enclose herewith a copy of a letter which I received today from A. Phillip Randolph. The letter is self-explanatory.

I also enclose a copy of a letter that I received from Clarence Mitchell dated January 25, 1951, with regard to which I would like to make certain comments. Mr. Mitchell whom I knew personally when he was connected with the Urban League in St. Paul and for whom I have a good deal of regard, has in the enclosed letter to me and in a press release which he issued from the Washington Bureau caused me a good deal of unhappiness.

I might explain that in the three letters that Mr. Mitchell mentioned, no mention was made of the Minnesota National Guard situation in the letters to yourself and to Mr. Randolph. Mention of the situation was made in the letter to Senator Humphrey, a copy of which you received. In that letter I thanked Senator Humphrey for his wonderful work that he had done and told him that his work had been reviewed before the local NAACP meeting and had been highly commended.

I always like to give credit where credit is due and Senator Humphrey, as you know, has been doing a wonderful job.

Clarence Mitchell may have conferred with various persons in Washington with regard to the Minnesota National Guard situation and may have contributed to the result which was achieved; namely, the assurance that National Guard divisions which are on an interracial basis will remain on an interracial basis after federalization.

About ten days ago Clarence Mitchell issued a release through the Associated press to the effect that he and Senator Humphrey had achieved the aforementioned result by joint action. In his press release no mention was made of the part which was played by the Minneapolis branch and by the Minnesota State Conference in achieving the desired result. In addition no mention was made of the marvelous cooperation afforded to us by Governor Luther W. Youngdahl of the State of Minnesota, who wrote to the President of the United States demanding that the integrated Minnesota National Guard unit remain on an interracial basis. You have no doubt seen the publicity with regard to that demand.

For your information it was the Minneapolis branch of the NAACP working together with and in conjunction with the Minnesota State Conference of the NAACP which alerted Senator Humphrey and Governor Youngdahl with regard to this particular problem. We telephoned and wrote Senator Humphrey calling his attention to the National Guard situation. On January 9, 1951, Senator Humphrey wrote his first letter to Secretary of the Army Pace regarding the Minnesota National Guard unit. On January 10, 1951, the Minnesota State Conference of the NAACP met with Governor Youngdahl to ask him to intercede and the press carried releases relating to the meeting with Governor Youngdahl and relating the efforts when Governor Youngdahl issued his communication to the President of the United States on January 1[illegible], 1951.

On January 9, 1951, our Minnesota State Conference wrote to General Marshall on the over-all problem, bringing up as an example the Minnesota National Guard division. On the same date we wrote to Senator Humphrey stating that we were to have an appointment with Governor Youngdahl with regard to the Minnesota National Guard division. Copy of those communications were sent to the National office.

On January 13, 1951, at our instigation the National Planning Committee of A.V.C. passed a resolution which referred to the National Guard situation, among other items, which resolution was forwarded immediately to the President of the United States and others and a press release was issued relating to it.

While we in Minnesota were interested in the national scene as a whole, we were also interested in the Minnesota National Guard situation and in the National Guard situation as it effects the seven states which have their National Guard units on an interracial basis.

I feel that credit should be given where it is due. I would suggest that you write a letter to Governor Luther W. Youngdahl, Governor of the State of Minnesota, State Capitol, St. Paul, Minnesota, commending him for his action and for the results which his action, among others, has so far achieved. Our Governor's record with regard to race relations is perfect.

As I stated before I was very much distressed to find that the press release issued by the Washington Bureau through the Associated Press did not make mention of the contribution which Governor Youngdahl, the Minneapolis Branch of the NAACP, and the Minnesota State Conference made in the matter.

I would like to ask a rather pertinent question. Who, other than the local branch and the State Conference conceived of the problem relating to interracial National Guard units; who alerted the National Office, the Governor of the State, the senators from the state and Army officials with regard to the problem in the first instance? I do not mean to belittle any contribution that Clarence Mitchell, who is an able and aggressive young man may have made to the final result. However, while I do not expect to garner any individual glory from my efforts and I am not interested in such glory, I do feel that for the good of the NAACP nationally and for the good of the branches, credit must be given where it is due.

From my long years of experience with NAACP and from my experience with other organizations, I have come to certain conclusions which I would like to set forth at this point. Any organization lives and deserves to live only because of the work it does and the results it seeks to accomplish. There has been a tendency in recent years for the work and achievements to channel mainly through the national offices of large organizations and to relegate the local branches to the position of dues collecting agencies. With regard to the NAACP in particular, the local branches such as the Minneapolis Branch can only grow and thrive if they can show specific accomplishments and specific work which is being done. The mere visiting of third-rate saloons, bowling alleys, and other places of amusement in service, some disreputable and some not, does not interest the community sufficiently to build a live vital local organization. Our Local NAACP in Minneapolis at one time had about 1100 members. It dropped to about 172 in the spring of 1950. Since that time, by becoming active and regenerating its forces, it has grown to an excess of 600.

The things that sold NAACP locally were not the college fight in the South; not a general conversational campaign; not the equalization of school teachers pay; not the opening of a third-rate saloon to Negro patronage; but there were three things that have contributed to the build up of our membership.

(1) The case of Paulson vs. Keller. In the event you are not acquainted with that case by name, it was a case in which a white seller attempted to rescind a sale to a Negro woman in Minneapolis on the grounds that she misrepresented her race. We secured the aid, without charge, of the general counsel of Pillsbury Mills and other prominent lawyers of all faiths in getting a ruling on demurrer that a representation as to race is immaterial and that no prejudice was shown.

(2) The Minnesota State Conference got the Attorney General of the State of Minnesota, to issue a statement to the American Bowling Congress that if they ~~bowling~~ did not amend their rules regarding interracial bowling the attorney general would institute an action to enjoin the American Bowling Congress and its affiliates from pursuing their discriminatory practices.

(3) The matter of combatting segregation in the Army. The temper of the community, both Negro and White, has reacted tremendously as a result of our focusing the limelight on the discriminatory nature of Army orders and of the discriminatory treatment of non-White soldiers.

In addition to the items mentioned above, through the efforts of the leadership of the Minneapolis NAACP and of Ashby Gaskins, President of the Minnesota State Conference of NAACP, we have been able to achieve certain additional results which have not yet been publicized. Those items are as follows:

1. We have succeeded in inducing the Minneapolis Star to send a representative touring throughout the South to prepare a series of articles on the treatment of Negroes in the South. Those articles will begin appearing some time during the month of February after the Negro reporter returns from the South (for very obvious reasons).

2. We have succeeded in inducing the Minneapolis Star further to send a crack reporter to visit several of the Army camps in the South to investigate, photograph and document the conduct and operation of Army camps in the South.

3. On January 27, 1951, we held a conference with the President of the Minneapolis Star, John Cowles, with Gideon Seymour, the Executive Vice-President of the same publication and with David Silverman, managing editor of that publication. We were assured by them that they would assign a reporter to check on the discriminatory practices; that they would run an important news release through the Associated Press in the middle of this week and that they would contact the editors of leading friendly newspapers in the large cities of the United States to ask them to feature the release; and that the local press would thereafter follow through with editorials on the same subject.

I might say, parenthetically, that Mr. John Cowles was so impressed by our presentation that he made a personal contribution on behalf of himself and Mrs. Cowles to help defray the expenses of a local delegation to Washington. And I might tell you further that he is definitely of the opinion that any conference held in Washington with the President should be limited solely to an attempt to get the President to implement his order of integration in the Army and not to be clouded with other issues.

When the publicity which we have secured comes out in the press, I will expect that the local chapter of NAACP will receive full credit for what was done.

I feel that now is the time to strike! The Army is being mobilized rapidly and as units are built up, the problem will become much more difficult to solve. Mr. Randolph, as you can see, is ready to go along. I would like to hear from you immediately that you are prepared to do the same.

Very truly yours,

Jonas G. Schwartz

Jonas G. Schwartz

JGS/do
CC: Clarence Mitchell
Airmail.

Case against Jim Crow

February 5, 1951

Mr. James G. Schwartz
800 Pence Building
Minneapolis, Minn.

Dear Mr. Schwartz:

Just a word to thank you for your letter of recent date with enclosure concerning Jim-Crow in the armed services. I note your request to have Brother Boyd as representative at conference in Washington, if I am unable to be present. I doubt very much that Brother Boyd will be able to make the trip since there are no funds available for that purpose. If it is possible for me to be on hand for the conference, I will be glad to do so. I hope you will keep me informed of developments.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR:RB

Phil—
Self-explanatory.
Bill

Com
against
Jim Crow

210 East 19th Street
New York 3, New York
April 23, 1951

Mr. Henry Epstein
30 Broad Street
New York 4, New York

Dear Mr. Epstein:

I recall that back in January '49, shortly after you attended the "mock trial" of Army Jim Crow in Washington, you expressed regret at not having had a chance to purchase the painting of the disabled Negro veteran. When I was in your office a few days after the hearing you remarked that you wished you had seen, at the hearing, the Howard University art professor (who had acted as agent for the artist) "before Mr. Randolph did."

Last summer when the Committee Against Jim Crow found it financially impossible to continue its activities at the same pace, the painting, which we had paid $150.00 for, was given to me in lieu of some back salary. I fully intended to keep it always. However, now it looks as if I shall have a chance to study abroad for a year, possibly beginning in June. The strain on my finances will be severe, even if in the next few weeks I receive some scholarship aid. When that is added to the fact that I already have some personal debts, I think, reluctantly, it would be the better part of wisdom to try to sell the painting.

To refresh your memory of the artistry, I am enclosing a front cover of the 24-page pamphlet we published, on which the painting appears. I would be happy to send or take it (now framed and also insured until next February) to your office or home for your perusal, should you still be interested in considering its purchase.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Mr. Randolph at the Brotherhood office for his information.

Cordially yours,

William Worthy, Jr.

enclosure

W

January 24, 1951

Mr. Arthur D. Wright
Technical Director
Mayor's Community Survey Committee
219 Park Avenue
Bridgeport 4, Connecticut

Dear Arthur:

Thanks a lot for your letter of January 17th informing me of your work in Bridgeport. I am glad to know that you are doing some teaching at the Bridgeport University and also working on the problems of civil rights in the community.

I want you to know that I have always considered it a pleasure having worked with you on the fight for jim-crow in the armed forces. Whenever you are in the city, I hope you will come in and have a chat.

Sincerely yours,

APR:ha

A. Philip Randolph
International President

MAYOR'S COMMUNITY SURVEY COMMITTEE
219 PARK AVENUE
BRIDGEPORT 4, CONNECTICUT

Eaton V. W. Read, *Chairman*
Leonard Bright, *Secretary*
Irving W. Abb
Mrs. Alvin C. Breul
Herbert L. Cohen
Leo J. Dunn
William Fitzpatrick
Dr. William O. Gardiner
Herbert A. George
Lewis Hamburger
Rev. Edgar N. Jackson
James C. Shannon

Arthur D. Wright
Technical Director

January 17th,1951

Dear Phil:

I decided to get off one of those 'keep-in-touch' letters. Each time I see some improvement made or intended with respect to the armed forces, my thoughts go back to the civil disobedience campaign.

In the past couple of years,I've been som gosh darn busy that have had time for little else other than work; nevertheless I've often wondered about you,Grant,Worthy and the others.

As you can see, I've left the staff at the University of Chicago and am working rather near by. In addition to working on this survey am now teaching Sociology at the University of Bridgeport, in fact, have been at the university for the past two years.

I'm having some rather interesting experiences in organizing this community audit of the status of civil rights. It is absolutely amazing how much cooperation I am actually getting from the Negro professionals and particularly the clergy. Maybe there is 'A New World a-Comin.' ?

But then, this was to be just a keep-in-touch note.

My best regards to your family and all others shared mutually.

Sincerely,

Arthur

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

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X

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VGA TQTH 1-11 BOOK OF TELEGRAMS DL MARCH 22=

CONGRESSMAN ADAM POWELL
HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING WASHINGTON D. C.
QTH 2 CONGRESSMAN JACOB JAVITS
HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING WASHINGTON D. C.
QTH 3 CONGRESSMAN CELLER HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING WASHINGTON D. C.
QTH 4 CONGRESSMAN KLEIN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING WASGINGTON D. C.
QTH 5 CONGRESSMAN FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT JR.
HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING WASHINGTON D. C.
QTH 6 CONGRESSMAN DAWSON HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING WASHINGTON D. C.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

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QTH 7 MAJORITY LEADER MCCORMACK OF THE HOUSE
HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINTON D. C.=
QTH 8 MINORITY LEADER OF THE HOUSE MARTIN
HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING WASHINGTON D. C.
QTH 9 CHAIRMAN OF NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE
DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE WASHINGTON D. C.
QTH 10 CHAIRMAN REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE
REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE WASHINGTON D. C.==
QTH 11 HON. HARRY S. TRUMAN PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON D. C.=

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= AM SHOCKED TO LEARN HOUSE ARMED SERVICE COMMITTEE WROTE RACIAL SEGREGATION PROVISION INTO DRAFT-UMT BILL. THE UNITED STATES ARMED FORCES WITH A RACIAL SEGREGATION PATTERN IS UTTERLY INCONSISTENT WITH OUR DEMOCRATIC PRONOUNCEMENTS. RACISM IN THE ARMED FORCES CAN ONLY SUCCEED IN DEFEATING THE HIGH MORALE OF OUR FIGHTING FORCES AND CONTRIBUTE TO NATIONAL DISUNITY. RACIAL SEGREGATION CANNOT CONVINCE ANYONE AT HOME OR ABROAD TO OUR AVOWED DETERMINATION TO DEMOCRATIZE

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W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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THE WORLD. I IMPLORE YOU TO DO EVERYTHING IN YOUR POWER TO DEFEAT ANY PROVISION WHICH WILL RESULT IN RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND SEGREGATION AGAINST ANY AMERICAN CITIZEN WHO BEARS ARMS IN DEFENSE OF THE NATION. THE OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF THE BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS WITH 110 LOCALS IN THE UNITED STATES ARE ALARMED AT THE RACIST ACTION OF THE HOUSE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE. URGE YOUR SUPPORT FOR DEFEAT OF THIS PROVISION.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

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Com Organiza [illegible]

WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

1201

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Ship Radiogram

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MGA PLS QTH 3 AND 4 STRAIGHT JULY 19

SENATOR WILLIAM LANGER SENATE OFFICE BUILDING WASHINGTON D C
= PLEASE FORWARD=

TRIED TO REACH YOU BY TELEPHONE= WOULD DEEPLY APPRECIATE YOUR REINTRODUCING THE SIX AMENDMENTS TO DRAFT LAW AT BEGINNING OF SPECIAL SESSION= WILL YOU WIRE ME COLLECT IF YOU ARE WILLING TO DO THIS SO THAT WE MAY ISSUE RELEASE TO PRESS IMMEDIATELY.

A= PHILIP RANDOLPH=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

COMMITTEE AGAINST JIMCROW IN MILITARY SERVICE AND TRAINING
SUITE 301
217 WEST 125th STREET
NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK
Telephone: WAdsworth 6-4949

Organ

OFFICERS
Grant Reynolds
Chairman
A. Philip Randolph
Treasurer
Charles J. Patterson
Executive Secretary

LEGAL COMMITTEE
Raymond Pace Alexander
Sadie T. M. Alexander
Matthew W. Bullock, Jr.
Robert L. Carter
Earl B. Dickerson
Charles H. Houston
Belford V. Lawson, Jr.
James M. Nabrit

2/21

Phil:

I thought that for the broadcast Wednesday (and I believe that you know they would like you at the studio by 10:15 a.m. to meet with Miss Dettinger before going on the air) you would like the enclosed material to refresh your memory on details which might come out in the radio interview.

I hope that the enclosed item from Lem Graves' column can somehow be worked into the broadcast. Also the attitude of Congressman Andrews, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, and Senator Gurney's amazing statement that we would have to prove that jimcrow is detrimental to the U.S.

For any interested persons in the radio audience it would help for you to mention the Committee's address over the air, since there is no telephone listing. The number above is Grant's home phone.

Re-commital of the bill to Andrews' committee is still a pertinent demand, in view of the terrific pressure going on from the Legion and Justice Roberts' "National Security Committee" for an immediate vote on the measure. I'm writing now to some congressmen about sponsoring our amendments if by chance the bill reaches the floor.

According to today's papers (Sunday) the Legion's head said in Boston that "only one vote is necessary in the House Rules Committee to bring the UMT legislation to the floor."

There are now 230 Negro leaders on this Committee (over 100 more than when we first issued our publicity.)

Charles Patterson, executive secretary, has returned to Antioch College, as you know.

I'm sending Miss Dettinger at WQXR some of our material so that she may look it over in advance. I have already made a note to thank her and Mrs. Sanger, WQXR program director, in writing after the broadcast.

Grant says that it would be convenient for him to come to your office about 4:15 on Tuesday if that hour is o.k. with you. I could make it then also, and Bayard is due back in town Tuesday.

Our picture with Martin appeared in the Washington edition of the Courier. I imagine that the U.P. photographer sent it out over the wires, but the N.Y. Times did not use the picture taken by its photographer.

Hastily,

Randolph to Air UMT Discussion

A. Philip Randolph, national treasurer of the Committee Against Jim Crow in Military Service and Training, will discuss the campaign against enactment of a jim-crow universal military training bill Wednesday morning, Feb. 25, at 11:05, on a half-hour broadcast of WQXR, radio station of the New York Times.

Mr. Randolph will be interviewed by Miss Alma Dettinger on the "Other People's Business" program.

Com against Jim Crow

telephones: DUnkirk 8-5174
MAdison 6-7484
NOrmandie 3-3782

mail address: c/o National Labor Service
Room 12
2511 Wilshire Blvd.
Los Angeles 5, California

May 6th - Friday

Dear Phil,

By registered mail to Ted McNeal I've already sent your round-trip, Chicago to Los Angeles, first-class ticket, roomette reservation and extra fare ticket on the Chief. I enclosed a reply card so that I'd know in plenty of time whether or not everything reached you o.k.

Am in process of making your and Grant's reservations at Clark Hotel. Grant says he'll arrive on Tuesday, May 24, via American Airlines.

It may be necessary to schedule that press conference early Wednesday afternoon and to have the party that same evening, with the hearing the next day. Some persons here are wary of our getting too close to Memorial Day weekend. They say it might be fatal to getting people to come out. I'll plan to have you met at Union Station at 8:30 A.M. Wednesday, PST. But in all likelihood, unless I'm jammed, I'll send you in Chicago an advance schedule of all events when everything is definite.

I would strongly suggest that you see the film, "Home of the Brave", to be released May 12. Everyone will automatically be asking all of us if we've seen it since it's very definitely down our alley. The other night I was invited, along with other organizational representatives, to see a preview in Hollywood, and without exception all who saw it thought it excellent and powerful. The star, Jimmy Edwards, was present -- says he knows you well. Played in "Deep Are the Roots". I may ask him to testify at hearing.

Incidentally, in the pamphlet, following the note about the artists, you may have noticed on the proof that we invited inquiries about reproductions of the painting (without saying that such reproductions would be available). It is a way of determining how much interest there is and if it would be worthwhile, from standpoint of profit or just breaking even, to have reproductions made. In addition, we'll build up a file of good names since the persons who would want reproductions would probably be really interested and would be potential contributors. I've been meaning to mention this to you.

I gave Lynn your itinerary and told her to rush you pamphlets the minute they come off the press. The delays have been incredible.

Sincerely,

Bill Worthy

Alexandria
HOTEL
FIFTH AT SPRING, LOS ANGELES 13, CALIFORNIA
500 MODERN ROOMS • MASQUE ROOM • CONTINENTAL RESTAURANT • COFFEE SHOP • POMPEIAN BAR

Corr
against
Sen Cain

Tuesday nite - May 31st

Dear Phil,

I trust that the enclosed carbon of a letter to Helen Douglas' secretary is self-explanatory. It occurred to me over the weekend that we were forgetting about corrolary House action. I hope both she and Rep. Javits attend the hearing Sunday so that you and Grant can speak with them.

Since Arthur Garfield Hays will be giving up a weekend with his family (grandchildren, if I recall correctly), I hope you'll remember to praise his good works extensively Sunday. I know he appreciates signs of gratitude. To Lynn I passed along the idea of a tri-partite press conference -- he, Grant and you-- preferably 48 hours before the hearing. It would be a new twist for the press. Could center around the Congressional fight and the relationship of the hearing thereto.

I meant to apologize before you left town for keeping you and Brother White waiting so long outside the radio station. He was so upset at the time I thought the least said the better, but I really felt badly about it. I hope the quality of the people who attended the Rogers' party made up for it. It was just one of those things: he kept me there going over lists of names, and then the traveling time was longer than even Kemp and White, who are familiar with the city, anticipated. Along that whole general line, tho, I do want to reform and become punctual.

One of these days, after having closely observed over a period of weeks the complete faith of Garran, White and other Brotherhood members in your ideas and opinions, I want to ascertain from you how you've managed, in McPherson's words, to be so right practically all the time. It must be a terrific moral responsibility when so many others are looking to you for guidance year after year, and I'd like to know the path to that objectivity, aside from the obvious essentiality of removing self from consideration.

Am feeling better but haven't adhered strictly to Dr. Cooley's free prescription (in additon to the $9.99 prescribed medicines) to drop all work until my stomach clears up completely.

Regards,

Bill

Will ask Bill Rogers tomorrow
to write Baldwin + Finerty
Today Loren Miller agreed to write,
and he will get A.L. Wirin,
local ACLU attorney,
to do likewise.

Phil

Com
against
Swomley

MEMORANDUM

TO: JOHN SWOMLEY

FROM: BILL WORTHY

On Friday, July 23 I met with you, Bayard Rustin and A. J., and together we went over my admittedly incompleted financial report as of July 10, 1948 - incomplete from the standpoint of a report by a certified public accountant but not from the standpoint of any missing records, supporting evidence and checks or other pertinent data. The contributions which were listed on two consecutive sheets totaled $1170.55 including $65.00 which I had lent the Committee for the purchase of buttons in May.

The total of the checks drawn through July 10 (namely, through check number 19, dated June 30, 1948) was $1115.31. I believe that I stated at the time that our bank balance was in the vicinity of $50.00 to $60.00, depending on the amount of our bank service changes.

In the heat of the discussion you did some quick figuring and came up with $195.00 which you labeled as the amount that we should have on hand. I realize now that I should have immediately checked your incorrect arithmetic but was frankly too disturbed by the charges and insinuations that were flying thick and fast to be alert to the repercussions of that erroneous claim.

I have now checked back over the figures and find that the amount in the bank at that time was $55.24 minus a small amount for bank charges.

In his three-page memorandum, A. J. accepted your figure of "missing funds" without investigation on his own part and I have learned from Jim Peck and others that the story is circulating about financial irregularities. It seems to me obvious that most people who work in causes have only their reputations and aptitudes as resources, and anything which damages the former may well block the opportunity to apply the latter. Naturally, I strongly resent this kind of story being spread when there is not an iota of evidence to back it up. Nothing is being told about the money that was advanced all during the year by me without any guarantee of repayment - an amount that still totals over $350.00. Instead the phony tale is going around that I denuded the Committee bank balance late in June for back salary in order to prevent any funds being available to Bayard Rustin for his League activity. I have told friends of the other charges about my motives and shall continue to say that I do not regard the persons making the charges as qualified experts into the discernment of motives. I particularly dislike the absurd claim that I do not favor the technique of civil disobedience.

I believe it is incumbent upon you as the originator of the $195.00 figure to circulate the truth with as much vigor as the erroneous story has to date been cirulated. All of the financial records and documents are available for inspection by you again.

Com
against
Jimcrow

Friday night -- 3/26

Phil:

All sorts of things in the past couple of days -- family, CORE, calls and visits from Negro reporters wanting full data on the Truman conference -- have kept me from completing your and Grang's testimony.

I thought I'd better drop you this note to reassure you that I was working on it. By sometime tomorrow I should have a draft typed and will mail it out promptly. Since sometimes air mail and special delivery services are not 100% reliable, I shall send a copy not only to Omaha but also to the Brotherhood office in Chicago, marked PERSONAL. Miss Alves says you are leaving Omaha on Monday, so it's conceivable the letter might not reach you there.

We got terrific publicity in the People's Voice -- bold front-page headline, with a lengthy story. The PV reporter, Allan Henderson, who got his story over the long-distance phone from Washington just in time for their Monday deadline, says he may come down for the hearing.

The Amsterdam and Age also gave us front-page headlines.

I expect to take a sleeper to Washington Tuesday night, to save all possible time since I'm so far behind. Anything at the last minute that might come up can reach me in care of Al Black, 1650 Gales Street, N.E., Washington 2, D.C. - LUdlow 1731.

I'll see you in the Senate Office Bldg.

Hastily,

Bill

Com
against
[illegible]

Bill Worthy

12/8 - Wednesday

Phil:

I'm going down to Washington for several days to clinch arrangements for the Commission hearing on January 8 and the social affair at AVC Clubhouse on January 7 (Friday evening). I should have gone a week or two ago, but I've been very busy with preparations for the trade union reception next Wednesday and the personal appeal letters, etc.

Would you consider the advisability of a press conference by you and Grant next Wednesday afternoon? I believe it would be good timing for a declarative statement by you on the prospect for civil rights legislation in the next Congress and the strategy you feel should be followed in obtaining it. The press conference wouldn't have to be limited to Army jim crow but could touch on FEPC, etc. There will be several white and Negro reporters at the union reception, but the hour will be late for the morning papers.

Maida has an item to tell you about your current unpopularity with one Antonini over the issue of the Italian colonies. Very revealing about the mentality of white liberals.

Ted Schapiro, Bill Becker, Howard Mann, Bill Kaufman and Bernie Rifkin feel that all of us should get together for supper about 6:30 on Wednesday and decide just what we are going to ask the group at the reception to do: help on our legislative program in Washington, help on Harold Stevens' bill on the N.Y. National Guard, etc. Would you be able to dine with us? The reception itself is at 8:30 at Max Sherover's apartment, as you know.

Incidentally, Joseph Schlossberg told me today that he will serve as "chairman" for the evening, to introduce you and Grant for your remarks, etc.

The draft of the reply for A.J. is just about finished. About the only chance I had to work on it was in Boston at Thanksgiving.

Had a good talk with Lester Granger on which I'll report to you. For one thing he had disturbing reports about Humphrey from an editor friend in Minnesota.

W

I can be reached thru Maceo Hubbard in Washington - ADams 2091 or REpublic 8200, ext. 683 -- or thru Lynn Seiter Kirk - STerling 5447 or REpublic 1078. To avoid the expense of another trip down before Christmas, I'd rather stay long enough to get things really moving. That is, four or five days, if necessary.

Com
against
Jim crow

November 22nd - Monday night

Dear Phil,

After I got your air mail special last night, I confirmed the January 8th date with the YMCA executive secretary and am now writing to Dr. Paul Cook, the key AVC person, to clinch the January 7th (Friday evening) date for the use of their clubhouse. (By "confirm" and "clinch" I merely mean eliminating the following weekend, which was our alternative, and also the original weekend in December.) Everything is now set.

Ida Fox suggested that if you or Grant or both can reach Washington by that Friday afternoon, a press conference be arranged and also possibly a radio interview. If you can be present, not only Army jim crow but FEPC and other civil rights issues can be discussed with the press and on the air. I feel sure it could easily be arranged, what with the new session of Congress.

Incidentally, I read in the Christian Science Monitor last week that Senator-elect Humphrey is telling intimate friends that he does not plan to push the civil rights plank of the Democrats, for which he is responsible, in the first session of the 81st Congress. This could mean, of course, that he merely plans to abide by the custom that freshmen senators are to be seen and not heard, but the Monitor article tied it up with the prospect that the Democratic leadership may hold off floor consideration of civil rights legislation until late in the session. Perhaps Humphrey needs a pep talk from a few persons such as yourself.

C. L. Dellums sent $10, plus a long list of friends for us to write to. Probably over 30 names.

On the phone today I told Grant that I thought it might be worthwhile, as well as newsworthy, for you and him to try to see Tom Clark while you're in Washington that weekend to ask him to have the Justice Dept. and administration officially endorse the amendments to the draft bill which we'll be pushing - federal protection against mob violence for men in uniform; a ban on discrimination in public facilities and interstate transportation for men in uniform; and perhaps a special ban, to apply to Washington (which could be the long-awaited entering wedge there against segregation), giving Negro servicemen practically a Bill of Rights while in the nation's capital. Grant agreed it would be a good idea, and I said I'd plan to talk it over with my cousin Maceo Hubbard. He might be able to arrange the time at our convenience, and Clark might invite him and other attorneys in the Civil Rights Section to join the conference. Maceo is no Uncle Tom --- he went in there to do a job and I know the shortage of personnel and inadequate laws have irked him greatly -- and last year I relied on him for a good bit of advice on the Washington scene.

Will keep you informed. Have already re-written Hastie about January 8th.

Sincerely,

Bill

Dryden

GR. 5-4207 (home)
UN. 4-2670

November 25th

Dear Phil,

Just a note on something I mentioned on the phone today to Mac. I was telling ~~him~~ that it occurred to me that a book by you on race relations would be very welcome by publishers and would serve a real need. He said that for over a year in your spare time you have been working on just that, with a 25-year plan. Mac felt that since I've worked with you on such things as FEPC, WDL, conscription, etc., and have written a number of releases and statements for you, I might be able to give you a hand on certain chapters in the prospective book, especially since your ffee time is very much limited.

Because a lot of persons believe that if Congress is not pressured into passing FEPC in '48, it will be many years before such legislation is enacted, I feel offhand that a book by you in the next few months, with a ringing demand for FEPC and other matters could become a real political factor in Washington and help to put both parties on the spot.

Mac suggested that I give you a ring at home sometime ~~late~~ on Thanksgiving and discuss the matter more fully with you. On the conscription issue -- Miss Alves asked me to give her a ring on Friday to ascertain if Bayard Rustin, Grant Reynolds and I may have an appointment with you.

Hastily,

B. W

Bill Worthy

Com Against
Jim Crow

4/25

Dear Phil,

This has been an extremely crowded week, and I'm very sorry to be so late with this statement.

I am enclosing ~~two~~ a self-addressed envelope in both the original letter going to Houston and the carbon going to San Antonio. Will you rush the draft back to me, with any corrections or revisions? I shall probably leave New York sometime Sunday morning, and will be working at John Swomley's office in Washington once I arrive there. I can cut the stencils and do the mimeographing there.

If you feel it best to phone me, you have my two New York numbers: home: SPring 7-6346; office: UNiversity 4-2670.

In Washington, the NCAC office number is DIstrict 8010. I may be staying with my cousin Maceo Hubbard at ADams 2091 or with Dr. John Kenney at ADams 5823. Al Black is another person ~~who~~ through whom I may be reached in Washington -- LUdlow 1731.

It's my honest belief that the civil disobedience idea has caught on, and now it is up to us to organize the sentiment. As I mentioned in the wire, fellows are coming into youf office asking for quantities of buttons after the Amsterdam-News announced that they would soon be available. George Houser said, just before he left town for 2½ weeks, that he felt a strategy meeting of trusted whites and Negroes -- perhaps no more than a dozen -- should be held very shortly after your return. If you'd like to set a date & hour now, I'll see that notices go out.

Congratulatory mail is still coming in, and I'm trying to answer those letters which require a reply.

Regards,

Bill

If the draft is O.K., you might just wire me in Washington.

Feb. 22nd - Wed.

Dear Phil:

Com
again
Tue
noon

It makes me feel good to be able to start paying you and the League for Mutual Aid back, even on a small slow scale. Enclosed is a check for $5.00. I hope to step up the amount.

I dictated to May Herbert (Martin Gerber's secretary who does the volunteer work for us) letters of thanks, in your name, to Reuther, Merrigan and Gerber (with a carbon to Emil Mazey). May sent those letters to you at your then-address en route. Would you let me know on the enclosed card if you got them all right and sent them out after signing them?

A fellow from the N.Y. Times Sunday Magazine called me the other day for some information. (Incidentally, your letter on the latest Army plan finally was printed by the Times on Feb. 15, with the two sentences mentioning Johnson deleted.) I took that opportunity to tell him that some time ago we had discussed a possible article by you for the Times Magazine. He said he'd be glad to present it to the editor whenever we submit it.

Will be writing Mc later today on checks. Last Friday Brownie, Mabel Durham Fuller and I saw Mrs. Ascoli (Rosenwald's sister). She promised a contribution and said it "would not be $25". .. Will also be writing you about Dave Niles.

Regards,

Bill

March 20th (Monday) - New York

Dear Phil,

On my return Friday from Philly I cleared a letter with Brownie and wrote to Judge Waring and his wife. Today, he phoned me. Was very apologetic about not being able to make the reception in Philly, at least in April. This is his last week in N.Y.; he speaks several places for the Urban League in the Mid-West and then heads back to what Brownie calls the lion's den.

He said that, aside from April, he is not ruling out any invitations from race relations organizations and he and Mrs. Waring (who always travels with him) may be available for the Independence Hall ceremony. He wants us to write him the details. He was very much interested when I said that we hoped to have Isaac Woodard in Philadelphia: he had been the judge at the trial where the cops who gouged out his eyes were acquitted by the jury. Said it was a terrible thing and he was powerless to do anything.

He kept talking for about 15 minutes: regards Southern liberals and Hodding Carter in particular as "our worst enemies". (He always used the term "we" and "our", apparently indicating a pretty complete self-identification with the causexand Negroes.) Thinks that 1950 is a critical year, and he wants to push as hard as he can. Believes the international angle should be pressed for all it's worth. Was very pleased we had extended the invite.

Now I'll be in Philly on Wednesday, which is the same day that Pearl Buck will be in New York, I find. I have my doubts that we can get her on fairly short notice for a Philly reception, tho I'll try to reach her in some way. In any event, on Wednesday I hope to be able to clear the luncheon date with the CIO and AFL, and Gene Jones has already agreed to have 20 or 25 civic leaders meet you that same evening at his house to discuss THE PARADE. In order that there won't be any confusion or mix-up on the date, I shall probably phone you from Philly sometime on Wednesday to confirm the date. Brownie said he thought the sooner we can have it the better, so that plans for the parade can really get going.

Incidentally, Brownie tomorrow in Washington will try to find out for me just when the FEPC bill will hit the Senate floor. He and I both tend to believe the report by Louis Lautier that Senator Lucas has promised Pepper not to bring the bill up until after the Florida primary early in May.

Com agreed [illegible]

Regards,

Bill

While disappointed about Waring and the reception I nevertheless think it would add considerably to the Independence Hall service if both Isaac Woodard and Waring were to speak and if Waring made a strong statement on the international angle.
Today's Bunche's secretary told me that Bunche will be back from Europe in several weeks and she thinks he'll be around these parts in May.

copy to Vincennes Hotel

B'nai B'rith Split On Negroes' Civil Rights, Southerners May Quit

N.Y. Daily Compass—3/20/50

DAILY COMPASS Washington Bureau

Washington, Mar. 19—Southern lodges may secede from the B'nai B'rith as result of a bitter squabble over the Jim Crow issue at the triennial national convention of the Jewish organization in session here, it was learned tonight.

Southerners, together with elements from northern industrial areas, are demanding that the B'nai B'rith's Anti-Defamation League confine itself to championing the rights of Jews alone, and that it quit advocating civil rights for Negroes.

The explosion was touched off by:

1. An invitation extended to Gov. Herman Talmadge of Georgia to be the honored guest and principal speaker at a joint meeting of Southwest Georgia B'nai B'rith lodges.

2. The current anti-Semitic outbreak at George Washington University here involving the B'nai B'rith's Hillel Student Foundation—a campus organization—arising from Hillel's stand against the exclusion of Negroes.

3. The recent burning of a cross on the lawn of the Hillel House at the University of Oklahoma, at Norman, by a Klan-like group, protesting Hillel's hospitality to student organizations of all races and political convictions.

4. The recent suspension of Hillel at Brooklyn College as a disciplinary action by college authorities, after the student organization had lent its support to a rally protesting the suspension of three members of the Karl Marx Society.

5. The fact that while B'nai B'rith is committed by its national program to a policy advocating civil rights, many local lodges and members are against implementation of this program.

6. Southern opposition to "embarrassing" B'nai B'rith publicity advocating civil rights.

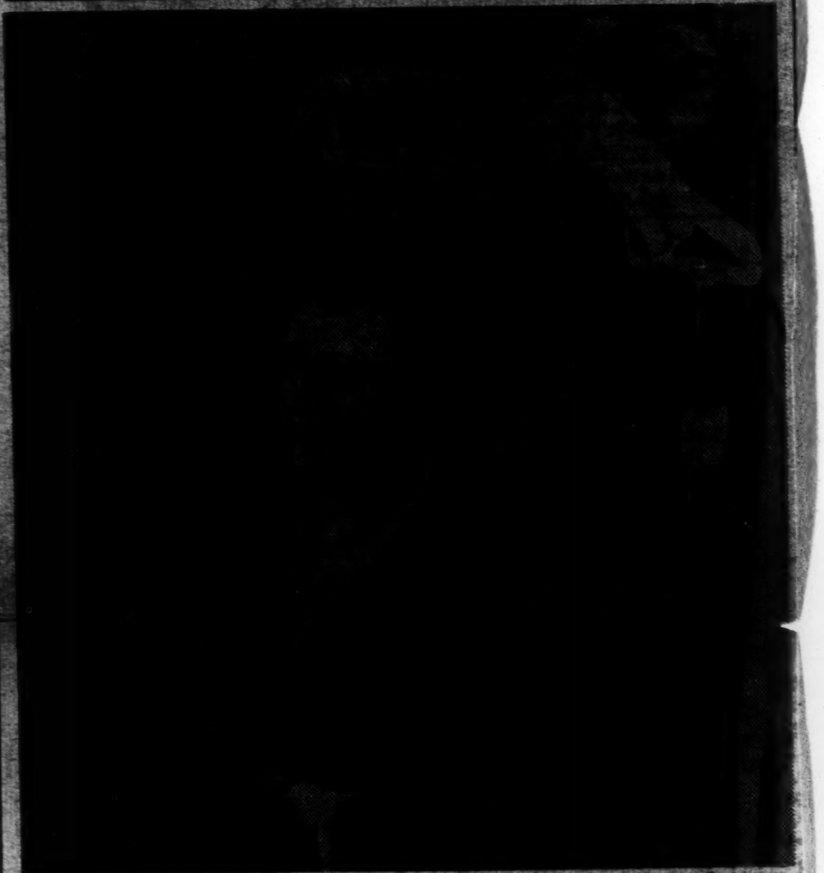
National President Frank Goldman has taken the view that the Southern lodges are expendable, while Anti-Defamation League headquarters staunchly defends the organization's liberal program.

However, the issue has been complicated by charges that B'nai B'rith follows a policy of appeasement and hush-hush treatment of anti-Semitism at high levels The recent whitewash of President Floyd H. Marvin of George Washington University, following reports of flagrant anti-Jewish threats by Marvin, is cited as a case in point.

In recent years, Mississippi lodges, with considerable sympathy and support from the South and from influential individual members elsewhere, have openly fought the Anti-Defamation League program. They have repeatedly tried to get through a resolution to terminate Anti-Defamation League activities in the South. There have been threats that if the Southern states are not cleaned of League representatives and "embarrassing" civil rights pamphlets, Southern lodges either will kick the League out or secede from the parent organization.

Sol Fass, National B'nai B'rith

(Continued on Page 25)



GRETCHEN HAS MUSIC when she goes to the hairdresser in Hamburg, Germany, thanks to Robert Mathies, who built radio speakers into his plexiglass hair dryer. The Hamburg inventor says the hood also has a "whirlwind" drying device by which hair is raised by suction and then dried by warm air. Associated Press Photo

B'nai B'rith

[illegible] the current George Washington University [illegible] significance.

[illegible] in Congress [illegible] funds from [illegible] University as [illegible] incident there. [illegible] to [illegible] the under- [illegible]

[illegible] the Jewish [illegible] Hillel di- [illegible]. The president threatened to ban Hillel from the campus, impose stricter quotas on Jewish students, and to have Glatstein fired by the B'nai B'rith.

Rep. Arthur G. Klein (D-Manhattan) heard about the affair, and in a scathing George Washington's birthday statement in the House, denounced Marvin. He said Marvin "conducted himself in a pattern reminiscent of the late and unlamented Herr Dr. Goebbels."

Hillel members and the entire university were then amazed to hear that Rabbi Arthur Lelyveld, national director of B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundations, had issued a statement in New York calling Klein's expose regrettable because there was "a spirit of amity" at George Washington University. They were further baffled when Rabbi Norman Gerstenfeld went on the radio to tell of his distress over the "unfair" attack on the "devoted president."

In the face of the repudiations, Rep. Klein issued a second statement saying, "I have been informed that several spokesmen for B'nai B'rith suggested I was in error in my charges of racial and religious bigotry on the part of President Marvin. . . . I am very much surprised at this attitude. The spokesmen are in possession of the same facts that prompted my original [illegible]

[illegible] of [illegible] in the Hillel House, 2129 F St. N.W., and invited Marvin. (Marvin didn't show up but sent Dr. H. H. Jarman, assistant to the president. Jarman also was involved in the Hillel affair.)

'37 Nobel Winner Dies

Birmingham, Eng., Mar. 19 (AP)—Sir Norman Haworth, 66, winner of the Nobel prize for chemistry in 1937, died last night. He took part in development of the atom bomb.

December 15th - Thursday

Phil:

At Gus Claessens' suggestion I'm getting off tonight a letter to Algernon Lee asking for some money from Camp Tamiment.

Also letters going to Louis Stulberg and Dave Sigman. I had an appointment with Stulberg this morning and he promised some money if we sent him a formal request. As for Sigman - who incidentally is one of the most enthusiastic about the Germany trip on which he'd represent National Labor Service — the letter asks him to buy some more booklets to distribute to central labor councils, etc.

Louis Nelson was disappointed, he told Grant, that the Johnson dinner was cancelled. He sad said he wanted to picket to get back into form! Said he'd be willing to picket Johnson with us at the next Cabinet meeting.

Grant said you'd like to have a meeting. Tuesday is impossible for him: he's driving to Philly and I may go with him to follow up on some money contacts that Gene Jones is anxious for me to see. But any other day is o.k. for Grant and for me.

Marshall Trust board meets on Tuesday — at last.

I'm told that Venice Spraggs, who, like the Defender as a whole, is close to the Administration and the Pentagon, is now writing that "National Grapevine" column. They fired Al Smith who used to write it under the pen name "Charlie Cherokee".

Finerty reminded me the other day that his Supreme Court case is off till February and that he'd still like to make the Germany trip "if you still want me".

Knowing you're bogged down with paper work after 2 months' absence, I'll try to avoid calling you for a while.

Fine work, Bill

Come around

[illegible]

Monday night -- 10/18

Phil:

So that you would have a chance to phone Buchanan before you leave town, I thought it would be good to get his letter off tonight. The carbon is enclosed. His phone at the Savoy is WAdsworth 6-0271.

I assume that you are not dictating acknowledgements to the contributors, since I wouldn't want to duplicate.

In addition to dictating the names & addresses of the 20-odd Brotherhood officials, you mentioned some time ago that Billy Bowe and Ashley Totten might supply you with a list of their friends & contacts. Also, that the Virgin Islands Assn. might contribute.

I'll bring it up Wednesday when I see you, but I presume that you'll want me to deposit checks in your absence, after Miss Alves has made a record of them, so that they can be clearing thru the bank.

I'll be going back to the Workmen's Circle, probably on Tuesday, to pick up the 750 envelopes they have addressed for us, and I'll speak to Will Stern about Baskin. If, however, you hear from Baskin about his signature on the letter, I'd appreciate a call. I would recommend that we spend several dollars to have a professional mimeographing job for the letter to the Workmen's Circle branches. I doubt that you and Baskin (?) would want to sign 750 letters, so the signatures should be expertly cut into the stencil.

Bill

Con Grand
Lemeron

Monday midnight -- 4/5

Dear Phil,

Got your letter and have talked it over with several persons. Everyone agrees about the desirability of the mass meetings, but the speed with which the Army is seeking to have Congress move on Selective Service and UMT makes it very doubtful that we have time to plan them.

The GI demonstration, for all the immense work tied up with it, seems to be more feasible. In fact, the Newark editor of the Afro, Obie McCallum, suggested just that to Grant tonight on the phone. He said that even those Negro papers that oppose the civil disobedience idea would almost certainly promote and endorse a march or demonstration. Grant agrees, and says it would be mainly a matter of timing it most effectively. Since I'm rushed at the moment, I'll discuss this further in a day or two in another letter.

Meanwhile, I'm going ahead on arrangements for the Commission of Inquiry. Although May 1 and 2nd are late in terms of the Congressional timetable -- at least in the Senate -- , I do not see how any earlier date would allow time for the complex and detailed work involved. I figure that a Saturday afternoon, Sunday morning, and early Sunday afternoon would be all the time that we could ask top-notch, busy persons to spend in Washington listening to testimony. If the memo I have written is ready by the time I mail this, I'll enclose a copy. I assume that you'll be back East by them, since you said you'd be gone for April.

I hope you talk up the GI march in your travels and keep track of names, addresses and phone numbers of interested persons. Local organizations ought to be able to finance travel expenses for at least one GI.

Will you mail back to me any of the "fan mail" that Miss Alves sent to you? I think that all of it ought to be filed, and that replies should go to any that require answers. More and more is pouring in every day, and your office has been swamped with phone calls of congratulations.

Even Julius Adams of the Amsterdam, who apparently is not synpathetic to the civil disobedience idea, told Grant that their poll of Negro sentiment shows a neck-and-neck line-up between those who would go along with you and those who wouldn't go that far.

I am trying to stimulate letters to senators in particular and also to congressmen, backing up you and Grant. Can you stress to audiences you address and to individuals the urgent necessity for a Niagra of mail?

As you might expect, Grant has been under heavy pressure from certain sources since Wednesday, but I must take my hat off to him for sticking by his guns. Eastland introduced a resolution in the Senate to have Dewey fire him.

Mac has suggested a secret strategy meeting of trusted Negro leaders on the day you return to Washington to testify before Andrews' Committee. (See the enclosed letter to Andrews asking an opportunity to testify.) I think that this would be excellent -- it would have psychological value in terms of letting the govt. know that we're going thru with the announced program without revealing our strategy and precise plans publicly. Is this o.k. with you?

I also like Totten's idea for "Don't Fight in a Jimcrow Army" buttons. I think

over

that we might even get rid of several hundred thousand, once our educational program gets into full swing. Naturally persons begin to have questions about civil disobedience once the initial thrilling effect of your testimony is over. ("Thrilling" is the word repeatedly used in the fan mail that has been coming in.) When I go to have lunch with Ted Brown tomorrow (Tuesday), I shall ascertain if they have heard from you about the button idea. Mac thought that Totten had wired or phoned you.

If in the next few weeks it looks as if we are really going to suffer defeat in both houses of Congress, would the possibility of a 10-minute, nationwide period of silent prayer by Brotherhood members, on trains, in stations, anywhere else -- would this be out of the question? I think that one more dramatic move by you would shake official Washington into a state of real panic. Everyone, for example, says that your testimony was beautifully timed, and Maida reports that persons are saying very warmly: "Randolph has put the Government on the spot once again." I feel that a period of prayer by 15,000 union members would be the kind of spiritual blow that no one -- Royall, Andrews or Morse -- could possibly answer. I'd like to hear from you on this.

Along with the fan mail, you might send me any clippings, especially editorials from Dixie papers.

Under separate cover you'll get the copies of your and Grant's testimony and the press releases. I forgot to bring back to NYC copies of Al Black's, and I seem to be out of the Gillem Report. If you can get hold of Army Talk No. 170, it contains the Gillem Report -- which by now, as you know, is a red flag to persons like Lem Graves and others who rub elbows constantly with Army double-talk. Only recently Lem said in his column that the Army had to be hard up to drag out the Gillem report.

Cordially,

Bill

Dear Phil,

The enclosures - photos, etc. - are self-explanatory.

When you mail those letters to NYC, I wonder if you'll mail me the enclosed postcard simultaneously. George Houser wants to have lunch with me next week -- a result of Lynn's having told him that I was disappointed that he never contacted any of us upon his return in the Fall from California -- and I'd like to be sure he has all these data before we meet. Unless he has a total blind spot when it comes to FOR personnel, I cannot see how he can keep from being surprised by all these factual citations. (But I've found that human beings are capable of some remarkable mental processes and rationalizations!)

Finerty epects that meeting to take place next Saturday (March 12th). On the phone yesterday he was very hopeful -- almost certain -- that the rest of the money would be forthcoming right after that meeting. Said that all that we and the Trust committee will have to do is to "arrive at a modus operandi".

Bernie Seaman showed me yesterday the rough drafts of his cartoons for the pamphlet and they are excellent. He'll have them finished by Tuesday, and Al Capp's introduction will be ready by Wednesday.

Hope you're enjoying Florida. I've envied you this week since for the first time, practically, this winter the house here has gotten cold in the evenings -- a reflection of the weather and of the fact that we've been spoiled this year.

Sincerely,

Bill

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

SUBJECT FILE

Committee To End "Jim Crow" in
The Armed Services
Legal Cases

1943-52
&
UNDATED

MOWM
Protest

make copy to send the press

Camp Van Dorn. Mississippi
June..... .1st. 1943.

To Whom it May Concern.
This is Not Onley a Letter Of Protest Against the Brutal Treatment Of Soldiers Of Color in The South. But it is Also A Plea. To the People Of America To Do That Which is in Their Power. To Put An End to Such Wholesale Desecration of the Constitution of the United States.

.. . .

Sunday Afternoon. May 30th. 1943. A Soldier.. A Member Of the. 364th. Infantry Reg iment (Colored). Now Stationed At Camp Van Dorn. Mississippi. Was Brutally Murdered At A Town. Called Centreville. Approximately Four Miles From Camp By A. Civilian Sherrff. A Resident of the Town. From the Sworn. Testimonies of Several eyewitnesses to the Crime. the Following information. Was Revealed. And is Being Published . For the Benefit of Those Who Might Be Inclined to Believe . The Articles Which are Published in the Behalf of the . Southern White Gentry.

It Was Learned that Five Colored Soldiers. While Making A Tour of the Town Of Centreville. Were Accosted by. Two Military Police. Who Ordered One of them to Button his. Shirt Sleeve. The Soldier informed the M.P. That The Button. Had BeCome Detached. and that He had Not Been Able to Replace It. Were Upon. The Two M.P.s Leaped From Their Car. Brandishing BlackJacks. And one ofThem Proceeded to Attacck the Soldier. Who had No Button on his Shirt Sleeve. The Remaining Soldiers. Persuaded the other M.P. to Let the Men Fight it out. And, Let the Best Man Win, But the M.P. Obviously Getting the Worse of the. Battle, Noticed the Sherriff of the Town. Mr. Knighten, Coming Up With His Two Deputies, And Called. MrKnighten, Shoot This , Nigger, The Soldier Then Straightened up , And Said, No. You, Wont Shoot me, Whereupon, Knighten Drew his Revolver, Saying, The Hell I Wont. and Firing Point. Blank at the Soldier. struck Him Fully in the Chest. the Sherff then Turened to. The M.P. and Asked. Any More Niggers You Wont Killed?, Meanwhile The Deputies Put ~~XX Sap Stick, but took the Other two to the.~~ twoof the Other Soldiers to Flight with well Aimed blows to the Head with a sap stick. but took the Other. Two to the Guard House.

Obviously, the unsavory reputation of the 364th. Infantry Rgiment. Has Preceded them to this station, Due. Mainly to the fack that this is the Same Regiment which . Figurd so Ponminenty in theThanksgiving Day Riot in of. Phoenix, Arizona, and it is also Quite obvious that the . Civillian Authorities of this Locale have Heard of this. So Called belligerent outfit, and have taken it uponthemselfes to whip them into submission, and to subjugate them as thy have Done other Negro outfites in the Past.

Of ACertainty,the war Department is cognizant of circumstances so Prevalent here in the south,Paarticularly in the case of the Negro troops stationed here.the Question uppermost in the minds of the members of this organization is, could the war Deparment be collaborating with the civilian authorities of the south in subjugating this regiment which has caused such a Disturbance in the past few months,by knowingly sending them to a place Where racial conflict is inevitable due to the stubborness of both Factors? ifsuch is the case,then we, the soldiers of color might just as well lay down our Arms,for the fight in which we are so willingly sacrificing our lives is already lost.

(-)

Leading [illegible] of the south are already branding this regiment as troublemakers and have even gone so far as to petition the war Department for a transfer of this regiment to a northern station due to the fack that we are responsible for fomenting race riots among the Negro troops, of race riots on our part is a gross misstatement.[illegible] and the white civilian in nearby Centreville. Such allegedly instigation. are given the same the opportunity to find [illegible] among our people and be accorded the sametreatment given other members of the armed force regardless of race, creed, or color.

Credit must be given toone Man in Particular. Colonel John F.Goodman Commanding Officer, 364th. infantry who Regardless ofpersonal safety, and thinking onley of the well being of his men. walked Calmly into the face of flying bullets fired from the guns of military Police sent to our Regimental area in order to Quell the disturbance created by our men when news of the wanton slaying of one oftheir men reached the camp and forced the M.P.s to cease firing on the defenseless men. through the daring and forethought of Colonel Goodman and several of his subordinates, only one soldier was injured and he not seriously.

it was Colonel Goodman, who took this regiment under his wing during the Phoenix thankgiveng. day disturbance, and guided them thrugh a maise of criticisms accuaations, and extremely low morale. to respectability in the eyes of the Phoenix residents. the memory of Colonel Goodman will be admired and cherished by every wember of the 364th. infantry long after the Present world conflick has become a thing of the past for before the very eyes of his superior officer and other officerss obviously ofthe south ordered a soldier. one extremely sun tanned.to remove his shart and undergarment and to ascend the platform on whichhe was standings andwithout further ado,put his armsaround the soldier and said ,my children for to me. you are my children color doesnt mean a dam to me and i love every one of you and with tears in his eyes he said I am not much of achristain but iwont each one of you to say the lords prayer along with me.

When the Prayer was ended the soldier on the Platform wept shamelessly at the sincerity of this man whom all have grown to love love and to trust and who would willingly follor him into the very bowels of hell if needs be As Colonel Goodman issued orders to the company Commanders to take Charge of their troops many a hardened solder came to attention as tears welled in his eyes which was in itself a great tribute and an acknowledgement of devotion and respect to aman thrugh his love and undstanding. of the Negro solder averted one of the most disasterous encounters between the negro soldier and the white mlitary poli

Police that was ever anticipated

Note Permission is hereby Granted to those concerned to include exclude or Alter in any way the contents of this letter which will serve to render it suitable for Publi

Private Irvin C WilKy
Service Company 364th Infantry
Camp Van Dorn Mississippi.

Mr. Reed this is a copy from the origional excuse the typing the man was not very good at it.

pass it on to some one ~~elss~~ else who might take interest.

this was sent by Irvin and he is hoping there will be some way of getting the support of civilian aid.

James Robinson
3410 Rhodes ave.

MOWM
Case of Discrimination

Committee on Racial Equality
1830 Sutter Street
San Francisco, California
November 24, 1944

Dear Friend,

We are sending you a condensed report of the Navy mutiny trial - a trial involving 50 negro seamen. These facts were obtained by Pauli Murray, a graduate law student, who interviewed witnesses, defense counsel, and interested bystanders during the closing days of the trial. Won't you review these facts carefully and if impressed with the implications, will you write letters to 1) President Franklin D. Roosevelt, 2) Secretary of Navy Ralph Forestal, 3) Senator Sheridan Downey, and 4) your Congressman requesting that the recommendation of the defense be upheld. The defense stated six of the men tried declared a willingness to go to work on August 11th; therefore, acquittal of these six is requested because they have been charged erroneously. Reduction of sentence is asked for the 44 others because the charges of mutiny and conspiracy were not justified.

We urge that all letters be written immediately. Finally, in order that our files may be complete, may we have a copy of letters sent by you?

Thank you for your cooperation and interest in these 50 seamen.

Sincerely yours,

Margaret Guthrie

Margaret Guthrie, Acting Chairman
Committee on Racial Equality

MJ:vb
Encl.

Copy
Sent by Com. on Racial Equality San Francisco, Cal.
Nov. 24, 1944

FACTS ON NAVY MUTINY TRIAL

The largest mass court martial in the United States wartime Naval history involving fifty Negro seamen charged with mutiny closed October 24, 1944 at Yerba Buena Island, California, before a seven man General Court martial board headed by Rear Admiral H.W. Osterhaus. The accused are charged with refusal to load ammunition on a South Pacific bound transport on August 9th and Aug. 11th at the naval ammunition magazine at Mare Island Naval Ammunition Depot.

The 33 day trial which began on September 14th and has amassed over a thousand pages of testimony given by seventeen witnesses for the Judge Advocate (the prosecution) and over fifty witnesses for the defense brought out many facts, a few of which are cited below for your careful consideration:

1. During the course of the trial the fifty accused seamen testified in their own behalf. They denied the charges of mutiny, conspiracy, and "concerted action with an intent to usurp, subvert, or override superior military authority."

2. Events leading up to the alleged mutiny date from the tragic explosion at Port Chicago, on July 17th in which 322 men were killed, the majority of whom were Negroes. The fifty seamen on trial were survivors of this explosion. Twelve of them had been hospitalized as a result of the explosion and several others given first aid treatment for shock, bruises and burns.

3. Chief Defense Counsel Lt. G. E. Voltmann in his summary told how the men were in a state of agitation and "genuine fear" after the explosion and unable to carry on their work with the efficiency they had shown before the tragedy.

4. All of the men were no doubt suffering from shock similar to shell shock. During the trial testimony came out that on two occasions veritable panic broke out in the quarters a) when a freight train passed and cars switched suddenly, and b) when a trunk was being dragged across the barracks and a bunk accidentally fell, the men made stampedes to the exits and the armed guards couldn't hold them. The shock of their experience, plus the failure to assign them somewhere other than the immediate scene of the explosion was probably too much for them.

5. As reported by Naval personnel, it is usually the policy of the Navy when men have been in an ammunition explosion or serious accident, to assign them to shore duty or a complete change of location and duties. Doctors testified at the trial these men should have had months of rest or certainly a change of location or scenery. None of the fifty seamen on trial were given survivors furlough or any kind of furlough after the Port Chicago tragedy.

6. About half of them were assigned to details after the Port Chicago explosion to clean up the debris. They had to pick up what was left of their comrades in baskets - an arm, a leg, a head, a torso.

7. The Negro personnel in this area are very wrought up about this trial and the possible conviction of these fifty men, and believe civilians must do everything they can do to expose the discrimination and prejudices

copy

in the 12th Naval District which has brought about this incident. They believe the main issues of the case were not brought out at the trial.

8. It appears that the 50 accused men were divided into groups of 10, and one counsel was appointed for each group. The Chief Defense Counsel was a Lt. G. R. Veltmann, and he seemed to give a pretty fair defense, but Navy men point out the highest rank of the defense counsel was only a Lt. and the Advocate General was a Lt. Commander; that no lower rank of officer has a chance against a higher officer in a trial of this sort. He only hurts his chances of getting ahead in the Navy if he tries to buck the higher ranking officer. Thus the boys were handicapped in the outset by their counsel's lower rank.

9. Despite their classifications for other kinds of skills these men had been placed on this monotonous assignment from 3 to 23 months--some of them had been there as long as 23 months. Until the time of their alleged "mutiny" their conduct records had been perfect. Yet the Advocate General, Lt. Comdr. James F. Coakley, in prosecuting them called them "insolent," "smart alecky," "cowardly," "without character," and many other epithets in his summary.

10. At the Oakland Naval Supply Depot, there are about 1302 Negro personnel, and only one Negro chief petty officer. No non-commissioned Negro officers. Some months ago when the Negro divisions were first assigned there, in the mess hall the men were ordered to eat in a segregated section. Their superior officers ordered them to take their food and sit in a certain section. They obeyed the order, took their food to the section, but refused to eat it. They just stood up. Finally a higher officer was called in and the rule was broken. They now work side by side with the white sailors, but the barracks are segregated, and I understand plans for a new recreation hall, still uncompleted call for separate washrooms.

11. Some 1200 to 1500 Negro sailors were used at the Port Chicago Ammunition Depot before the explosion. No white divisions were used. When the explosion occurred and divisions were depleted, they gathered up fragments of the old divisions and brought in new crews of inexperienced men to load with the men who had worked there for some time and were more experienced. The men were rushed in their work by their superior officers, and they felt it was unfair to mix them with inexperienced men who knew nothing about the handling of explosives. It gave none of them even a fifty-fifty chance for life as they felt they would have if they were under fire or overseas.

12. About 258 out of 328 men originally refused to load ammunition on August 6th. The Negro seamen want to know why 50 men were picked for court martial, and why the whole 258 were not picked. Some of the men say they were all lined up and officers went along indiscriminately asking here and there "Do you want to work"? There were men who said, "no", but were never court-martialed. It is believed that the white officers just got names indiscriminately.

13. The majority of the Negroes in the 12th Naval District are assigned to menial monotonous tasks, and particularly those at the Naval Supply Depot,--as freight handlers and laborers, regardless of their past experience and qualifications.

14. Of the 50 men court-martialed, one fellow was a 17 year old, 104 lb. "fly-weight", so small that his superior officer had assigned him to mess-duty, so "you can gain weight and get some experience." Yet when the "incident" occurred, he was asked if he wanted to load ammunition and he said he was afraid. He was court martialed. His name is John H. Dunn. Several other men were also assigned to mess duty, and were court martialed even though their general course of duties were not to load ammunition. Others of the accused were on the sick list and were relieved from duty at the time of the "incident". One man was suffering from a fractured wrist at the time and during the early days of the trial had his hand in a caste.

It should not be thought these men were cowards. Everybody who knows anything about the nature of their work, and the harrowing experience of the July 17th explosion, says they reacted as any man would under the circumstances.

It is understood the procedure of the Navy is as follows---
Conviction of guilty must first be approved by the Commandant of the 12th Naval District, Rear Admiral Carleton H. Wright; it then goes to Washington to the Secretary of Navy for review and approval. This procedure takes about a week to ten days or two weeks. If the death penalty is involved, it must be confirmed by the President. (Article 53).
All other sentences of general court-martial may be carried into execution on confirmation of the commander of the fleet or officer ordering the court.

The Secretary of the Navy may set aside the proceedings or remit or mitigate, in whole or in part, the sentence imposed by any naval court-martial (Article 54). And, the President can pardon or commute the sentences of these men.

The following excerpt is from the S.F.REPORTER written by Zola Bryant

"Waterfront unions had officially warned both the Navy and the Army prior to the Port Chicago disaster that if they continued to use inexperienced workers in the loading of munitions, an explosion was inevitable. This warning was disregarded."
"For months prior to the Port Chicago incident it was the common knowledge of experienced longshoremen and laborleaders that such a disaster was imminent. This feeling of apprehension grew out of their knowledge of the inefficiency, mismanagement,lack of safety measures in the handling of explosives and Navy's policy of discrimination and segregation of Negro sailors.

"These facts therefore lead us to believe that it was not cowardice, nor was there a conspiracy--insofar as the Negro sailors are concerned--as charged by the prosecutor. Rather the refusal was a result springing from the background of a group of people who have been denied not only full citizenship but even the slightest consideration for their lives as human beings; religious apprehension and superstition, so common to people forcibly kept ignorant, which gave rise to the belief that the ship they were loading was 'jinxed'; all of this intensified by the longstanding practice of discrimination by the Navy."

Statement of Albert Black
World War II Veteran
before the
Senate Armed Forces Committee
March 30, 1948

My name is Albert Black. I appear here today to present to the Committee some important facts pertaining to the Negro participants in any military training program. I speak as a veteran of World War II who experienced the humiliations and persecutions of racial discrimination within the ranks of the United States Army.

On June 1, 1947, the President's Commission on Universal Military Training recommended a plan for peacetime conscription which provides for the segregation of Negroes Although paying lip-service to racial equality by recommending that there be no discrimination, this Commission nevertheless outlines a plan in which the segregation of troops is clearly accepted. The compulsory military training bill, H.R. 4278, designed to implement the Commission's report, would, if adopted, fasten jimcrow on American youth at their most impressionable age. This bill now before Congress does not even mention racial discrimination.

Under this plan every boy would have to spend six months in a jimcrow UMT camp. At the end of this time he could "choose" to enter the Regular Army, where there is segregation, or a college ROTC unit, most of which discriminate, or the National Guard or the Reserve Component of the Army. In regard to the National Guard, the appendix of the Commission's report says: "Regulations concerning enlistment of Negroes and formation of Negro units are determined by local authorities of the state, since the primary responsibility of organizing these units rests on the states by law." According to an inquiry made by the War Department of the adjutants general of all states, most of them do not plan to have Negro units in the National Guard. Of those that do, all but three require segregation by regulation. The Commission further states that the Air National Guard will follow "Army Air Forces policy in respect to Negro units. No mixed units will be established".

Aside from the humiliation to young Negroes involved in this segregated program, there would be additional handicaps. A large percentage of Negroes cannot afford to attend college. With the National Guard completely clsed to them in at least twenty-two states, most Negroes would be forced into the jimcrow Regular Army or would have to remain an additional six months in jimcrow UMT camps.

The Negro refuses to accept any more promises of equal treatment because Section 4-A of the Selective Service and Training Act of 1940 forbade racial discrimination. Yet the clause was willfully violated by the Army as a matter of policy and the violators were upheld by the courts.

It has been stated that the question of non-segregation in UMT was not a problem for the Army to decide since the Army will not control the program. Yet it must be noted that in the War Department's experimental UMT camp at Fort Knox, Kentucky, costing the Government $3,900,000, no Negroes were included among the 600 trainees. The unit has been widely advertised as the "model" for a nation-wide UMT program. A clergyman member of the Fort Knox Advisory Committee in a NEW YORK POST dispatch of April 16, 1947, regretted it, but said that "the South might oppose UMT if Negroes were included". Brig. Gen. John M. Devine, in charge of the camp, indicated that in such a small unit it would not be practical to bring in enough Negroes to form a separate platoon. In other words, Negroes wouad definitely be segregated into special units if Congress pass UMT.

One of the principal benefits claimed by not only the Commission but by the Secretary of the Army Royall is that UMT would "contribute to the development of national unity" and alse "build spiritual good within the young trainees" by "bringing together young men from all parts of the country to share a common experience, Under the present UMT plan, segregation of trainees would be the greatest obstacle in establishing harmonious relations among groups. It has been proven that where artificial barriers which divide people and groups from one another are broken, tension and conflict begin to be replaced by cooperative effort and an environment in which democracy can thrive.

The Gillem Board, during the course of its five-month study, recommended that one out of every ten enlisted men will be a Negro, yet there will still be the continuation of segregation, but more diversified in both combat and non-combat arms and services. The Gillem Report also states that the troops should know the Army's official point of view on questions of race. I ask the question as to why of all the various racial groups that make up America, Negro, Mongolian and Caucasian, the Negro is the only group that must be segregated unto itself. Even though there will be no all-Negro divisions such as the 92nd and 93rd Infantry, there will be Negro companies, troops, batteries, squadrons, battalions and regiments. The largest all-Negro unit will be a regiment, group or combat team.

The Army says it is not an instrument of social reform. Yet it is its duty to teach American ideals. In its off-post relationships with civilian communities the Army recognized local laws and customs with regard to race and does not attempt to influence them. Yet UMT boys who would have grown up in communities where racial segregation is not practiced would be forced to accept the jimcrow pattern which woul prevail under the proposed UMT program.

The Army states in its "Army Talk # 170" pamphlet, "In its off-post relationship with civilian communities, it recognizes local laws and customs with respect to race and does not attempt to influence them". Here again, under UMT as in World War II, the Negro trainee in uniform will have absolutely no protection from southern mobs, police and jimcrow customs in intra- and interstate travel. Here again Negro youth, especially from northern cities where they had never experienced a second class status in citizenship, would innocently become victims of the prejudices that exist in the South regarding Negroes.

For many white boys this would mean learning to regard segregation as the normal way of life; for the Negro it would mean permanently, as in World War II, the degrading experience of being treated as an inferior citizen by a government which conscripts him in the name of democracy.

The propaganda printed in "Army Talk #170" in regard to "Negro Manpower in the Army", that the most successful employment of Negro units occurred when they were employed as units closely associated with white units on similar tasks, and a greater degree of success was obtained when small Negro organizations were so employed. This inference that Negroes prove themselves more effective soldiers when segregated into small units is not the truth. Any Negro veteran of World War II admittedly recognized the fact that the enforced separation of the two races stamped the colored race with a badge of inferiority.

In view of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments of the Constitution, Justice Harlan in a vigorous and forthright dissenting opinion in the Plessy vs. Ferguson case in 1896 said: "We boast of the freedom enjoyed by our people above all other peoples. But it is difficult to reconcile that boast with a state of the law which practically puts the brand of servitude and degradation upon a large class of our fellow citizens, our equals before the law. The thin disguise of "equal" accommodations will not mislead anyone or atone for the wrong this day done."

As a veteran of World War II, I speak the sentiments of many Negroes in that while serving in the Army, I often became confused because of the fight I was asked to wage against strangers for what I was told was freedom, yet experience concrete discrimination in the form of segregation from the United States Army itself.

Today the War Department is asking that our Negro youth be conscripted either under a draft or under UMT in the United States' cold war against Russian totalitarianism. With the memories of the humiliations suffered in World War II, I ask the War Department why it is continuing to be biased, distant and neglectful towards 15,000,000 American citizens whose loyalty is unquestioned. The Negro soldier is loyal. He shed his blood on foreign battle fronts; yet our government refuses to allow Negroes to participate fully and equally in any military program.

It was a known fact that the Nazi philosophy was a symbol of race hatred while the United States stood as the counter-symbol of Nazi philosophy. It was also known to be true that several of the Allies were not democracies and that racist practices had been prevalent within colonial empires as well as within the southern borders of the United States. If, even in the post-war era of World War II when we are making plans for another war and the President's Commission on UMT recommends segregation and the Army continues to practice it, then our country is advocating the same master-race notion. Even though we stamped the Nazi hordes in the dust, the Nazis will have achieved an ideological victory!

I wish to state my experiences while an enlisted man in the United States Signal Corps in my efforts to attend Officer Candidate School. After fulfilling all the qualifications necessary to be eligible there was absolutely no encouragement on the part of the Army itself. I raised the issue with Inspector General, Lt. Col. Clark of Fort Monmouth, Jew Jersey, and requested an investigation on the following counts: (1) Why colored troops were discouraged from entering OCS; (2) Why Army Regulations were carelessly disregarded in reference to the proper procedure in forwarding OCS applications.

I wish to quote statements from the various enlisted men to illustrate the degrading results of Army segregation which was the basic reason why they were not permitted to attend OCS.

"Inasmuch as there is need for an immediate investigation concerning the "run around" qualified enlisted men get in regards to OCS and warrant officer ratings, I think it is extremely important that you see completely why the moreale of the men is extremely low, low to the point that it would be dangerous for these outfits to go overseas under the conditions that now exist.....Inasmuch as the War Department has launched a hard-hitting attack against discrimination in its Orientation Fact Sheet #70 and issued on May 5, 1945, (this manual has not been seen in the Fort Dix area as yet) I feel that the condition at Fort Dix warrants an investigation. What happens to me or the others who are protesting against these injustices isn't the most important thing. What is, is the morale and attitude of approximately 800 Negro soldiers who are members of these battalions and who are looking to see the type of justice that will be handed down as a result of the investigation that we hope and pray w you will make as soon as it is humanly possible."

"Papers were held up several times at Battalion Headquarters over 48 hours, a thing which is contrary to Army Regulations which state that they should be forwarded to higher headquarters or returned to the enlisted man concerned, stating why they were returned.....In view of the above facts and from what I know from personal experience I feel that I have been a victim of that old thing that has been the curse of my race from the beginning of time, racial discrimination. This has greatly reduced my morale. I came into the Army full of enthusiasm to help stamp out things which were contrary to our way of living. One of the main ideals of Nazism and Fascism is the superiority of the so-called master race. Yet I, who am supposed to be fighting that very thing, am being subjected to that very thing, the superiority of the white race. It is quite evident to anyone who has been reading the papers of the shortage of competent Negro officers; yet men, well qualified, are being held back doing jobs that are in no way utilizing them to the greatest extent; in fact, in some cases, their skills aren't halfway being used. I have reached the point that I don't care one way or the other. I am beginning to ask myself if this is the right of life I am fighting for, or am I being a sucker? Since I have been on this post only two men have left from here to go to OCS. More than six time that many are qualified to go. Why? That's what I am interested in finding out."

"The job given me as a classification clerk gave me a chance to handle the personal records of the men in the battalion. Sometimes this also included the records of the officers. Naturally I became acquainted with the abilities and the limitations of these men. I have worked on the records of over two thousand men and at the same time I had a good chance to get an intimate first-hand picture of workings of the Battalion Officers......Here are some of the conclusions that I have drawn substantiated by facts if need be presented: (1) Negroes of the Signal Corps units are not encouraged to become leaders or officers. (2) There is not a bond of friendship between officers and enlisted men strong enough to keep them from having a lack of unity that is detrimental to overseas work. (3) A large number of our officers lack interracial training necessary to make the psychological adjustment necessary to get along harmoniously with Negro troops. (4) There is a definite need for more orientation for our officers if they are to go overseas with these Signal Units. As the men at this time do not have the necessary faith in the leaders representing them, it is suggested that definite modifications and some rigid investigation be made in interest of these men, remembering that they, too, will constitute the "Democracy" of tomorrow."

"QUALIFICATIONS: Bachelor of Science Degree, major Physics, minor Mathematics (Howard University). Additional work ESMWT ¾ year. Instructor Physics ASTP, Howard University, 4-Jun 43-3 Mar 44. National Bureau of Standards Junior Physicist, 3 Marh44-13 Jul 44. (Wiring of electronic circuits Navy Ordance Bureau on Radar. Released to Department of Physics, Howard University). Instructor Physics ASTRP, Howard University 13 Jul 44-Sep 44 (Induction). Have built amplifiers, oscillators and repaired radios.

"The above qualifications indicate eligibility for transfer for technical training in more than one of the specialties listed in above-mentioned memorandum. It is believed by the undersigned that the listing under Remarks "White only", would be in error, for many Negro soldiers would be eligible and need training in those specialties. With a war being waged to rid the world of Race Superiority, a way in which the Negro gives freely of his blood, life and hope, "White Only" would be synonymous with the Nazi ideas.

"Upon induction, the undersigned's hopes were high, and he was looking forward to serving the country of his birth with the best of his abilities, without thought of the future which was planned, and his ambition soared at the idea of becoming an integral part of the United States Army, War Department. After seven months in the Army, his abilities with meager opportunities have finally carried him to the heights of mail orderly, company of less than two hundred men. He would appreciate an equal opportunity to serve the army, the country, and himself in the most efficient way. This memorandum offers him that chance, except for the "White Only".....

"Hq ASF, AGO, Washington 25, D.C. 15 May 45---The transfer of Pvt. [redacted] n 33910124, Negro, is not favorably considered. There is no assignment where the services of the enlisted man can be utilized."

Attempted Suicides

(1) Was charge of Quarters Friday June 29 at Dispensary N. Took an overdose of sleeping tablets plus putting G.I. soap under arm pits. Was found in a semi-conscious state about 10 p.m. by Pvt. G____. L_____ was immediately taken to Tilton General Hospital where he remained in same state until Saturday. Upon regaining full consciousness stated that "He would rather die than be a member of the 83rd. He did not like the outfit because they were not interested in training the men. They (83rd were just interested in going overseas. L_____ attempted suicide again Sunday July 1 while at Tilton General again by an overdose of sleeping tablets. Had to be revived. Now confined Psychopathic Ward Tilton General Hospital.

(2) "Said private was given extra duty Sunday July 1 because of some infraction of rules. Extra duty was to consist of digging a large trench underneath the mess hall. He first had to mop mess hall. Digging this trench was an uncomfortable job as water was dripping on him. The heat was intense--99 degrees.

"He dug the trench Sunday and part of Monday. This climaxed a series of injustices Pvt. C_____ felt had been heaped upon him and felt that he would rather "end it all" in preference to taking any more punishment. (1) Pvt. C_____ felt he was assigned to more than his share of work details. (2) Does not like the officers. (3) Felt in many occasions that he has been mistreated. C_____ drank a bottle of gentian violet (antiseptic marked poison on outside) dye that is applied to the feet for the prevention of Athlet's Foot. C_____ feels that he would rather die than return to the 83rd. Blames Army as cause of all trouble plus officers attitude toward Negroes".

These, Gentlemen, are the expressions from American citizens who were conscripted in the name of Democracy.

I eventually reached Fort Benning Infantry Officer Candidate School where I found the only democracy in the U.S. Army. Here men train, eat and sleep together regardless of race or creed, and are known by name and number. In other words, when the Army ordered men from all sections of the country, regardless of race, to train together, there was absolutely no friction. I give you this illustration, gentlemen, as proof that the Army can train men together if it wants to.

While at Fort Benning, it was common occurrance for Negroes to be beaten up and shot by the local police of Columbus, Georgia. The local M.P.'s were often guilty of being unusually rough on Negro enlisted men. The recreation centers on the post were barred to me. I was forced to ride in the back of the bus. It must be noted that the main post theater did not jimcrow Negroes. In 1947, with the war for Democracy's preservation over, Maj. Gen. O'Daniel planned to initiate a policy to keep Negroes out of this same theater. He invited the Negro chaplains in to inform them of this policy, and the chaplains refused to go along with him on this issue.

Another illustration of the Commanding General's attitude was in this same summer of 1947, that a pregnant officer's wife was restricted in the use of the post hospital's facilities.

The assignment of Negro soldiers to Fort Benning and other southern camps is one of the traditions of the Army. The Army, seemingly wise in the ways of Negroes, hold firmly that Negroes like the South, they are happiest there, thrive there, that the climate is good for them, even for those born in NewnEngland and in the Middle West. So in the face of the Gillem Board Report, surprisingly enlightened for an Army utterance, Negro troops are kept there.

Negroes already know their problems and even the most illiterate know how they would like to be treated--this without formal knowledge of a Constitution which secur (it says) certain rights to even Negroes as human beings.

To sum up this whole issue, whether the Army or the Generals like it or not, Negro soldiers do not like the South; do not like Georgia; do not like to serve on a post as viciously segregated as exists in the typical southern camp. Nor do they like to have preganat Negro mothers refused the use of the Army hospita; they do not like the signs which set apart white and colored on an Army post.

Bluntly, they do not like jimcros. And if they feel that the word of the nation as reflected in the dictatorial policies of General O'Daniel is not worth the salt in a loaf of bread, they are right.

Segregation would certainly not inculcate ideals in support of democracy. "Young men from our cities and industrial centers would live together with those from farm, forest and plain. Sectional prejudices and misunderstandings would be replaced by the spirit of tolerance and mutual respect". So says the former Secretary of War Patterson. Yet under the present plan of UMT prejudice would increase, not decrease.

It is acknowledged that democracy does not exist in Russia. Russia claims in its propaganda drives through battle-scarred Europe that its form of government is more democratic and progressive than ours. Yet we know that is not true. Russia does not claim to have civil rights, freedom of speech, freedom of the press and freedom of assembly to the extent that the United States does. But to the people of Europe who are looking for leadership, is it not more shocking to them to see a democracy such as the United States, segregated in a part of its manpower on the basis of race.

The only way to fight the spread of Communism or any other form of totalitarianism is with democracy. The Marshall Plan with its billions of dollars and military training program to support it, will not effectively counteract Communish in Europe if the United States does not show the people of Europe how democracy works and how it gives all people, regardless of race or creed, a better and more full life.

The only way to develop a program which will challenge the expansion of Communism throughout the world is to correct the flaws in our democratic structures. This can be our country's method of coping with the so-called advantages of Communism.

The demonstration of deeds, the elimination of segregation in the UMT program can cope with the hunger which the people of Europe have for a more meaningful existence.

If the Army is sincere in its statements published throughout the world to its troops on January 16 of this year in that:

"1. Racial and religious prejudices result in egnorance and insecurity.

"2. Prejudices are un-Christian, un-American and dangerous to democracy.

"3. Prejudices mean disunity and endanger world peace."

then there must be a change in its policy

Chief of Staff, Omar Bradley, stated in a speech on January 18, 1948, in New York that "we cannot induce men to become soldiers if in the process, they are divested of their dignity and human rights. We cannot permit the pampered exercise of perogatives by some men to the discomfiture and humiliation of others".

"Unfortunately, the ugly manifestations of discrimination and social prejudice sometimes cause us to emulate totalitarian governments in the curtailment of liberties to our minority groups. There is too often a tragic disparity between what we practice and what we preach.

"It is essential that if the American people are to set a standard of moral behavior for the nation states of the world, they must begin at home with full accord for the human rights of all their peoples."

On February 5, 1948, Secretary Royall of the Army announced that he had ordered the Army General Staff to reconsider the Army's traditional policy of segregation of white and Negro troops. Yet on February 8, in a letter to Governor Driscoll of New Jersey, regarding the utilization of Negro manpower in the militia of New Jersey, Secretary Royall said "In accordance with a report of competent and experienced officers, the War Department on 27 April 1946, issued regulations which, among other thing required (subject to certain exceptions) that when Negroes are employed in Army units below the battalion, they will be organized into separate units".

This type of double talk is a direct insult to 15,600,000 Negro Americans. It means that the War Department is continuing to perpetuate prejudice and racial discrimination.

If UMT passes in its present form on a segregated basis, it will make it more difficult and illogical for any other administration, regardless of stated intentions, to lecture to the state, county and municipal governments and private industry about abolishing segregation.

With the armed services tremendously expanded by universal military training or conscription, segregation will be stamped in numerous places throughout the country where there is none now. Colored and white youths who have lived side by side, gone to the same schools, will be snatched apart and dragooned into separate "racial" units to serve wherever the Stars and Stripes waves and America dominates.

President Truman instructed the Army, through Secretary of Defense Forrestal, "to take steps to have the remaining instances of discrimination in the Armed Services eliminated as rapidly as possible. The Negro is asking, can the Army's blatant disobedience be a hint that our President, having publicly announced that he is against discrimination, will not fight to eliminate it within the ranks of the Army?

Why is it that our President, while demanding the passage of UMT, speaks out for civil rights for all people, yet has not demanded his Congressional leaders to wholeheartedly back amendments to the UMT bill prohibiting segregation and discrimination?

The democracy-starved people, not only in the United States but throughout the world, are looking to our Congress to push legislation which will tell the Negroes that America finally recognizes them as full-fledged citizens whose right to work, to vote, to train, to live outside the shadow of a noose will be guaranteed by the United States Government.

Is it healthy, Gentlemen, for us as a nation to have under any military program one-tenth of our Army broken in spirit, resentful at the heaping up of injustice, and denial even of rudimentary opportunity to serve our nation on an equal basis?

After the completion of World War II, I and 15,000,000 American citizens are continuing to fight to give freely of our abilities and skills without having the door of opportunity slammed tight in our faces when we ask for rights entitled us under the Constitution.

The mobilization of our nation's is youth should afford a timely occasion for the exercise of the democratic theory of opportunity for all.

If Germany, which was the leading exponent of fascism in preaching and practice of racial hatred as one of its basic postulates, can forego its racial bigotry for the sake of national security in time of war, what excuse can the U.S. Army have for ignoring the Negro?

Seemingly, while our armed forces prepare to fight, the Negro is being forced to fight to prepare! Of all the shabby dealings of the Army, none is more shameful or undefensible than its refusal to give Negroes who represent one-tenth of the population a fair deal under UMT and Selective Service.

We are living today in a sorely distorted world. Grave and complex are the dangers which, we understand by our Generals, threaten us. Our safety and well-being depend upon the morale of all the diverse elements which make up our national population.

The Negro in the last war willingly gave his life for the protection of these same men who are fighting to perpetuate segregation within the Armed forces. The Negro is the most loyal of American citizens. He remains patient under trying circumstances. These desirable attributes are just a few of many reasons why he should be allowed to participate fully and equally in any training program.

10 East 138th Street
New York 35, N.Y.
Apt. 8 G.
23 September 1950

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
217 West 125th Street
New York 27, N.Y.

Dear Mr Randolph:

Kindly advise me again, as you have always done in the past, the best procedural method to follow in trying to force the accomplishment of a fair and impartial administration of the National Policy of Fair Employment Practices, as promulgated in the Government Service by the President of the United States. Last January 24th, I sent you a personal letter of thanks for previous advice and favors and inclosed in that letter for your personal files a hand-written copy of a memorandum dated 27 December 1949, subject "Statement of Personnel Policy for Civilian Employees in the Department of Defense" signed by the Commanding General of Fort Monmouth, N.J., of which my place of employment, the Signal Corps Engineering Laboratories, is an integral part. This memorandum, a copy of which is again inclosed, lists ten principles for the "guidance and conduct of human relations in the Department of Defense".

2. I need not tell you now how numerous have been and still are the violations of these ten principles by persons (Branch Chiefs, Section Chiefs, and other supervisory staff) who, by precedence, are the administrators of this policy, and who are apparently determined to keep the Negro in a relatively inferior status, regardless of any policy stated from above. First, if the aggrieved employee follows the rules laid down and files a grievance brief with the grievance committee, that employee exposes himself during the period of investigation to retalliatory measures which, I assure you, are most effective in removing such a person for being "too smart". Second, when an investigation is made, a relatively minor official is sent to investigate the practices of a supervisor who holds a much higher

position on the Civilian side, and usually in the Department of Defense where the Military are involved, an officer of lieutenant grade is sent to investigate a colonel or a general, as was proven in 1943-44 when Mr G. James Fleming fought my case in Philadelphia to a successful conclusion. Third, if and when a hearing is scheduled, the adjudicators appointed are usually briefed in advance on the questions to be asked and the decision to be rendered and, as you know, that decision, with the exception of very rare cases, is always adverse to the aggrieved person. How can we win?

3. You are well aware of the tactfulness, subtleness, subterfuge, or any other means of circumvention that is generally used by supervisory staffs to cover their deeds. A Negro employee who finds himself at the mercy of such a supervisor just must simply grunt and bear or step out. The following are examples of how difficult

it is to produce what is considered tangible proof in cases of discrimination.

a. I have a friend, also a Negro Radio Engineer (Mr W. M. Williams of Red Bank, N.J.) employed in the Production and Maintenance Engineering Division of the Signal Corps Engineering Labs, and he is presently experiencing some retalliatory treatment because he summoned courage enough to complain to a comparatively high official about certain discriminatory practices. This engineer, whose present job has been analized and assigned a certain grade by a regular Civil Service job analyst (and Mr Williams presently has photostat copies of his job description sheet to prove this), has been working at a grade lower than that assigned on his job description sheet for over two years now. As soon as Mr Williams complained about this treatment, while other engineers (white) with lesser tenure and lesser preference rights (Williams has veteran rights because he served throughout the last war as a first lieutenant in the Organization with which I also worked in Philadelphia and against which I filed charges of discrimination during 1943-1944) were promoted, he was then marked for retalliatory measures. Just three weeks ago, he was given a scheduled two-week vacation and upon his return, found his telephone removed from his desk and the desk pushed into another location (probably a corner). Since it is the prerogative of a supervisor to make "changes", please inform me, if you can, how Negroes in positions such as Williams' and mine will be able to challenge discriminatory practices of this sort.

b. Last July 24, the Section Chief of my group requested a transfer from the Section to become effective two weeks later (August 11, 1950). During this two-week period, that same Section Chief took a vacation and I, being the next senior engineer within the Section both from the point of grade and service, was assumed to be the logical one to succeed the Chief. For this vacant position, the Branch Chief did not see fit to make an immediate appointment but told me to act as Section Chief until final arrangements could be made. (I learned afterwards that it was the Director of this Laboratory, Squier Signal Laboratory, of which I am an employee, who made the recommendation, and this was probably done because they are in possession of the record of my previous fight with Colonel Parker in Philadelphia on a charge of discrimination which in many respects resembles this). At the close of business on 4 August 1950, I went on a scheduled two-week vacation and returned on the 21st to find things generally the same. However, there were little whisperings (these I shall relate to you when I see you in person) which gave me the feeling that a method was being devised to circumvent me and give the vacant position to some one else. On August 30 at approximately 10:00 AM, the whole Section (I am the only Negro in that group) was requested the Branch Chief did not see fit to make an immediate appointment but told me to act as Section Chief until final arrangements could be made. (I learned afterwards that it was the Director of this Laboratory, Squier Signal Laboratory, of which I am an employee, who made the recommendation, and this was probably done because they are in possession of the record of my previous fight with Colonel Parker in Philadelphia on a charge of discrimination which in many respects resembles this). At the close of business on 4 August 1950, I went on a scheduled two-week vacation and returned on the 21st to find things generally the same. However, there were little whisperings (these I shall relate to you when I see you in person) which gave me the feeling that a method was being devised to circumvent me and give the vacant position to some one else. On August 30 at approximately 10:00 AM, the whole Section (I am the only Negro in that group) was requested to appear in the Branch Chief's office and were told by him in well-chosen words that the former Section Chief's leaving had given him (the Branch Chief) an opportunity to bring about "changes" which he had long contemplated. Thus a new Section Chief (*white*) for my group was appointed from another group and given supposed-to-be "additional duties". Since I am not a mind reader and cannot dispute the Branch Chief's contention that he had long contemplated these "changes", how am I to prove that I was discriminated against? I have, listed in diary form, certain day-to-day events which might tend to prove that subterfuges are being practiced, but the kind of proof required by the adjudicators in a grievance committee are hard to get, let alone to produce.

4. For myself, I can say without fear or hesitation that I have walked the chalk line, and if they (the supervisors) would

admit, they would say that I am as good or better than their kind in equivalent positions. The grade GS-12 (one similar to the position which I have just been denied) is one that the Civil Service Commission has given me a rating in and has placed my name on the certified list. All of the attendant circumstances for my promotion, namely: (1), my certification by the Civil Service Commission for any position of similar grade and description as a result of an examination; (2), my position within the Section as the senior Engineer; and (3), my position as the senior Engineer-in-Grade in the Section, were so highly in my favor that I am certain no other reason than my complexion can be found for my being denied the promotion. It also follows that in refusing to place me over whites, I must be content to remain in the position which I now hold.

5. During this discussion, I have tried

to point out to you the discrepancies that exist or can exist between the promulgation of a policy and the actual application of it. When the letter of such a Policy is not openly violated, the spirit usually is and, therefore, the intended results of this Policy are negated. Is there any way in which men like Williams and myself can submit complaints through you and the other original leaders (who in 1941 demanded of the late F. D. R and got the first declaration of the promulgation of a Fair Employment Practice Policy from him) so that you could work from the top down and not expose us to undue retaliatory acts. As in my case of 1943-44, I find that the Administration will be less likely to oppose any fair investigation that is demanded by our outstanding leaders than by any single individual. In fact my experience during my nine years in Civil Service, has shown me that the administrating officials readily rectify their wrong-doing when ordered from above to do so, and sometimes are glad to amend their ways hastily in order to prevent the revelation of greater evils that any such investigation might reveal.

6. I shall be only too glad to stop in any Saturday on which you have a little available time and discuss the matter with you. In the meantime I am inclosing herewith my leave record and three efficiency reports, two (in duplicate) covering the same period (one rated a VG for the period 11 July '48 to 11 January '49 and the other, rated an "E", which is official for the period from 31 July '48 to 31 January '49) and the other for the period 31 January '49 to 31 January '50. The two attached by clip are just to show the continual effort being made by some white supervisors to degrade negroes. Had I accepted the "VG" rating without complaint, my

efficiency rating from then on would not be any higher. You already know the story, that I indicated my desire to fight it and so was given another rating with an "E" one year later to cover the same period. The other efficiency rating covering the period from 31 January '49 to 31 January '50 is included for no other purpose than to show that I have met all of the qualifications for the promotion that has recently been denied me. My leave record speaks for itself and will also tend to show that white persons with less dependability are given preference when promotion is being considered. I venture to say that no other person in our whole Branch equals my attendance record, a quality which apparently warrants no recognition from supervisors of this sort.

7. My reason for appealing to you for advice is because I know you as

a leader, an outstanding one (from my personal knowledge of you during the times that I served under you on the working committee of the March on Washington Committee), fearless, and non political. I might add that I would not interpose any objection to your sending a copy of my letter or excerpts from it to the President or his Secretary of Defense to whom he has delagted the task of enforcing the policy which he has promulgated. I fully realize that some persons must die so that others may live, and I am willing to sacrafice mself if you and other leaders support me.

8. Thanking you for any advice that you are able to give or any appointment you may make for me to come to your office and discuss the matter with you, I am

Incls: 1 cy of Memo on Personnel Policy in Dept of Defense
1 cy of Leave Record
4 cys of Efficiency Ratings

Sincerely yours,
Hugh D. McDonald

P.S. (See sheets 13 and 14)

Postscript

1. There are many more Negroes, employed within these Laboratories, who are being discriminated against either in the denial of due promotion or degrading of efficiency ratings, but are fearful of complaining because of the retaliation to which they would be subjected. The Signal Corps Engineering Laboratories are comprised of Coles Signal Laboratory located about a mile and a half from Red Bank, Evans Signal Signal Laboratory located at Belmar, and Squier Signal Laboratory located right at the Fort itself. The Production and Maintenance Engineering Division in which Mr. Williams works is part of the laboratories, and is located at the fort just across the street from me. I was able to mention Mr Williams' case because he gave me specific permission to do so.

2. The chain of Command is as follows:

a. Major General F. H. Lanahan, Commanding General of the whole Fort including the soldiers and the Signal Corps Engineering Laboratories.

b. Brigadier General H. Rickelderfer, Head of all of the Laboratories.

c. Lt. Col W. Young, Director of Squier Signal Laboratory of which I am an employee.

d. Coles and Evans Signal Laboratories have a Lt. Col each as Director of each respectively.

3. It was to Major General Lanahan whom Williams appealed and got no redress but rather retalliation from his (Gen. Lanahan's) subordinates instead.

4. It must also be remembered that the present Secretary of Defense is an old Army General (Marshall) who is more likely to uphold his subordinate generals and, therefore, any appeals to him must cite the Policy that has been promulgated by his Commander-in-Chief and clearly imply that you, the leader (or leaders) are ready to go back to the President to get more specific terms of the inforcement of this Policy.

5. In view of the lack of a Fair Employment Practice Committee, to cover private industry as well as Government Agencies, it would be well to ask the President to declare that non-discriminatory clauses be written into the Government contracts that are being let and about to be let in this rearming process. Please remember that billions of dollars are being spent and will continue to be spent for the next few years and if the Negro is not protected, he

[redacted]

(I mean the President, or [illegible]

could do so under provision 10 of the Statement of Personnel Policy for Civilian Employees in the Department of Defense. This provision gives me the right to choose a representative of my own selection to assist me in presenting a grievance.

FMPD 232

Inclosure

27 December 1949.

Subject: Statement of Personnel Policy for Civilian Employees in the Department of Defense.

The following principles will guide the conduct of human relations in the Department of Defense.

1) There shall be no discrimination because of race, sex, color, religion, national origin, lawful political affiliation or physical handicap.

2) Employees shall be placed in jobs for which they are best fitted and shall be given opportunities for advancement.

3) Training necessary to insure improved job performance and individual development shall be provided.

4) Appraisal of work performance shall be made fairly and objectively on a continuing basis and such appraisal shall be discussed with employee.

5) Within whatever compensation schedule is applicable, employees shall receive equal pay for work of equal difficulty and responsibility.

6) Working conditions shall be made as safe and healthful as possible.

7) Employees shall be informed insofar as possible of plans and policies affecting them and their work.

8) Employees shall be encouraged to express themselves concerning improvement of work method and working conditions.

9) Employees shall have the right without interference, coercion, restraint, or reprisal, to join or refrain from joining any lawful employee organization.

10) Any employee having a grievance shall be accorded a fair and prompt discussion with the supervisor, right to appeal. In presenting a grievance an employee shall be free from interference, restraint or reprisal and may designate a representative of his own choice to assist him.

10 East 138th Street
New York 35, N.Y.
Apt. 8G
8 October, 1950.

Mr A. Philip Randolph
217 West 125th Street
New York 27, N.Y.

Dear Mr Randolph:

On 23 September 1950, I wrote you a letter which I asked my brother to deliver either to you or your Secretary, since I am away from the city during the week days from Monday to Friday inclusive After hearing from my brother that he had delivered the letter not to your Secretary but to another clerk, I tried to ascertain whether or not your Secretary did receive this letter and, in doing so, called your office by telephone the following Saturday but received no answer. I then drew the conclusion that your office is not open on Saturdays, and based on this deduction I wish to advise you that I am now commuting to Fort Monmouth daily by automobile and can be available for any discussion with you any evening after 8:00 P.M. My wife has subsequently learned from your Secretary that the letter was received and forwarded to you immediately.

In connection with developments at the Squier Signal Laboratory where I work, I have learned since the time of my letter that the newly appointed Section Chief with his "additional duties" has received confirmation from the administrative office of his grade as a GS-13. By so doing, the Branch Chief is quite cleverly building up a defense that a reorganization has taken place since the former Section Chief left, and his position in my group was that having the Civil Service classification of a GS-12. The latter is the position to which until now I have been denied the promotion. Since there is a generally accepted principle within the working rules of the Federal Civil Service that any official holding a top grade must have under him other employees with grades that are graduated downwards, I have a feeling that within the very near future, somebody is going to be appointed to the position of a GS-12 which is presently open due to the above described subterfuge. In fact, I would not be surprized if the other engineer (white), who is junior to me in both length of service and grade in my section, were appointed to fill this vacant position which may be classified as "Assistant to the Section Chief".

I relate these incidents to you only to show the kind of patience a Negro must possess in order to endure this sort of treatment and not lose his temper. The inequalities in my case have been so glaring that someone in hierarchy must have suggested a mode of appeasement and this is the form such appeasement took: About three weeks ago, my desk, which for two years had been in a certain location in my office, was moved and placed beside the Secretary's, and two other desks belonging to two other white girls were placed opposite mine and the Secretary's. The desk of the other engineer (white) in my office was placed in the location where mine used to be. All these changes were made on a Saturday when the office staff was away, and until today no one knows who gave the order for the changes. Such a display is evidently twofold in purpose, namely, to bamboozle the officials from Washington, D.C. who visit here from time to time and secondly, to flatter me by giving me a white secretary and placing two other white girls in front of me. Oh! How I wish I could present my case in the boldest of language to the Director (Lt Col Wm Young) of this Laboratory in person — but I dare not do so until I get your support for fear of retalliatory measures that are certain to be exacted against me. Just last Monday, Mr Williams called me by telephone on the job to say that there are indications in his office that an attempt is being made to re analyze his job with a view to down-grading the position. This is assumed to be one of the retalliatory acts for his appeal to the General for the correction of the alleged grievance.

Thanking you for an early reply, I am

Sincerely yours,

Hugh D. McDonald

October 30, 1950

Mr. Eugene McDonald
10 East 138 Street
New York City

Dear Mr. McDonald:

I am returning papers concerning your case to you for your use, and I would like to suggest that you take it up with the NAACP, since I don't have the machinery or the time to handle matters of this sort. The NAACP has as its main purpose dealing with questions such as yours.

Our Committee Against Jim-Crow in Military Service and Training is now inactive because of the inability to finance the payment of a secretary.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR:RB

mc

December 26, 1951

138

Mr. H. D. McDonald
10 East ~~46~~ Street
New York 37, N. Y.

Dear Mr. McDonald:

Just a word to thank you for your letter of December 22nd informing me of your fight to break down racial discrimination in the Department of Army concerning practices that are being carried out against qualified civilian employes within this Department. I note your comment on the fact that the Department is largely staffed from the top down with Southerners who manifest their prejudices at every turn against anyone of color.

I am glad to know that you are waging this fight for civil rights. If there is anything I can do to cooperate with you at this time, I will be glad to.

Sincerely yours,

APR:ha

A. Philip Randolph
International President

10 E. 138th St.
Apt 8 G
New York 37 N.Y.
22 Dec. 51

Dear Mr Randolph,

Just a few lines to inform you that at the present time I am involved in another word battle with the Department of the Army concerning discriminatory practices that are being carried on against qualified civilian employees within this Department. This Branch of the Defense Dept is staffed from the top down with men (Southerners) who are inherently prejudiced and, as a clique, have bonded together either openly or under cover to deny competent Negroes their just benefits. Sometimes I become very discouraged at results obtained when I appeal to higher authority but I am continuing to fight on. I suppose I have to continue carrying on the fight in accordance with your advice of a few years ago when I served with you on the March on Washington Committee. In my opinion the time is ripe for another such Committee.

Please accept my kindest regards and best personal wishes for a Happy Holiday season.

H D McDonald

[illegible]

10 East 138th Street
Apt 8 G
New York 37, N.Y.
4 January 1952

Mr A. Philip Randolph
217 West 125th Street
New York 27, N.Y.

Dear Mr Randolph:

Please accept my sincere thanks for your most encouraging and timely letter dated 26 December 1951. You cannot imagine the boost of morale your missive imparted to me at a time when my spirit was rather low from the rebuffs received from the higher echelons of supervisory staffs in answer to my complaints of acts of discrimination that have been practiced against me and other qualified Negro civilian employees of this Post (Signal Corps Engineering Laboratories, Fort Monmouth, N. J.).

My last conference with you was early in 1951 and at that time you recommended that I ask the NAACP to press the case for us. Not only did I comply with that advice but I went a little farther by submitting the complaint to the Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr. since he had made so many speeches during his election campaign in favor of Civil Rights and Anti-Discrimination. Under the pretext of Congressional courtesy, he forwarded my letter to the Hon. Clayton Powell for

Mc [illegible]

10 East 138th Street
Apt 8 G
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4 January 1952

Mr A. Philip Randolph
217 West 125th Street
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My last conference with you was early in 1951 and at that time you recommended that I ask the NAACP to press the case for us. Not only did I comply with that advice but I went a little farther by submitting the complaint to the Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr. since he had made so many speeches during his election campaign in favor of Civil Rights and Anti-Discrimination. Under the pretext of Congressional courtesy, he forwarded my letter to the Hon. Clayton Powell for that gentleman to take action in my behalf because I am a resident of the latter's Congressional District. Immediately after this I observed actions of my supervisors toward me, that strongly indicated that the contents of my letter were conveyed (perhaps by telephone) to certain supervisory personnel at my station.

In the meantime, Congressman Clayton Powell promptly forwarded my letter (previously addressed to Congressman Roosevelt Jr) and its inclosures to the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission (Ramspeck of Georgia) who in turn forwarded them to Mr A.H. Onthank, the Fair Employment Officer for the Department of the Army. This action produced a number of private conferences between my supervisors and me at their request, and resulted in a series of promises made to me and subsequent reassurances of my promotion given me during the intervening months ~~between~~ 12 June 1951 and until about two months ago. On my part, I have been waiting patiently for this promised promotion in order to remove any possible counter charge by my supervisors that I have been impatient.

Recently, however, this waiting period has revealed to me that carefully designed plans were concocted by my supervisors not only to withdraw this promised promotion but also to retalliate against me for seeking outside aid, and these schemes were well timed to be applied at the departure of Congressman Powell for Europe. He is still there and at the present time I am being pushed around in the usual tactful manner with no one to complain to during the Congressman's absence. This, therefore, explains the tremendous boost in morale that your very encouraging letter imparted to me upon its receipt.

Re the NAACP action on this complaint, Mr Clarence Mitchell of the Washington Research Bureau did request a private conference with the Commanding General of Fort Monmouth and the request was refused. I have not been advised if any other steps have been taken or are planned by the NAACP.

As soon as I am able to prepare a short concise description of the events that have occurred since I first filed my complaint with the Congressman, I shall forward it to you via registered mail and solicit your advice as to the step I should take next. Your counsel has been most helpful to me since I became a Federal Government employee in 1942.

Please accept my kindest regards, best wishes, and sincere thanks.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh D. McDonald.

Mc

January 23, 1952

Mr. Hugh D. McDonald
10 East 138th Street
New York 37, New York

Dear Mr. McDonald:

Just a word to thank you for your letter of January 17, 1952 with other material bearing on your case. May I say that I mailed the letter you addressed to Congressman Powell.

Now, I want to congratulate you on your determination to see your fight through because when you fight for your rights you are fighting for the right of all Negroes. However, because of a lack of time, I will not be able to undertake the task of assisting you in the fight. I just do not have the time to go through the necessary detail.

I would suggest that you utilize both Congressman Powell and Congressman Dawson in your fight. I am confident you will win.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR:bw

10 East 138th Street, Apt 8G
New York 37, New York
January 17, 1952

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
217 West 125th Street,
New York 27, New York

Dear Mr. Randolph:

Reference is made to my letter dated 4 January 1952 in reply to yours dated 26 December 1951, in which I indicated that I would furnish you at a later date with a summary of the fight that I have been waging for the past eighteen months to have the Defense Department, and particularly the Establishment (Fort Monmouth, N.J) of which I am a civilian employee modify its stand and treat qualified Negro Civil Service employees as equals by giving them positions of responsibility. In that letter I also indicated the actions I had taken to date and the rebuffs I had received at the hands of both the local and the Washington officials.

I am inclosing herewith a letter that I had prepared to forward to the Hon. Adam Clayton Powell but did not send because the Congressman was abroad. Also, your letter of 26 December 1951 reached me just after I had received some confidential information that Congressman Powell is in disfavor with the present Washington Administration and it might be better for me to address my letter to Congressman Dawson of Chicago, Ill. This letter and its inclosures will give you an idea of what persons of my color have to withstand at the hands of prejudiced supervisory personnel.

The actions which I had taken prior to the events related in the inclosed letter to Congressman Powell may be summarized as follows:

1. I first approached my immediate supervisors on the subject of promotion by relating that I had been doing the work in a manner that had earned for me excellent efficiency ratings,, beside I was at that time and still am on the Civil Service eligible list for the grade, G.S.12, that I was and still am seeking. In this approach I was rebuffed and not offered the slightest encouragement of receiving a promotion then or ever.

2. I then forwarded my letter to Congressman Roosevelt and inclosed my personal copies of Civil Service documents to substantiate my complaint. In this letter I stated that the requirement for persons of my color to have at least four times the qualification of persons of other races in order to obtain one-fourth as much compensation did not seem compatible with the intent of the merit system (Civil Service Rules) and the purpose of Executive Order 9980. I further petitioned this Congressman in the light of his campaign utterances to take the necessary action to ameliorate this abominable condition. This letter and its inclosures are now in the suspense files of Mr. Onthank, the Fair Employment Officer of the Department of the Army.

3. The action taken by Congressman Roosevelt was that related

in my recent letter to you and explains the entry of Congressman Powell into the case and his subsequent actions to date.

Since my bold action has apparently aroused the ire of one or more of the supervisory echelon, and it appears that designs are afoot not only to deprive me of the promised promotion by artifice or subterfuge but also to retalliate against me (as is seen from one of the photostat inclosures to Congressman Powell's letter) in the near future, I am asking you to enter this fight in my behalf. The inclosed letter to Congressman Powell has been signed and can be forwarded directly to him by you. If, however, other avenues of approach are considered more propitious for producing successful results, any action taken by you will receive my heartiest approval.

It may be of interest to you to learn that one of the Negro Engineers, (a Mr. D. Gill) whom I had named in my original complaint as being subjected to similar discriminatory tactics has been promoted. This fact together with my recent reassignment are two of the factors which have convinced me that I have been marked for retalliation whenever that can be conveniently accomplished.

Please accept my kindest regards, best wishes and sincere thanks.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh D. McDonald

Hugh D. McDonald

P.S. During the Xmas holidays, I had the pleasure of entertaining one of my friends of high school days from Chicago and he is at present a County Committee man in Congressman Dawson's District. This person promised to ask Congressman Dawson to intercede in my behalf but as yet I haven't any information on the action the Congressman has taken, if any. Since my observation of the daily actions of my supervisors toward me convinces me more and more that some sort of retalliatory action is planned against me, I do not want to wait until it is too late to do anything about it. Should you desire to discuss the case before making any move, I am available all day on Saturdays and can be be reached at Audubon 6-3023.

HMcD

C O P Y

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

May 22, 1951

Mr. Hugh D. McDonald
10 East 138th Street
Apartment 6 G
New York 35, New York

Dear Mr. McDonald:

The Hon. Joseph Pinckney, Member of the State Assembly of New York, has written to me in your behalf, enclosing your letter and papers.

Members of the House are required to abide by a congressional rule of courtesy not to handle matters for constituents residing outside their own congressional districts. Since you are a resident of Congressman Adam Powell's district, I have sent your letter and papers to him for attention. He will, I am sure, do everything he possibly can to help you.

I also advised Congressman Powell that I would be glad to assist in your behalf, if he needed further assistance.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

/s/ Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr.

FDR,Jr:vm

This is a copy of Congressman Roosevelt's reply to my letter that was forwarded to him through one of his District Leaders, Assemblyman Joseph Pinckney.

C O P Y

Jan 15-1952

Granville D. Wallace 5233 Indiana Ave. Chicago, Ill.

Hello Hugh-

I suppose that you are quite anxious awaiting a reply. But I had to wait because I wanted to do it for you.

I had an half-hour Conference yesterday with the Congressman. He went over everything word for word. Put all the papers in his pocket and said he will have to take care of it from his Washington Office. He is expecting to return this week.

Love to wife and the rest.

Yours
Granville.

10 East 138th Street
Apt 8 G
New York 37, N.Y.
17 January 1952.

Dear Mr Randolph,

This morning I asked my wife to send to you via registered mail a letter and inclosures regarding my fight with the Department of the Army concerning discriminatory practices against Negroes and this evening I received a letter (inclosed) from my friend in Chicago stating the action he has taken. This is the friend mentioned in the post-script to my letter to you.

Inasmuch as Congressman Dawson has been known to have more favorable ties with the Washington Administration, I am inclined to believe that a letter from you to him in my behalf may suffice to accomplish the desired results. Such a suggestion is not meant to restrict your course of action in any manner whatever because I have implicit faith that any method of approach you decide to take in my behalf will bring ultimate success.

Please accept again my kindest regards and best wishes.

Sincerely yours,
Hugh D. McDonald.

MOWM
Protest

FIVE PRISONERS THIRTY WEEKS IN SOLITARY CONFINEMENT FOR PROTESTING JIM CROW

As of Monday, January 7, five prisoners --three whites and one Negro -- in federal prisons at Ashland, Ky. and Lewisburg, Pa. will be entering their thirtieth week in solitary confinement for refusing to eat in racially segregated dining halls.

In the first week in June at the Federal Correctional Institution at Ashland, Ky., fourteen inmates --twelve of them conscientious objectors, one of them an American of Japanese extraction, and three of them Negroes -- announced that they would not eat in the prison's segregated mess hall, and requested that a separate place be set aside in the institution where men of all races who were so disposed could eat together. The fourteen men were Alfred Partridge, George Yamada, Morris Horowitz, Jason Hopkins, John Neubrand, Arden Bode, Rodney Owen, Bjorn Eikrem, Arnold Satterthwait, William Hefner, William Fogarty, Bayard Rustin, Phillip Brooks, and Charles Hall. Brooks and Hall, both Negroes, were promptly transferred to the federal institutions at Mill Point, W. Va. and Terre Haute, Ind.

In the second week in June the remaining twelve participants were placed in solitary confinement. By August 3rd four of these men -- Eikrem, Owen, Rustin, and Yamada -- were transferred to the federal prisons at Sandstone, Minn., Lewisburg, Pa., and Danbury, Conn. Of these four men, Rustin and Owen were continued in rigid confinement at Lewisburg to where they were transferred. Of the the eight men remaining at Ashland, three -- Horowitz, Bode, and Hopkins -- are still in solitary status.

When Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. of New York addressed an inquiry on the case to Attorney-General Tom Clark, he received in answer a letter which he characterized as ranging "from evasion of the issue to misstatement of facts." Letters of protest to Attorney-General Clark and President Truman by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the American Civil Liberties Union in November likewise produced no change in policy.

Thus the five men at Ashland and Lewisburg prisons will be starting their thirtieth week in solitary confinement for the heinous offense of refusing to eat in a Jim Crow mess hall.

For further details and complete documentation, consult the files of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 20 W. 40 St., N.Y.C., the American Civil Liberties Union, 170 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C., the National Committee on Conscientious Objectors of the A.C.L.U., 1734 F St., N.W., Washington, D.C., or the undersigned who would also appreciate any clippings of the above that appear in print.

Sand or Katz
140 Riverside Drive
New York 24, N. Y.

MOWM
Protest

Mr. Randolph:

To start with, please excuse this informal way of addressing you.

My problem is, like 30,000 other colored marines, just this: We want to know why our boys cannot become officers in this our democratic marine corps. Why our boys can only serve in labor or service battalions. Why our camp, the birthplace of our colored marines must be converted to convalescent camp for white marines.

I will start with my entrance in the United States Marines, and try to give an accurate account of the different actions and reactions. I arrived at Camp LeJeyne, New River, North Carolina, the 15th of October 1942. The training was tough, but strictly regulation. We were put into different schools according to our choice and educational qualifications. I stop here to add that up until February of 1943, our colored marines were not draftees, but all enlisted men, and of these men they found Negroes of the highest qualifications.

Out of the first 1500 men, 1000 were college graduates or senior college men, all seeking advancement and adventure like myself. These black marines were an experiment, Eleanor Roosevelt's babies, so we were handled with kid gloves. In February, our first outfit left for overseas. This outfit was made up of the fellows that had doped off in the Marine Corps, consequently meriting shipment over. Why they were looked upon this way is because of the main outfit, The 51st was still in training. This first outfit to move over had no special qualification, so they were destined to become a service battalion.

Well, every month from that time on, the least little thing the men did, that was wrong, they found themselves in a service battalion going over. These battalions left at the rate of one a month comprising from 100 to 300. Those that remained were being charmed into the steward's branch or cooks divison with the promise of quick ratings. In the meantime, our 1500 men of high educational qualifications were covering up and being shown as the colored Marine Corps. All opposing parties or radicals to these treatments were also sent out with work battalions.

Around April of 43, our first outfit left, not destined for overseas. It was a guard company for Oklahoma. They caught and are still catching hell from the discriminating officers and non-commissioned officers over them. The boys that had their wives there had to stand by and see them abuse to ease the terrific pressure on themselves. The boys were prohibited from wearing their blue uniforms because it gave them a good looking appearance. In that group was a reknown radical "satchel". He was sent back to North Carolina. There he continued to champion our cause. He is now serving time in the naval in Portsmouth, Virginia for five years.

COPY

I was working in the Administration Building as a corporal. I heard of an outfit going to Philadelphia and secured for myself a place as second in command of 100 men. When we arrived, we were told that we were to be on the working end of this war, and if we conducted ourselves right, more men would be sent up from North Carolina to Philadelphia. We didn't complain because anything was better than North Carolina or service company somewhere in the Pacific. Philadelphia is one of the largest quartermaster outfits, and for eight hours a day all we see is freight cars and vans and whipcracking crackers worse than the ones that come out and say plain nigger. Yes! we have 400 black stevadors marines, about eleven sergeants, 15 corporals and all the rest are privates first class only to soothe the colored population of Philly to show them that the Negro marines are getting something for their labor (that's a laugh). The majority of the boys live in Philly or nearby states, so like myself bear with this treatment because after 4:30 we can be ourselves and be with our families. This is why we have not beefed before. Half of our sergeants who are supposed to protect us do the opposite to protect their stripes because they, like myself, would get busted for refusing to drive the men and being too radical. We really have no Negro representative within the Corps. This is why we are appealing to you to help us secure our own representatives with power so they cannot be bought or scared. We want Colored Commissioned Officers in the Marine Corps, and it is within President Roosevelt's power to see that we get the same treatment as other branches of the armed forces.

Thanks for your help, past, immediate and future.

Please excuse all the mistakes. This was written hurriedly on the train without commas, etc.

COPY

MOWM
Army Discrimination

Dear Friend:

In the guardhouse at the Army Air Base in Lincoln, Nebraska sits an American soldier, imprisoned and demoted because he opposed Army discrimination against Negroes.

Leading Americans have asked the President to review the court martial trial of this soldier and news of his plight is being featured by papers all over the country.

Why does this strike home to us all? Scores of Negroes in the uniform of their country have been beaten and killed because they dared to act in camp and camp communities like American citizens.

Private Alton Levy is the first white soldier to experience, in dramatic fashion, the great power of the Nazi "Master Race" theory in the American Army. We must fight to free him, for, by the fight to get Alton Levy justice, we work to end Army Jim Crow. The two go together: END ARMY JIM CROW AND FREE AL LEVY.

First, write to President Franklin D. Roosevelt, the White House, Washington, D. C., asking our Commander-in-Chief to use his legal power to issue an order ending segregation - which is discrimination - in our armed forces and to free Al Levy and restore his stripes.

If you want this injustice brought to the attention of multitudes of Americans that they may join you in this movement for humanity, send as generous a gift as promptly as you can to George S. Counts, Treasurer, Workers Defense League, 122 East 19th Street, New York 3, N. Y.

Sincerely yours,
LAURENCE T. HOSIE

The racial policies which American officers have tried to enforce among our troops in England have aroused the greatest indignation in parliment. Recently Viscount Simon, Lord Chancellor of England declared, "This is the last thing the British Parliment will tolerate". His sentiments were echoed by the humble pub-keeper who tacked up a sign at the entrance of his bar: "FOR THE USE OF THE BRITISH AND COLORED AMERICANS ONLY".

Official jim crow is being dispersed from south to north. Instance after instance could be published here to show how it is done, and how our government acts as an agent to permeate and intrench this custom. Here is a concrete example: More than a year ago the U. S. Treasury Department moved from Washington and took offices in the Merchandise Mart of Chicago, a city where civil rights laws exist to protect and safeguard the rights and rpivileges of the minority group. No sooner had it opened its doors than it set up its southern custom ~~of jim crow rest rooms and eating facilities. Here was a conscious effort to~~ transplant a pattern that even the most reputable citizens of the white south have begum to despise.

DEMOCRACY CAN WORK. It is working at the Winchester Repeating Arms Company, the National Bronze and Aluminum Company, the Bohn Aluminum Company, the Ingalls Iron Works Company, the Scullins Steel Corporation, the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company, the Ford Motor Company, the Pressed Steel Car Company, the Bridgeport Brass Works, Wilson Brothers, Swift and Company and the Pittsburg Coal Company.

In cooperation with representatives of FEPC established as a result of President Roosevelt's Executive Order 8802 managements of plants in which Negroes had never worked before agreed to five democracy a trial. As a result 300 men and women are now working at the Glenn Martin Aircraft Company in Fort Crook, Nebraska, 500 more at Lockheed Vega in

Burbank, California, 447 at A. O. Smith in Milwaukee, 1440 at the Heil Company in Milwaukee, 400 at Western Electric in Kearny, New Jersey and 2000 at the Moore Drydock Company in California.

Yet despite these exceptions and recent converts, it remains true that discrimination against Negroes is still the prevailing pattern in American industry. That portion of American industry which still maintains the jim crow pattern has at least 33 trade unions who join them as fellow obstructionists to the war effort.

For sixty eight years the Negro has struggled for his full share of democracy. He has made use of every parlimentary device to make known his grievances and demand redress. He has asked for full-fledged citizenship with all the rights, privileges and responsibilities pertaining thereto. Alas, he has enjoyed only second class citizenship with a black cabinet between him and his government. For economic equality he has been given charity grants; for political equality he has been given poll taxes and white primaries; for social equality he has been given jim crow and lynching; for religious equality he has been given good will and a white God. Now we are engaged in a great world revolution testing whether this nation or any nation so conceived and so dedicated to double standards of citizenship and justice can long endure. The pulse of the nation is being quickened by this volcano that disturbs men's souls. The very universe is troubled and discomforted. People of all races and colors are battling against fascist slavery and dictatorship and for freedom. In North Africa, India, China, Australia, on Guadacanal, on Solomon Islands and in London and Stalingrad, men, white, black, yellow and brown, sweat and bleed and die that democracy might live

Yes, the Negro wants his unconditional freedom. But withal, this condition of freedom, equality and democracy is not the gift of the Gods. They are not secured because it is just and right that they be possessed by either Negro or white people. If Negroes secure their goals they must win them and to win them they must fight, sacrifice, suffer, go to jail and if need be, die for them. These rights will not be given they must be taken.

The MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT is taking this opportunity to set forth its goals and to call upon Negro America to convene in Chicago for "WE ARE AMERICANS - TOO CONFERENCE beginning Wednesday, June 30th and ending Sunday, July 4th, 1943.

Here we will ponder and discuss whether Negroes should march on Washington and if so, when.

Here we will discuss the perplexing problems confronting us such as discrimination in the air corp, jobs in national defense, and what will happen to the Negro in the Post-War World.

Here we will demand the abolition of the WAR'S GREATEST SCANDAL - JIM CROW IN UNIFORM."

Here we will register our protest to our government and to the world against the injustices designed to inferiorate, degrade and exploit us.

Here we will talk about the welfare of our sons and daughters and civil rights for Negroes.

Here we will dedicate our lives to the cause of American Freedom the freedom of colored peoples everywhere and the freedom of the world.

Here we will proclaim our dedication to the cause of a free Africa and the freedom of the West Indies.

Here we will map out a broad national program in the interest of abolishing jim crowism in America. Here we will ponder and discuss non-violent techniques for mass action that may some day point the way toward a foundation of peace for a new world.

Here we will proclaim anew and re-affirm the determination of the colored people to struggle for the victory of the United Nations over the axis powers and for democracy

Here we will seek a solution of the problem of race which will avoid and prevent riots, violence and bllodshed.

As to the composition of our Movement. Our policy is that it be all-Negro and pro-Negro but not anti-white, anti-semetic, anti-Catholic, or anti-labor. The reason for this policy is that all oppressed people must assume the responsibility and take the initiative to free themselves. The essential value of an all-Negro movement is that it helps to create faith by Negroes in Negroes. It develops a sense of self-reliance with Negroes depending on Negroes in vital matters. It helps to break down the slave psychology and inferiority-complex in Negroes relying on white people for direction and support. This inevitably happens in mixed organizations that are supposed to be in the interest of the Negro.

The March On Washington Movement is interested in the general problems of every community and will lend its aid to help solve them, but; but It has its major interest and task the liberation of the Negro people.

The March On Washington Movement is distinguished from other agencies in this field in that it aspires to be a mass movement and looks for its support from the great working class of Negroes. It favors bold, aggressive, and direct action but is non-violent in character. It feels that the fight for Negro rights must be conducted on a broad mass scale. It is not enough to fight isolated instances of injustices, not enough to do research and educational work, though MOWM wholly approves such activities of its fellow Negro organizations but for itself it takes the forthright position that it must serve as a reservoir of pressure to place the cause of its people into the main stream of public opinion. It must trouble the conscience of America until it awakes to the position that the Negro wants to be be free.

The Name "March" continues because it is indicative that Black America is on the march for its rights. This program is drasmake copy (over)

and exacting. At times like this we will be opposed but we can know no fear. We have nothing to lose but our chains.

Now the realization of goals and rights requires loyalty to principles and policies. The MOWM is opposed to partisan commitments, religious or denominational alliances. Our policy is opposed to the Communist Party. Our support of the war effort has no connection with Communism. In this war the Communists are willing to sabotage every effort of Negroes or of labor to fight for democratic rights. Today they have become the most reactionary wing of the American body politic. They will rule or ruin any movement. Our position is to shun them.

We have listened to the high-minded slogans of democracy - this talk of a war for the four freedoms. Our fate is tied up with the fate of the democratic way of life. We are concerned that the totalitarian legions of Hitler, Hirohito, and Mussolini do not batter the last bastions of democracy. From the depth of our hearts a cry goes out for the triumph of the United Nations. But we know that a mere victory of arms is not enough. We fight that the democratic faiths, values, heritages and ideals might prevail. It is possible for America to win this war and yet leave the Negro in a position where he will continue to be the victim of persecution and discrimination.

The problem of the Negro in the United States is no longer a purely domestic question but has world significance. It is integrated with the larger strategy of defeating the Axis. We have become the barometer of democracy to the colored peoples of the world, Africa, India, China, Latin America and the West Indies, all look to the United States. It suggests to them the kind of "democracy" which would dominate the postwar period should certain facist-minded elements in this country have their way. Our fight is the important social issue of today. We fight that all men everywhere released make copy — end

from tyranny and want may grow toward self fulfillment. This is America and what it means is our all-in-all. The country we live for and the country we will gladly die for. The MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT makes no apology for being stridently biased in the Negro cause.

We have gone to war against the American brand of fascism, namely, Jim Crow as well as against the Axis brand and in this measure we can impute no good to either enemy.

If the valid claims of the colored peoples of the earth are not recognized we shall then have lost the war, for we shall still have to face another and more terriable war, a war of color. It is not enough to police the Post-War world, we must free it from want, from fear, from enforced idleness and from a Master Race psychology.

Case against Jim [illegible]

SUMMATION OF VETERANS' CASE AND REPLY STATEMENT OF VETERANS

Submitted by The American Legion to the Special
Subcommittee of the Committee on Post Office and
Civil Service, U. S. House of Representatives,
in the Record of Hearings held by the Subcommittee
in the United States Court at Chicago, Illinois on
March 5th, 1948, concerning the question of:

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST VETERANS

by the

UNITED STATES RAILROAD RETIREMENT BOARD

Reproduced, with Index of Names, by

Railroad Retirement Board Post No. 856

THE AMERICAN LEGION

March 27, 1948

Honorable Homer R. Jones, Chairman
Subcommittee of the Post Office and
Civil Service Committee
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Jones:

Enclosed find a summation of veterans' case together with statement of veterans' reply to case of Railroad Retirement Board.

Lack of time and facilities have not permitted us to reply to the new matter presented by the Board. If the Subcommittee deems it advisable that we answer same, we shall be pleased to do so.

Very truly yours,

ELLIODOR M. LIBONATI

Encl.

PART I

SUMMATION OF VETERANS' CASE

We present to the Sub-Committee of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, composed of Honorable Homer R. Jones, United States Congressman, Chairman, Honorable James C. Davis, United States Congressman, Member, and Honorable George M. Moore, Chief Counsel of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, matter in the nature of a reply statement, all of which, taken with the evidence presented at the hearing on March 5, 1948, proves conclusively that the Railroad Retirement Board has been inveighing upon the rights of the veterans and has deprived them of their rights under the Veterans' Preference Act, Selective Training and Service Act, and Civil Service rules and regulations.

The Railroad Retirement Board, in spite of its attempted manipulations of records to disprove the veterans' position herein, only served to confuse instead of clarify its position. This was demonstrated at the time of the testimony of the Board Chairman, William J. Kennedy, and of the several members of the department who depended upon each other to produce answers to one question. In other words, Chairman Kennedy had to depend upon the attorney, Mr. Johnson, the personnel director, Mr. Carney, the chief executive officer, Mr. LaMotte, for the answer to a question which he should have been able to answer without help. Added to this unsatisfactory method of answering questions and replying to inquiries was the failure on the part of the other two members of the Board to testify. Was it because it was feared they might give the same kind of an exhibition on the witness stand as was given by the breast-beating patriot Chairman, who, when confronted with complaints of veteran discrimination, met them by protestations of patriotic fervor or by characterizing the case of the veterans in his conclusion as "bunk." It is fortunate for Chairman Kennedy that opportunity could not be given for a complete cross-examination of the testimony given by him.

We disprove in this paper the testimony of the witnesses for the Railroad Retirement Board. We state further that there was witnessed in this hearing the strange situation of one agency of the government, namely, the Civil Service Commission, criticizing and picking flaws in the conduct of another agency, namely, the Railroad Retirement Board, and pointing out the inefficiency of its personnel policies and practices.

The testimony of Mr. V. P. Carney, holding such a responsible position as Director of Personnel, is not to be believed. Under oath before the committee, he testified that he was a member of the Ohio bar. Later he seeks to deny same, excusing himself by claiming it was a misstatement. He too had to require assistance from his associates on matters touching directly on his duties. His hostility to veterans was clearly developed when for nearly five minutes a series of questions were directed to him relative to the possibility of setting up a veterans' committee to adjust veterans' complaints and he answered that setting up a committee of veterans would require setting up committees for other groups. A categorical answer "Yes" or "No" could have been given to this question, even though the members of the Subcommittee and particularly Mr. Moore requested an answer thereto. As if attempting to excuse himself for not going into service, Mr. Carney stated that he was not a veteran because of his own choice, but because late in 1942 he had all his papers completed for application for a commission in the Navy. Our answer to this is that there were many more capable men in the Army rendering service to our country in the infantry as privates and in the other branches of the armed services wherever they might be called upon to serve - in the non-commissioned ranks. Mr. Carney also added that it was difficult for him to obtain his release from the Railroad Retirement Board because of the fact that the Board members would not give him his release. We make this observation, that he could have easily been yielded to the services in the light of the conduct of his position as seen from the record in the case.

Mr. Johnson of the Board's legal staff departed from the usual duties and responsibilities of an attorney and gave testimony concerning matters on which the members of the Board or administrative assistants should have given testimony. He discussed the Morrissey and the Block cases. He gave general testimony concerning veterans that were adjusted in grades. It comes with poor grace to have an attorney on the legal staff of the Board, who represented the Board on the veterans' adjustment committee, give such testimony. There were questions asked which he could not answer. He showed his hostility to veterans when, in answer to a question as to whether a veterans' committee should be established, his response was that he did not know whether it would serve any more useful purpose than the procedure the Board has established. This procedure has been shown to be woefully lacking.

Mr. Habermeyer of the Board's bureau of wage and service records attempted to contradict the disabled veteran, Mr. Powell, on the question of training. We discuss this matter further on in this document and rest our case as to the truth and reliability of his testimony relative to the Powell and Pasquariello cases upon which he testified.

Mr. Moore attempted to secure from Mr. Kennedy a statement as to the duties and responsibilities of Mr. LaMotte, who is the executive officer of the Board. Mr. LaMotte stated that "my duties are to act as the administrative head next under the Board and report to the Board." Then when asked whether it was his duty to interpret the Veterans' Preference Act and determine the rights and privileges of veterans in the Railroad Retirement Board, he stated: "No, I wouldn't say that would be my duty. That would probably fall under the Director of Personnel." Here we find the lack of knowledge on the part of the Chairman of the Board as to who interprets the Veterans' Preference Act and who has knowledge of the rights and privileges of veterans in the Railroad Retirement Board.

Isn't it strange that such a situation should exist? And to make matters worse, Mr. LaMotte places the responsibility of interpretation of the Veterans' Preference Act and the determination of the rights and privileges of veterans in the Railroad Retirement Board service squarely upon the shoulders of the Director of Personnel, Mr. Carney.

So evident was the ignorance demonstrated by the Chairman of the Board and his high departmental aids that Mr. Moore remarked: "What I am trying to find out is this: who is responsible in the Board?" Finally Mr. Carney admits that he is the official responsible. We have commented on Mr. Carney's conduct and his lack of probity. Mr. Kennedy, realizing the confusion, then calls upon Mr. Johnson the lawyer at this time "to pull the chestnuts out of the fire." We have also paid our respects to him heretofore. We have shown his hostility to the veterans and their case.

In short, Mr. LaMotte, who holds a very important position with the Board, was called upon to testify and, from the record as we have it, contributed nothing to the inquiry, although he has under his direction 3000 employees from ten bureaus and offices here in Chicago, reporting directly through him, and nine regional offices in the field, for a total of about 100 field offices. Mr. Burke therefore is well borne out that Mr. LaMotte did tell Mr. Burke that he knew nothing about the Veterans' Preference Act. In view of his testimony here, Mr. Burke's statement must be believed. Mr. LaMotte has definitely been shown to be a part of the pattern and fabric which has inveighed upon the veterans.

Mr. R. T. Taylor is another inefficient employee who, when called to the witness stand to testify, called upon his assistant Habermeyer to carry the battle for him and to testify upon matters with which Mr. Taylor should have been familiar. His employment was formerly that of director of the Chicago region, in which department harm was done to veteran Edward Block. He is now carrying on his work against the veterans as evidenced by the treatment given the veteran Daniel Pasquariello and the disabled veteran Frank Powell. He and his assistants Habermeyer and Blume, along with the members of the Board, Carney, and LaMotte, should be dismissed.

Great efforts were made by the Board to cite the number of veterans who were aligned with the Board; namely, Squire, a Board member, LaMotte, the executive officer, Gibbons, the chief counsel, Taylor, and Habermeyer. Those of us engaged in veterans work are well acquainted with those veterans who, in order to gain selfish advantage for themselves, readily betray the veteran and cheat him of his rights.

We have just learned that the Board, attempting to bolster its weakened position, has appointed one Willis R. Barber, attorney on the legal staff of the Board, to serve as veterans' counselor. Mr. Barber was not called as a witness by the veterans, although it was felt he could have helped their case. He has opposed consistently this investigation. The Railroad Retirement Board Post 856 of the American Legion was not consulted in this appointment. Mr. Barber resigned as Service Officer of the Post on the day he was appointed to the new position.

We have many other cases which would show further violations of the Veterans' Preference Act, the Selective Training and Service Act, and the regulations of the Civil Service Commission; the denial to veterans of benefits accruing to their positions during absence in the armed forces; the denial of employment and promotional opportunities to veterans; misrepresentations to federal appeals bodies; and wasteful and extravagant expenditures of public funds.

We submit that the veterans' position is forthright and clear. Their charges have been open and direct and have been backed by facts and figures. Their charges have not been met by the opposition. Every witness on the side of the veterans' case was and is definitely on the spot. Yet, they testified. These veterans have elected to stand up and be counted. They can become clay pigeons to be shot at by their superiors who will not stop at anything to get rid of these veterans, their detractors and accusers. They are not protected unless there are removals from the present set-up of the Board.

We have received the additional statements of the Railroad Retirement Board. We have elected not to answer them for fear of unduly prolonging the case. We believe that the Subcommittee might call upon the parties for additional argument if desired in order to clarify any questions yet remaining in the minds of the Subcommittee.

PART II

REPLY STATEMENT OF VETERANS

1. The case of Harold W. J. Smith - purported to exemplify the treatment of returned veterans.

Only one veteran was put forward, by name, to show the "liberal treatment" accorded veterans by the Railroad Retirement Board. The Board cited the case of Harold W. J. Smith who entered military service from a file clerk position, grade CAF-3, and is now in a position at grade CAF-8. It appears that the Board wished to give the impression that Mr. Smith was a typical rather than an exceptional case. Otherwise, the names of the veterans promoted seven grades, in contrast to Mr. Smith's five, would have been used. The following facts will give a more complete picture:

a. Employees competing with him in his department when he entered military service.

Mr. Smith entered the armed forces in December 1942. He was then working as a clerk, grade CAF-3, in the central files department. At that time (record January 1, 1943) there were 19 employees occupying clear positions (i.e. positions without "conditional" limitation) of clerk, grade CAF-3, in the central files department who are still on the rolls of the Railroad Retirement Board. Of these 19 employees, 14 had military service during World War II while five remained as civilian employees of the agency.

b. Grades occupied by the competing employees today.

The tabulation on the following page shows the grades and salaries of each of the 19 employees as of today:

NAME	PRESENT GRADE AND SALARY		FIRST EMPLOYMENT WITH BOARD DATE	POSITION	GRADE
C I V I L I A N S					
Vincent Rini	CAF-9	$4275.00	1-27-1941	Messenger	CU-2
R. Bruce Cannon	CAF-8	3773.40	7-30-1937	Messenger	CU-2
James Thompson	CAF-7	3522.60	12-11-1939	Library Ass't	SP-2
W. A. Palmer	CAF-7	3397.20	10-21-1940	Messenger	CU-2
Miss Juanita Willis	CAF-6	3146.40	11-20-1940	Typist	CAF-1
V E T E R A N S					
Harold W. J. Smith	CAF-8	3773.40	7- 7-1941	Messenger	CU-2
Richard Bartz	CAF-7	3522.60	11- 1-1939	Messenger	CU-2
C. R. Severson	CAF-7	3397.20	5-12-1941	Messenger	CU-2
George S. Mercer	CAF-7	3397.20	3- 6-1939	Messenger	CU-2
Elbert Cranford	CAF-6	3146.40	4-29-1938	Messenger	CU-2
Max Seger	CAF-6	3146.40	9-11-1939	Messenger	CU-2
John J. Joki	CAF-6	3146.40	4- 7-1941	Messenger	CU-2
P.C. Taylor	CAF-6	3021.00	3-15-1940	Messenger	CU-2
Max Diamond	CAF-6	3021.00	3-24-1941	Messenger	CU-2
J. H. Ditzer	CAF-6	3021.00	4- 1-1941	Messenger	CU-2
Wayne S. Johnson	CAF-6	3021.00	6- 1-1939	Messenger	CU-2
Henry Reuther	CAF-5	3146.40	2-12-1939	Messenger	CU-2
Leal Ryndes	CAF-5	3146.40	11- 7-1938	Messenger	CU-2
Samuel H. Ehrlich	CAF-4	2469.24	1- 2-1941	Messenger	CU-2

Sources of Data:

(1) Railroad Retirement Board
Position Inventory dated January 1, 1943.

(2) Railroad Retirement Board
Status Record Card File as of
March 18, 1948.

c. Facts shown by this tabulation:

(1) Harold W. J. Smith is the only veteran, among the entire 14 veterans, who has reached the grade of CAF-8. His case is not typical - it is exceptional.

(2) For the civilian employees today, the average grade is CAF-7.4 and the average salary is $3622.92 per annum.

(3) For the veteran employees today, the average grade is CAF-6.0 and the average salary is $3169.68 per annum.

(4) The 14 veterans have reached an average grade equal only to the grade of the lowest civilian.

(5) The civilian employees are enjoying, on the average, an annual income today $453.24 higher than the veterans.

(6) Only one of the 14 veterans, Mr. Harold W. J. Smith, is receiving a salary as high as the average salary of the civilians.

(7) The fiction of the so-called "seniority principle" of the Railroad Retirement Board is plain;

  (a) Mr. Vincent Rini, civilian, occupying the one CAF-9 position, has less service with the Board than 12 of the other 18 employees.

  (b) Mr. Harold W. J. Smith, occupying one of the two CAF-8 positions, has the least service with the Board of all 19 employees.

(8) The positions and grades at which the various employees entered the service of the Board have had no apparent bearing upon future promotions.

It should be noted that these conditions exist today, long after the Board's Veterans' Adjustment Committee "finished their job" and the Board "appeared on the surface to have no need for the committee." (Quotations from testimony of Chairman Kennedy).

2. The number of veterans in the personnel department of the Railroad Retirement Board.

The Board emphasized the fact that "in the office of the director of personnel, which has full charge of the recruitment and classification of the Board's employees, five of the nine male employees are veterans of World War II."

The Board did not tell the whole story. The following facts are highly important:

a. In the specific sections of the office of the director of personnel, (1) placement section, and (2) classification section, where all of the recruitment and classification of the Board's employees is done; there is not one veteran employed. (Four of the veterans of World War II, MacLeod, Martin, Brown, and Matthews, are in the records and analysis section, and one, Burke, is the training adviser.

b. Why did the Board limit its testimony to the male employees of its personnel department, which has a total of approximately 30 employees? Perhaps it was to avoid the embarassing fact that while 29.4 per cent of all employees and 36.8 per cent of higher employees are veterans (according to the Board's assertions):

-there are less than one-half that percentage of veterans in the Board's personnel department, and

-there are no veterans at all where the recruitment and classification of Board employees is performed.

3. Letter of appreciation from Mr. Danner, then Commander of the Railroad Retirement Board American Legion Post.

The following facts are significant:

a. The records of Railroad Retirement Board Post 856 of The American Legion contain no reference whatever to Mr. Danner's letter. There is no record of this letter being authorized by the Post nor of any report of such letter being made to the Post.

b. Not a single veteran had been promoted as of the date of Mr. Danner's letter. (No date was given during the testimony. On request, we were advised by Mr. Johnson that the letter was dated August 26, 1946.)

c. The "action indicated in the memorandum from the Secretary of the Board dated August 19, 1946", which Mr. Danner commends, was merely the appointment and instruction of the members of the veterans committee. The most that the Board can show from this letter is that at least one person thought the Board had good intentions when it set up the veterans adjustment program.

4. The Board's Policy on Veterans' Adjustments.

The Board's policy, according to the testimony, provided that the Board itself would enter decision whenever:

> the Board's Veterans' Adjustment Committee could not reach agreement with appointing officers, or
>
> "the committee itself did not do justice to these veterans."

The following facts speak for themselves:

a. Three cases were brought before the Board for decision by the Board itself, two of the cases under the first provision above, and one case under the second provision above.

b. In the cases of John F. Morrissey and Wallace LeClaire, veterans, the committee could not reach agreement with appointing officers. The Board thereupon entered decision against the veterans.

c. In the case of James McCormack, a veteran felt that the committee did not do justice to him. The Board thereupon entered decision against the veteran.

d. In all three cases brought before the Board, the members of the Board entered decision against the veterans.

The Board's policy also provided, according to the testimony, that the committee should "refrain from causing displacements unless such method of making the adjustment is necessary." It is significant that:

> In "adjusting" the veterans, not one civilian employee was permitted to be displaced from his position during the entire history of the Board's Veterans' Adjustment Committee.

5. The Award of a "certificate of merit" to members of veterans adjustment committee by the Railroad Retirement Board American Legion Post, and the intimation that the Board itself was considered for a similar award.

The "certificate of merit" awarded to each member of the veterans committee was a standard-type certificate awarded to individuals who give their time and efforts to the problems of veterans. In this instance, it is well known that the committee members had to work in the face of strong opposition on the part of the Board, opposition so severe that in not one instance in which the committee disagreed with a bureau or office head was the committee upheld by the Board, The idea of an award to the Board was never contemplated by the Post, nor does any reference to such idea appear in any of the records of proceedings of the Post.

It should be pointed out that, at the time the merit certificates were given to the committee members, the Post awarded a special Certificate of Distinguished Service to Mr. Francis D. Burke and to Mr. James F. Kane, his immediate assistant in the committee's work.

6. Testimony concerning a letter to the President of the Civil Service Commission prepared for the Chairman's signature by Francis D. Burke, present Commander of Railroad Retirement Board Post 856, The American Legion.

The following facts are highly significant;

a. Mr. Burke prepared this letter at the direction of, and under strict instructions from, the director of personnel, and not the Chairman of the Board. (Dictation initials on official carbon copies should reveal this fact.)

b. The content of the letter was determined by the director of personnel and not by Mr. Burke.

c. When Mr. Burke had prepared a draft of the letter in accordance with instructions, he pointed out to the director of personnel that the letter contained a serious discrepancy, namely, it asserted that only 388 veterans had entered military service from the Railroad Retirement Board. He pointed out that the records of the Veterans' Adjustment Committee showed only 388 veterans entering service and that the calculations in the letter with respect to veterans not yet adjusted were based upon that figure. He pointed out further that since the director of personnel had often asserted that more than 500 employees entered military service from the Board, that the director of personnel would probably wish to change the calculations before sending the letter to the office of the chairman.

d. Mr. Burke was later shown a copy of the letter as signed by the Chairman of the Board. The copy showed that only 388 employees entered military service from the Railroad Retirement Board. Mr. Burke assumed then that the figure of 388 was correct.

e. The Chairman of the Board testified in the hearing that 549 employees entered military service from the Railroad Retirement Board.

7. Testimony of director of personnel that he knew nothing of the case of Edward Block, veteran, until the case was presented at the hearing.

A statement to the contrary, written and signed by Mr. Block, is submitted herewith. It reads as follows:

> "In the course of the hearing held on March 5, 1948, Mr. V. Paul Carney, director of personnel, in his testimony stated in effect that he had never heard of my grievance until that day, March 5, 1948. This is to state that in October 1946, a few days after my demotion in grade and salary to CAF-5, the position now held by me, I talked to Mr. Carney personally concerning my grievance, in Mr. Carney's office. Mr. Carney was thoroughly conversant with all phases of my case, knowing the dates and circumstances of the promotions, demotions, and transfers. I also talked with Mr. MacLeod, Assistant Director of Personnel, about my grievance on at least three occasions about that time." (Original signed statement attached as Exhibit A)

8. Testimony of the director of personnel that "From the very beginning" employees entering military service were carried by the Railroad Retirement Board on its rolls in a leave-without-pay status rather than being required to resign and be separated from the rolls.

In direct contradiction to this testimony, we quote herewith a letter from the Railroad Retirement Board to the United States Civil Service Commission:

"RAILROAD RETIREMENT BOARD
Washington, D. C.

"October 31, 1941

"U. S. Civil Service Commission
Washington, D. C.

Attention: Mrs. Manchester

"Gentlemen:

"It will be appreciated if you will delete from the list of March separations, dated May 1, 1941 the name of Benjamin A. Laning, Jr., Messenger-C, C.S.C. CU-2 - 607 our Bureau No. 7320-65, whose resignation has been canceled in accordance with the Service Extenstion Act of 1941. Mr. Laning is now being carried in a leave without pay status.

"Very truly yours,

"Director of Personnel"

MMP:AM

9. Testimony of Mr. Howard Habermeyer, assistant director of the bureau of wage and service records, disparaging the abilities of veterans concerned in the hearing.

It is apparent, from Mr. Habermeyer's testimony, that any veteran in the bureau of wage and service records of this agency, who questions the treatment he has received or who protests because his superiors refuse to recognize his rights under the Veterans' Preference Act, is in danger of having the bureau's high officials cast serious reflections upon his ability as an employee of the federal government.

For example, Mr. Frank Powell, a disabled veteran, testified with respect to conditions existing in the bureau of wage and service records. Mr. Powell's current efficiency rating is VERY GOOD - a rating which the record will show is given only to outstanding employees in that bureau. Mr. Habermeyer however left the clear impression that Mr. Powell was below standard in capability. Mr. Powell advised that Mr. Habermeyer talked to him later and admitted that he was not at all familiar with the details of Mr. Powell's work, but had obtained the information upon which his testimony was based from Mr. Powell's supervisors. As Mr. Powell states, "Evidently he got it from the same supervisors that gave me a 'Very Good' efficiency rating." It was in connection with his testimony concerning Mr. Powell that Mr. Habermeyer answered a question as to whether any consideration was given to the fact that he was wounded or was a disabled veteran by stating, "I couldn't answer that with any degree of correctness because I don't know."

Mr. Habermeyer's testimony regarding the veteran Daniel Pasquariello is another example of resort to inaccurate, if not false, appraisal of work because the veteran insists upon compliance with the law. Mr. Pasquariello's grievance concerned the refusal of his superiors to give him the 30-day notice required under Section 14 of the Veterans' Preference Act. As in the case of Mr. Frank Powell, Mr. Habermeyer went to great lengths to cast serious reflections upon the veteran himself and left the clear impression that the veteran was unsatisfactory in his work, and, in fact, that the veteran had represented himself as a disabled veteran under questionable circumstances. Such assertions had no bearing upon Mr. Pasquariello's case, the veteran merely insisting upon protection from summary dismissal as guaranteed him under the Veterans' Preference Act.

We have statements from several of Mr. Pasquariello's co-workers telling us that Mr. Pasquariello was considered by the other employees to be a diligent and very superior employee. Their statements are borne out fully by the record which will show, in direct contradiction to Mr. Habermeyer's testimony, a very important fact, namely, that when Mr. Pasquariello was told he had to resign, he had then, like the disabled veteran Frank Powell, an official current efficiency rating of

VERY GOOD which is given only to outstanding employees in that bureau. In fact, the record will show that Mr. Pasquariello was rated as a fully competent qualified employee in the element "Amount of Acceptable Work Produced" and that this rating was based upon actual production records. Further investigation of the record hereon, and this is highly significant, shows that Mr. Pasquariell was rated as an OUTSTANDING employee in every one of the other seven phases of his work:

Mr. Pasquariello was an OUTSTANDING employee in DEPENDABILITY.

Mr. Pasquariello was an OUTSTANDING employee in COOPERATIVENESS.

Mr. Pasquariello was an OUTSTANDING employee in INDUSTRY.

Mr. Pasquariello was an OUTSTANDING employee in ACCURACY OF OPERATIONS.

Mr. Pasquariello was an OUTSTANDING employee in ATTENTION TO PERTINENT DETAIL.

Mr. Pasquariello was an OUTSTANDING employee in PRESENTABILITY OF WORK.

Mr. Pasquariello was an OUTSTANDING employee in SKILL IN THE APPLICATION OF TECHNIQUES AND PROCEDURES.

This is the record, as shown for Mr. Daniel Pasquariello, on his current official rating at the time he was asked to resign.

It is incredible that this veteran, a highly superior employee, rendering outstanding services to his government, should be ordered summarily to resign from his position. It shows the utter and completely inefficient appraisal of the work of Mr. Pasquariello by Mr. Habermeyer.

Again we have a demonstration of the degree to which prejudice against a veteran has been carried by the Railroad Retirement Board. Only in a totalitarian government would procedures of this type be countenanced.

We should like to add further that from the standpoint of the agency's regulations themselves, the only provision in such regulations for taking adverse action against an employee because of his leave record is with respect to unauthorized leave, and that the "excessive" leave which Mr. Habermeyer claims was taken by Mr. Pasquariello was always approved leave, approved in every instance by Mr. Pasquariello's supervisors.

It is probable that Mr. Habermeyer was not even acquainted with Mr. Pasquariello, because several of Mr. Pasquariello's associates have advised us that they had never before heard Mr. Pasquariello's name pronounced as Mr. Habermeyer pronounced it in his testimony.

Such arbitrary and dictatorial methods of dealing with employees have been known for a long time to exist in the Bureau of Wage and Service Records of this agency. Mr. Burke, our witness and the Board's Training Adviser, informs us that shortly after he returned from military service, the director of personnel discussed this matter with him in great detail and told him of several cases where he had been informed by employees leaving the Board from that bureau that they had been summarily dismissed with a statement such as "You are no longer wanted around here" and that it was found later that the employees had been doing satisfactory work. That these conditions still prevail, and in an agency of the federal government itself, is confirmed by the cases of our veterans, Mr. Powell, Mr. Pasquariello, and others.

10. Testimony of the Assistant Director of the bureau of wage and service records with respect to employee training at the grade CAF-3 level.

Mr. Howard Habermeyer misled the Subcommittee when he testified that all employees at the grade CAF-3 level in the bureau of wage and service records are given class-room training of four hours a day for one week in preparation for learning their jobs. This testimony was at variance with the testimony of Frank Powell, veteran, grade CAF-3, employee of the bureau.

Mr. Burke, the training adviser to the Board, in answer thereto states that if this training has been given throughout the bureau of wage and service records for employees at the grade CAF-3 level, the fact has not been indicated in official training reports of the Railroad Retirement Board and the Bureau of Wage and Service Records. For example:

a. In October 1946, the Railroad Retirement Board submitted an official report on training to the Congressional Joint Committee on Reduction of Nonessential Federal Expenditures. The training described by Mr. Habermeyer is not found in this report.

b. In May 1947, the Railroad Retirement Board submitted an official report on training to the Bureau of the Budget. The training described by Mr. Habermeyer is not found in this report.

c. In December 1947, the director of wage and service records, Mr. Rutherford T. Taylor, submitted a monthly operations report to the chief executive officer, covering operations (including training) for the month of November 1947. The training described by Mr. Habermeyer is not found in this report.

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11. General testimony of Board regarding treatment of DISABLED VETERANS.

The testimony of the Board showed clearly that this agency disclaims any responsibility whatever for helping the disabled veteran to readjust to civilian life. No policy or procedure was ever adopted by which the disabled veteran, whether a former employee or a new employee, would be assisted in his rehabilitation. In fact, it appears that the Railroad Retirement Board made special efforts to see that employment in its service would not be attractive to the disabled veteran.

We present as new matter, for example, the problem now being faced by John G. May, who left his position as auditor, CAF-7 in March 1941, to enter the United States Army. He rose to the rank of Colonel, U.S.A. He was injured in combat, and spent most of his time in army hospitals during 1945, 1946, and 1947.

In the fall of 1946, Colonel May visited the Railroad Retirement Board and called upon Mr. Burke, then the Secretary of the Veterans' Adjustment Committee. He was walking with difficulty, stooped and using a cane. He was wearing a cast from the hips nearly to the shoulders. He explained to Mr. Burke that he had just asked the director of personnel for information about salary changes of Civil Service Employees since 1941 and approximately what his own salary would be when he returned, as he hoped to do within the next six months. He stated that the director of personnel would give him no information, but told him he would have to wait until he knew the date of his return to Board service before such information could be provided. Mr. Burke figured his approximate salary for him and had him prepare an application form for the committee. The Committee later determined his restoration grade to be CAF-9.

In November 1946, Colonel May notified the Veterans' Adjustment Committee that he would have difficulty living in the Chicago area because of a physical condition and the local climate, and would prefer being restored to Denver when he was released from hospitalization.

In the fall of 1947, John G. May was restored to duty as Auditor, CAF-9, the position located in Chicago. He took immediate leave-without-pay and is still on leave-without-pay, living in Denver.

During the period from November 1946, to the date of his restoration, several positions were open in the Denver region, including positions at grades CAF-8 to CAF-11. None of those positions were offered Colonel May although it is a matter of record that he was well qualified to fill them.

One vacant position at grade CAF-11 was filled by a non-veteran, O. H. Iverson, then grade CAF-12 in Chicago, who merely wanted to move to Denver to make his home there. Iverson was given the top salary of grade CAF-11. Colonel May, the disabled veteran who was required to live in an area like Denver, was apparently given no consideration.

In the case of Colonel John G. May:

(1) - A returned veteran, physically disabled, was well qualified to serve the agency in responsible positions in the field organization where vacancies existed.

(2) - No effort whatever was made to assist him in his readjustment to civilian life.

(3) - The Railroad Retirement Board reemployed and promoted him under its "veteran adjustment program", to a position located where it was known he could not work.

Another angle on the Board's treatment of disabled veterans which is also new matter is illustrated in the case of Loren Boyll, who started to work for the Railroad Retirement Board in December 1946.

In May 1947, after Mr. Boyll's doctor had recommended that he enter a Veterans' Administration hospital for treatment and hospitalization, Mr. Boyll requested his supervisor, Mr. Blume (now Chief of Operations, Bureau of Wage and Service Records) to grant him a 30 day leave of absence for medical purposes. Mr. Blume refused this request on the grounds that the work load would not permit it, and that he did not know when Mr. Boyll might come back. Mr. Boyll had to resign from his position in order to be away for medical reasons.

Mr. Boyll returned to work with the Board four or five weeks later, but had to return as a new employee, losing all of his seniority from December 16, 1946 to the date he returned, June 30, 1947.

It is understood that extended leave without pay is generally always granted for periods of illness, including maternity periods. It is known to have been granted for other than medical reasons. But it was denied to this disabled veteran.

Mr. Boyll recently advised: "Mr. Blume claims to me that he didn't make me resign, that I resigned of my own accord. I understand he told Mr. Habermeyer that he thought I intended to get another job, which I had never indicated. I understand that employees in other parts of the Railroad Retirement Board get leave for 30 days and often longer if they need it. I do not think it is fair for Mr. Blume to deny this same privilege to a disabled veteran who wants leave for the purpose of seeking medical care."

12. ANALYSIS OF EDWARD H. BLOCK, SPECIALLY REQUESTED BY THE SUBCOMMITTEE, FOLLOWS HEREWITH:

An analysis of the promotion records of Edward H. Block, veteran, and the eight competitive employees who were equal to him when he entered military service but who are now in higher grades.

During the hearing on March 5, 1948, Mr. Burke presented a chart which showed that Edward H. Block entered military service from a position as Placement Officer, CAF-4, Chicago Region, and that there were eight other employees then occupying similar positions who are still employed by the Railroad Retirement Board. Mr. Burke's presentation to the Subcommittee showed that while Mr. Block was today in a position at grade CAF-5, the other eight employees were in positions at grades CAF-6, CAF-7 (2 employees), CAF-8 (2 employees), CAF-9 (2 employees), and CAF-12.

Attached to this submission, as Exhibit B, are nine sheets outlining the background and qualifications, and the promotion records, of each of the nine employees concerned.

Conclusions from examination of Exhibit B

1. An analysis of the sheets contained in Exhibit B shows that it can be reasonably concluded that the promotions of the eight other employees over Mr. Block can not be justified on any of the following grounds:

(a) EFFICIENCY, as of the date Mr. Block entered military service, 6-8-1942. Seven of the nine employees had the same current efficiency rating, namely, VERY GOOD. Mr. Block's rating was VERY GOOD.

(b) AGE. The oldest of the nine employees, Mr. Wilson, is grade CAF-6, the lowest of the eight competing employees. But the second oldest, Mr. Kolkmeyer, is grade CAF-12, the highest of the eight competing employees. Outside of Mr. Kolkmeyer, CAF-12, the three oldest - Mr. Wilson (63), Mr. Lander (52), and Mr. Olsen (47) - hold the three lowest grades of all eight competing employees. All non-veterans in Mr. Block's age range occupy positions of grades CAF-8 and CAF-9.

(c) SENIORITY, or length of service with the Railroad Retirement Board. Mr. Block has the least seniority. However, both Mr. Lander and Mr. Olsen, each only grade CAF-7, have greater seniority than Mr. Runnells who is CAF-8, Mr. Robinson who is CAF-9, or Mr. Kolkmeyer who is CAF-12, and have equal seniority with Mr. Vollbrecht who is CAF-8. Mr. Wilson, who is only CAF-6, has greater seniority than Mr. Runnells who is CAF-8 and Mr. Robinson who is CAF-9.

(d) EXPERIENCE BACKGROUND other than railroad experience. This factor seems to have had no positive influence on advancement. The best experience backgrounds are those of Mr. Lander, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Olsen, and Mr. Kolkmeyer - the first three occupying the lowest grades of Mr. Block's competitors.

(e) EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND. The employee with the highest educational background, Mr. Wilson, who has both Bachelor of Law and Master of Law degrees, occupies the lowest grade of all eight competitive employees. The differences in formal education among the remaining employees are not substantial.

(f) GRADE WHEN FIRST EMPLOYED by the Railroad Retirement Board. Mr. Wilson and Mr. Kolkmeyer were both employed at grade CAF-4. Today Mr. Wilson is CAF-6 and Mr. Kolkmeyer CAF-12. Mr. Block was employed at CU-2, and so was Mr. Lazzari. Today they are CAF-5 and CAF-9 respectively. The employee hired at the highest grade, Mr. Lander, is now CAF-7, lower than the average grade.

(Note: The original testimony was based upon information given in writing to Mr. Burke by the office of director of personnel during the veterans' survey of 1946. An analysis of the personnel folders of the nine employees shows the following differences: Mr. Olsen was found to have had ten months military service in World War II; Mr. Lander was found to be a veteran of World War I; Mr. Runnels was found to have been in a CAF-3 position rather than CAF-4; and to have been in departmental service on June 8, 1942, and Mr. Vollbrecht was apparently in Milwaukee, although still in the Chicago Region - one official form showing him in Milwaukee and another official form showing him in Chicago. These differences do not appear to be substantial, except as indicated below.)

2. A further analysis of the sheets in Exhibit B shows that it can be reasonably concluded that the promotions of the non-veterans over Mr. Block can be accounted for on one or a combination of the following grounds:

(a) RECLASSIFICATION OF POSITIONS on September 1, 1942. Every one of the competing employees who was occupying a CAF-4 position on 9-1-42 (except Block, and Olsen, the other World War II veteran) was promoted on either 9-1-42 or 10-1-1942. In detail:

Mr. Lazzari -- to CAF-5 on 9-1-1942. Official record states: Reclassification of position from CAF-4 to CAF-5.

Mr. Lander -- to CAF-5 on 9-1-1942. Official record states: Reclassification of position from CAF-4 to CAF-5.

Mr. Wilson -- to CAF-5 on 9-1-1942. Official record states: Reclassification of position from CAF-4 to CAF-5.

Mr. Vollbrecht -- to CAF-5 on 9-1-1942. Official record states: Reclassification of position from CAF-4 to CAF-5.

Mr. Robinson -- to CAF-6 on 10-1-1942. Official record states: Promotion.

Mr. Kolkmeyer -- to CAF-7 on 10-1-1942. Official record states: Promotion.

Mr. Olsen left for military service 10-17-1942.

Mr. Runnells did not reach grade CAF-4 until 12-16-1942, and was then in departmental service. (Discrepancy from original information.

Mr. Block was then in military service.

(b) RAILROAD EXPERIENCE before employment with Railroad Retirement Board. This factor may have had some influence on promotions, since Mr. Kolkmeyer, occupying the highest position, and Mr. Robinson, occupying one of the second highest positions, have both had substantial railroad experience.

(c) BEING PRESENT AND AVAILABLE when promotional opportunities occurred. In some cases, the official record shows the non-veteran being recommended for promotion "because he is the best qualified of the available employees of the Board for the position." Throughout the period of World War II, the Board constantly requested the Civil Service Commission to waive the "length of federal service requirement in the case of the proposed promotion" of the employees who were present and available.

The pattern of promotions of Mr. Block and his competitors during the war years is shown below:

	1942 (After 6-8-42) CAF	1943 CAF	1944 CAF	1945 CAF	1946 CAF	1947 CAF	NOW CAF
BLOCK	4	4-5	5-6	6	6-5	5	5
WILSON	4-5	5-6(Cond)	6	6	6	6	6
LANDER	4-5	5	5-6	6	6	6-7	7
OLSEN	4	4-5	5-7	7	7	7	7
RUNNELLS	3-4	4-6	6	6-7	7	7-8	8
VOLLBRECHT	4-5	5-7	7-9	9-7	7	7-8	8
LAZZARI	4-5	5-7	7	7	7	7-9	9
ROBINSON	4-6	6-9	9	9	9	9	9
KOLKMEYER	4-9	9-11	11	11-12	12	12	12

It is interesting to note that today, while Mr. Block is only grade CAF-5, the average grade of the other eight employees is CAF-8.2. It should be noted specifically that every employee above, occupying a CAF-4 position in the Chicago Region in the Fall of 1942, was advanced to a higher grade if he remained on his job:

(1) The positions of four employees were reclassified from CAF-4 to CAF-5 and the employees remained in their same positions at the same location.

(2) Two employees received promotions and remained in the same location.

(The remaining three employees were: Block - then in military service; Olsen - who entered military service October 17, 1942; and Runnells - who did not come into the region until March 16, 1943.)

3. We present to the Sub-Committee the following conclusions with respect to the case of Mr. Edward H. Block, veteran:

FIRST: Mr. Block's position in Chicago was reclassified during his absence from CAF-4 to CAF-5. He was denied the benefits of this reclassification, and was thus denied his rights under the Selective Training and Service Act and the regulations of the Civil Service Commission.

SECOND: Mr. Block is today occupying the lowest grade of all nine employees solely because he was away from his position in military service for approximately four years.

EXHIBIT "A"

RAILROAD RETIREMENT BOARD POST 856

THE AMERICAN LEGION

844 Rush Street
Chicago 11, Illinois

In the course of the hearing, held on March 5, 1948, Mr. V. Paul Carney, Director of Personnel, in his testimony stated in effect that he had never heard of my grievance until that day, March 5, 1948

This is to state that in October 1946, a few days after my promotion in grade and salary to CAF-5, the position now held by me, I talked to Mr. Carney personally concerning my grievance in Mr. Carney's office. Mr. Carney was thoroughly conversant with all phases of my case, knowing the dates and circumstances of the promotions, demotions, and transfers. I also talked with Mr. MacLeod, Assistant Director of Personnel about my grievance on at least three occasions about that time.

(S) Edward H. Block

EXHIBIT B
Page 1

CASE OF EDWARD H. BLOCK

MR. EDWARD H. BLOCK

a. Draft Status During World War II: 1a on March 30, 1942.
Enlisted May 21, 1942.

b. Age: 34 years.

c. Present Position and Grade: Field Representative CAF-5.

d. Date-Grade when First Employed by Railroad Retirement Board: December 26, 1939 - CU-2.

e. Last Efficiency Rating Before June 8, 1942: Very good.

f. Position held on June 8, 1942: Placement Officer, CAF-4.
Station: Chicago, Illinois.

g. Education: High school graduate.

h. Experience: (1) 4 years as meter reader
(2) -2 years as professional athlete.

i. Promotion Record Since June 8, 1942:

(1) December 16, 1943 - Field Representative, CAF-5 (Conditional). Form G-61 (Internal Form) shows official station as Moline, Illinois. Form G-105 shows official station as Chicago, Illinois.

(2) July 1, 1944, Field Representative, CAF-6. Forms G-61 and G-105 show same discrepancy as above.

(3) April 9, 1946, Field Representative, CAF-6 (Transfer). Form G-105 shows official station as "from Moline BP, Chicago DO, to Sioux City BP, Des Moines DO."

(4) October 21, 1946, Field Representative, CAF-5. Following statement signed by Mr. Block: "I accept this transfer and change to lower grade because I do not want to work outside of Chicago, Illinois."

EXHIBIT B
Page 2

CASE OF EDWARD H. BLOCK

COMPETITIVE EMPLOYEE: SCOTT C. WILSON

a. Draft Status During World War II: No record shown.

b. Age: 63 years.

c. Present Position and Grade: Claims Examiner, CAF-6.

d. Date-Grade when First Employed by Railroad Retirement Board: June 21, 1939, CAF-4.

e. Last Efficiency Rating Before June 8, 1942: Very good.

f. Position Held on June 8, 1942: Claims Examiner, CAF-4.
Station: Chicago, Illinois.

g. Education: Degrees of Bacholor of Laws and Master of Laws.

h. Experience:

(1) 19 years prior federal service, including 6 years as attorney and naturalization examiner.

(2) 10 years in mortgage and real estate business. Income from $5,000 to $13,000 per year.

i. Promotion Record Since June 8, 1942:

(1) September 1, 1942, Field Representative, CAF-5. Station: Chicago, Illinois. Form G-61 states "Reclassification of position from CAF-4 to CAF-5".

(2) December 16, 1943, Field Representative, CAF-6 (Conditional). Station: Chicago, Illinois.

(3) July 16, 1944, Field Representative, CAF-6. Station: Chicago, Illinois.

(4) June 16, 1947, Claims Examiner, CAF-6. Station: Chicago, Illinois.

EXHIBIT B
Page 3.

CASE OF EDWARD H. BLOCK

COMPETITIVE EMPLOYEE: JOHN C. LANDER

a. Draft Status During World War II: No record shown.

b. Age: 52 years.

c. Present Position and Grade: Field Representative, CAF-7

d. Date-Grade When First Employed by Railroad Retirement Board: May 25, 1939, CAF-5.

e. Last Efficiency Rating Before June 8, 1942: Very good.

f. Position Held on June 8, 1942: Placement Officer, CAF-4.
Station: Chicago, Illinois.

g. Education: High school. One year of college.

h. Experience:

(1) 13 years as personnel manager, assistant employment manager and investigator.

(2) 4 years insurance sales.

(3) 2 years storekeeper gager (Bureau of Internal Revenue).

i. Promotion Record Since June 8, 1942:

(1) September 1, 1942, Field Representative, CAF-5, Station: Chicago, Illinois. Form G-61 states "Reclassification of position from CAF-4 to CAF-5".

(2) January 2, 1944, Field Representative, CAF-6 (Conditional). Station: Chicago, Illinois.

(3) July 1, 1947, Field Representative, CAF-7, Station: Chicago, Illinois.

EXHIBIT B
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CASE OF EDWARD H. BLOCK

Competitive Employee: CLARENCE V. OLSEN

a. Draft Status During World War II: In military service for 10 months.

b. Age: 47 years.

c. Present Position and Grades: Claims Examiner, CAF-7. Station: Chicago, Illinois.

d. Date-Grade When First Employed by Railroad Retirement Board: May 25, 1939, CAF-4

e. Last Efficiency Rating Before June 8, 1942: Very good.

f. Position Held on June 8, 1942: Claims Examiner, CAF-4, Station: Chicago, Illinois

g. Education: High school. One year of college. Two years business college.

h. Experience:

(1) 15 years as bookkeeper, stenographer and bank teller.

(2) 3 years in federal civil service, clerical bookkeeping positions.

i. Promotion Record Since June 8, 1942:

(1) September 16, 1943, Claims Examiner, CAF-5 (Conditional), Station: Chicago, Illinois.

(2) October 16, 1944, Unemployment Claims Examiner, CAF-7, Station: Chicago, Illinois.

(3) June 2, 1947, Claims Examiner, CAF-7, Station: Chicago, Illinois.

EXHIBIT B
Page 5.

CASE OF EDWARD H. BLOCK

COMPETITIVE EMPLOYEE: LAWRENCE VOLLBRECHT

a. Draft Status During World War II: 3a May 20, 1941; 2a October 27, 1943; 1a February 22, 1944; 2a March 6, 1944; 1a March 20, 1944; 2a May 2, 1944; 2a June 20, 1944; 2a December 24, 1944 2a January 2, 1945; 2a June 5, 1945.

b. Age: 36 years.

c. Present Position and Grade: Field Representative, CAF-8. Station: Milwaukee.

d. Date-Grade When First Employed by Railroad Retirement Board: May 25, 1939, CAF-4.

e. Last Efficiency Rating Before June 8, 1942: Very good.

f. Position Held on June 8, 1942: Claims Examiner, CAF-4, Station: Chicago, Illinois (Form G-105), Station: Milwaukee (Form G-61).

g. Education. High school. Two years college (evening school).

h. Experience:

(1) 3 years substitute post office clerk.
(2) 5 years bookkeeper and teller.
(3) 1 year route man for dairies-bakeries.

i. Promotion Record Since June 8, 1942:

(1) September 1, 1942, Field Representative, CAF-5, Station: Milwaukee (Form G-61), Station: Chicago, Illinois (Form G-105).
(2) March 16, 1943, Placement Officer, CAF-6, Station: Milwaukee (Form G-61), Station: Chicago, Illinois (Form G-105).
(3) July 1, 1943, Field Representative, CAF-7, Station: Milwaukee (Form G-61, Station: Chicago, Illinois (Form G-105).
(4) February 1, 1944, District Manager, CAF-9, Station: Milwaukee (Form G-61), Station: Chicago, Illinois (Form G-105).
(5) December 31, 1945, Field Representative, CAF-7, Station: Milwaukee.
(6) July 1, 1947, Field Representative, CAF-8, Station: Milwaukee.

EXHIBIT B
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CASE OF EDWARD H. BLOCK

COMPETITIVE EMPLOYEE: DWAYNE E. RUNNELLS

a. Draft Status During World War II: 3d December 20, 1943; 3d May 8, 1944; 2a June 29, 1944; 2a July 6, 1944; 2a January 16, 1945; 2a May 22, 1945.

b. Age: 35 years.

c. Present Position and Grade: Field Representative, CAF-8, Station: Decatur, Illinois.

d. Date-Grade When First Employed by Railroad Retirement Board: December 18, 1939, CAF-1.

e. Last Efficiency Rating Before June 8, 1942: Excellent.

f. Position Held on June 8, 1942: Clerk, CAF-3, Station: Chicago (Departmental service).

g. Education: High school graduate.

h. Experience:

(1) 2-1/2 years elevator conductor and guard (civil service).
(2) 4 years heat engineer, office clerk, salesman.

i. Promotion Record Since June 8, 1942:

(1) December 16, 1942, clerk, CAF-4, Station: Chicago, Illinois, (Departmental Service).
(2) March 16, 1943, Field Representative, CAF-5, Station: Chicago, Illinois.
(3) December 16, 1943, Field Representative, CAF-6, Station: Decatur, Illinois.
(4) January 16, 1945, Field Representative, CAF-7 (Conditional) Station: Decatur, Illinois.
(5) June 3, 1946, Field Representative, CAF-5 (Displacement), Station: Decatur, Illinois.
(6) October 21, 1946, Field Representative, CAF-7, Station: Decatur, Illinois.
(7) July 1, 1947, Field Representative, CAF-8, Station: Decatur, Illinois.

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CASE OF EDWARD H. BLOCK

COMPETITIVE EMPLOYEE: ALFRED A. LAZZARI

a. Draft Status During World War II: 1a February 7, 1944; 2a June 21, 1944; 2a January 16, 1945; 2a May 11, 1945.

b. Age: 34 years.

c. Present Position and Grade: Field Representative, CAF-9, Station: Chicago, Illinois.

d. Date-Grade When First Employed by Railroad Retirement Board: November 4, 1937, CU-2.

e. Last Efficiency Rating Before June 8, 1942: Very good.

f. Position Held on June 8, 1942: Placement Officer, CAF-4, Station: Chicago, Illinois.

g. Education: High school graduate, 2 semesters college.

h. Experience:
(1) 4 years assistant shipping clerk.
(2) 9 months messenger.

i. Promotion Record Since June 8, 1942:

(1) September 1, 1942, Field Representative, CAF-5, Station: Chicago, Illinois. Form G-61 states "Reclassification of position from CAF-4 to CAF-5".
(2) January 16, 1943, Placement Officer, CAF-6, Station: Chicago, Illinois.
(3) July 1, 1943, Field Representative, CAF-6, Station: Chicago, Illinois.
(4) December 16, 1943, Field Representative, CAF-7, Station: Chicago, Illinois.
(5) July 1, 1947, Field Representative, CAF-9, Station: Chicago, Illinois.

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CASE OF EDWARD H. BLOCK

COMPETITIVE EMPLOYEE: LEO R. ROBINSON

a. Draft Status During World War II: 1a January 11, 1944; 2b January 18, 1944; 1a April 4, 1944; 2a May 23, 1944; 2a October 31, 1944.

b. Age: 39 years.

c. Present Position and Grade: District Manager, CAF-9, Station: Decatur, Illinois.

d. Date-Grade When First Employed by Railroad Retirement Board: June 26, 1939, CAF-4.

e. Last Efficiency Rating Before June 8, 1942: Very good.

f. Position Held on June 8, 1942: Placement Officer, CAF-4, Station: Chicago, Illinois.

g. Education: One year high school. Correspondence course in railway signaling.

h. Experience:

(1) 13 years railroad experience as signal helper, clerk, relay inspector.
(2) 2 years insurance sales.

i. Promotion Record since June 8, 1942:

(1) October 1, 1942, Employment Officer, CAF-6, Station: Chicago, Illinois.
(2) January 1, 1943, Placement Officer, CAF-6, Station: Chicago, Illinois.
(3) July 1, 1943, Field Representative, CAF-7, Station: Chicago, Illinois.
(4) December 16, 1943, District Manager, CAF-9, Station: Fort Wayne, Indiana. Notation in record states "He is the best qualified of the available employees of the Board for the position of District Manager at Fort Wayne, Indiana".
(5) August 1, 1945, District Manager, CAF-9, Station: Decatur, Illinois.

COMPETITIVE EMPLOYEE: WILLIAM H. KOLKMEYER

a. Draft Status During World War II: No record shown.

b. Age: 55 years.

c. Present Position and Grade: Regional Adjudicator, CAF-12, Station: Chicago, Illinois.

d. Date-Grade When First Employed by Railroad Retirement Board: June 9, 1939, CAF-4.

e. Last Efficiency Rating Before June 8, 1942: Excellent.

f. Position Held on June 8, 1942: Placement Officer, CAF-4, Station: Chicago, Illinois.

g. Education: High school graduate. Four years commercial and technical training.

h. Experience:

(1) 22 years railroad experience as draftsman, accountant and statistician.
(2) 4 years as secretary and sales manager of a box manufacturing company.

i. Promotion Record Since June 8, 1942:

(1) October 1, 1942, Regional Certifying Officer, CAF-7, Station: Chicago, Illinois.
(2) December 16, 1942, Regional Certifying Officer, CAF-9 (Conditional). Station: Chicago, Illinois.
(3) December 16, 1943, Field Supervisor, CAF-11 (Conditional); Station: Chicago, Illinois.
(4) April 16, 1943, Field Supervisor, CAF-12, Station: Chicago, Illinois.
(5) May 5, 1947, Regional Adjudicator, CAF-12, Station: Chicago, Illinois.

Note: On March 13, 1940, applied for vacant positions of principal regional employment officer, CAF-11, senior regional employment officer, CAF-9, associate regional employment officer, CAF-8, junior regional employment officer, CAF-7, and regional employment officer, CAF-6 - was not selected for any of these positions.

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AMERICAN LEGION INVESTIGATION CONCERNING:

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST VETERANS
BY THE
RAILROAD RETIREMENT BOARD

Record of Hearings conducted by a Special
Subcommittee of the House Committee on
Post Office and Civil Service, in the
United States Court at Chicago, Illinois
on March 5th, 1948, on the matter of
veterans preference in the United States
Railroad Retirement Board.

Reproduced, with Outline of Contents and Index of Names, by
Railroad Retirement Board Post No. 856, The American Legion

Railroad Retirement Board Post No. 856
THE AMERICAN LEGION
Chicago, Illinois

TRANSMITTAL MEMORANDUM May 12, 1948

Comrades:

In compliance with Post directive, your Liaison Committee transmits herewith the reproduced record of the Hearings held in the U. S. Court at Chicago, Illinois on March 5th, 1948 before the Special Subcommittee of the House of Representatives Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

In the course of reproducing the record, the need for a ready reference to the contents became apparent, the record by itself being a verbatim account and of necessity lengthy and repetitious. For the convenience of our comrades, who are anxious to know the facts and where to find them in the record, your Liaison Committee has therefore prepared, pages i - vii, an outline of contents in the order in which the testimony appears in the record. As an added reference aid, an index of names was also prepared (page 121).

For the further information of our comrades, your Liaison Committee reproduced, as a separate document, the additional veterans' testimony for the record submitted pursuant to instructions at the Hearings. This document - Summation of Veterans' Case and Reply Statement of Veterans - cites examples from the Hearing to illustrate the types of superficial and misleading evidence which the Railroad Retirement Board had to present in attempting to defend its unfortunate situation.

More than two years have passed since action was first taken by this American Legion Post to secure from our agency a recognition of the rights and privileges guaranteed veterans by the Congress of the United States. The record of this Hearing brings to light the complexity of some of the problems we have been facing.

The Committee on Post Office and Civil Service of the House of Representatives is studying the facts revealed by this investigation and has not yet announced its decision. We are confident however that when this Committee of Congress announces its decision, procedures will be set in motion to correct injustices and to restore the veteran to his rightful place in the Railroad Retirement Board.

By the Liaison Committee:

Melvin E. Fickle Member	A. Russell Brainerd Member	Francis D. Burke Chairman

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Does not want record to show that Board had no knowledge it was being investigated - representative of Civil Service Committee had been to Chicago for preliminary investigation - Board well aware for long time that investigation being conducted.

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Not purpose to state Board had no knowledge of investigation - but Board had no knowledge of this hearing.

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* * * * * * * * * * *

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RE: Hearing before a Subcommittee of the House of Representatives, Post-office and Civil Service Committee, relative to Veterans Preference in the Railroad Retirement Board.

Room 582
U. S. Post-office Building,
Chicago, Illinois
Friday, March 5, 1948

The parties met pursuant to notice, at 10:00 A. M.

PRESENT:

MR. HOMER R. JONES,
Chairman of the Committee

MR. JAMES C. DAVIS
Member of the Committee

MR. GEORGE M. MOORE
Chief Counsel for the Committee

MR. ELLIODOR M. LIBONATI
Attorney and Chairman of a Special Committee of the Cook County Council of The American Legion.

THE CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, we are privileged to hold this hearing here in this courtroom by the Honorable Judge Holly's courtesy extended us, for which we are very grateful, and it has been requested that we announce that there be no smoking. You will see the signs, but sometimes some of us do not read too well, but in deference to the request of the Judge and the rules of the building here, we will all please refrain from smoking.

The Chair will from time to time declare a short recess for those of us who might want to sneak out in the hall and enjoy a smoke.

This morning a subcommittee of the Post-office and Civil Service Committee of the House of Representatives opens hearings with regard to alleged violations of veterans preference and discrimination against veterans by the Railroad Retirement Board.

This committee is composed of Congressman James C. Davis of Georgia and myself, Homer R. Jones of Washington State.

The subject matter of this hearing was first brought to the attention of the committee by our distinguished colleague from Chicago, Congressman Robert J. Twyman. After preliminary investigation the committee determined that hearings were necessary for a full and complete consideration of the problem.

Accordingly, Chairman Edward H. Rees, Chairman of the House Post-office and Civil Service Committee, appointed this committee for that purpose. The subcommittee has requested representatives of the American Legion, Railroad Retirement Board, Civil Service Commission, and certain employees of the Board to be present and furnish the subcommittee with their views on this matter at this time.

If the Railroad Retirement Board, through its representatives or by its policies, is not following the spirit and letter of the Veterans Preference Act of 1944, the committee desires to be informed about it so appropriate action may be taken. If, on the other hand, there are no violations of law and no discrimination against the veterans at this Board, we wish to know that, too.

I am advised that the American Legion in Cook County appointed a special committee to investigate this situation and this special American Legion Committee is satisfied that there is discrimination against veterans in the Retirement Board.

The investigation conducted by our committee shows some violations of the Civil Service rights of veterans employed by the Board. These hearings are for the purpose of developing all of the facts.

Mr. Moore, counsel for this committee, will proceed.

MR. MOORE: Mr. Chairman, at the outset, let me explain for the purpose of the record, that the Subcommittee has called various employees of the Railroad Retirement Board. These employees should speak freely, without fear of recrimination or reprisal on the part of the Board, because I have been assured by the Chairman of the Board, Mr. Kennedy, that that is the policy of the Board, that is, regardless of whether they are asked questions with respect to a special point.

That is, all of the information voluntarily given to this Committee is to be construed as furnishing the Committee with full facts with respect to this matter.

The first witness, Mr. Chairman, is Mr. Elliodor M. Libonati, Chairman of the Special Committee of the Cook County Council of The American Legion, which was appointed to investigate this matter at the Railroad Retirement Board.

ELLIODOR M. LIBONATI,

was called as a witness, and stated as follows:

EXAMINATION

BY MR. MOORE:

Q Will you state your full name?

A My name is Elliodor M. Libonati, E-l-l-i-o-d-o-r M. L-i-b-o-n-a-t-i. My address is 100 North LaSalle Street. I am an attorney and I have been acting as Chairman of the Cook County Council Special Committee to investigate discrimination against veterans in violation of the Veterans Preference Act.

MR. JONES: Pardon me. Off the record.

(After discussion off the record.)

You may proceed.

A (Continuing) After a meeting of our committee, — and I want to say here that the position of The American Legion is as outlined by the Chairman of this committee, namely, that we want to get the facts and receive answers to the alleged, let us say at this time, violations which we say have been perpetrated upon the veterans in regard to the Veterans Preference Act.

So, pursuant to an order of our meeting, coming out of our meeting, we wrote Mr. William J. Kennedy, Chairman of the United States Railroad Retirement Board at 844 Rush Street in Chicago, on July 31, 1947, and I have a copy here for the committee, but I believe it would be advisable, although I am conscious, and so are my colleagues conscious of the fact that time is the essence here, and we know you gentlemen are very busy with matters just as important as this.

We wrote in this letter here to Mr. Kennedy:

"I have been directed by the Cook County Council of The American Legion to request that your Board discuss with a special committee of the Council the policies you have adopted and the practices you have followed with respect to those employees of your agency holding veteran preference rights. Pursuant thereto, I respectfully request that the members of your Board, or a majority thereof, meet with our special committee within the next ten days.

"Our committee desires to discuss specifically the following matters:

"(a) A procedure for filling vacant positions in your agency, understood to have been adopted on or about January 1942.

"(b) A policy regarding the placing of your agency's employees returning from the armed forces, understood to have been adopted on or about September 1943.

"(c) A policy regarding the promotion of your company's employees absent in the armed forces, understood to have been adopted on or about October 1943.

"(d) The method by which your agency put into effect War Service Regulation XIII (Thirteen) of the Civil Service Commission, which our Legion records indicates was enacted in July 1943.

"(e) A policy regarding the promotion of your agency's employees absent in the armed forces, understood to have been adopted on or about November 1944.

"(f) A displacement policy understood to have been adopted by your agency in January 1946.

"(g) The circumstances surrounding the application of your displacement policy in the cases of your employees holding veteran preference rights, especially in the cases of O. A. Gaskill and H. E. Reece.

"(h) The circumstances surrounding the restoration to their former positions of your employees holding veteran preference rights especially the cases of H. E. Lohman, A. R. Brainerd, and Miss M. K. Fischer.

"(i) The circumstances surrounding the application of your promotion policy or regulation in the cases of your employees holding veteran preference rights, especially in the cases of S. E. Tucker and J. F. Morrissey.

"(j) The success of the plan to adjust your returned veterans, as announced by your Board in 1946.

"(k) The action taken following receipt of a memorandum dated June 2, 1947, to your Board from Railroad Retirement Board Post 856 of The American Legion recommending that the Civil Service Commission be requested to waive written examinations in cases of certain types of veteran promotions.

"(l) The transactions of a board of examiners understood to have been authorized your agency by the Civil Service Commission in the spring of 1947.

"(m) The action taken by your agency on the report of the Inter-agency committee on Federal Employment, under the leadership of the Retraining and Reemployment Administration, Department of Labor, of Federal Government Employment Principles, which report was approved by the President of the United States, was received by your agency on or about May 1, 1947, and which constitutes page R6-23 of the Federal Personnel Manual.

"I thank you for your kind consideration.

"Very truly yours,

"(Signed) Elliodor M. Libonati,

"Chairman of the Special Committee
of the Cook County Council of The
American Legion."

We received no answer to that communication. I addressed another letter to them on or about the 10th, or rather 10 days later, and subsequently received a reply that the Board, that a member of the Board was ill and that my letter would have to wait the return of the Board.

Our committee met again and decided that we would pursue our course independent of the Railroad Retirement Board, and investigate the transaction— departing from our position, the position of the Legion, which is always to cooperate with agencies with the view to securing a fair and just compromise or an adjustment of the differences.

We appreciate the fact that these government agencies are overtaxed. They have tremendous jobs, and in that spirit of cooperation we addressed to this Board that letter and received no answer.

Finally, we continued our investigation from August to date, with the result we are here.

We asked Congressman Twyman, who is a member of the Civil Service Committee of Congress from this territory, for this investigation, in default of receiving any affirmative or any other answer in response to our letter, and that is why we are here, and I want to read the resolution adopted by the Cook County Council of the American Legion in July, at its July meeting the first Wednesday in July, 1947, under which we pursued our course of investigation.

> "WHEREAS, it is alleged that the Railroad Retirement Board, a federal government agency, pursued policies and practices intended to deprive veterans in federal employment of their rights and privileges granted to them by Congressional legislation, and
>
> "WHEREAS, this agency, even during the period of World War II while their veteran employees were away from their positions serving in the armed forces and offering their lives in defense of America and American institutions, adopted regulations designed to deny career opportunities to employees in the armed forces and to establish non-veterans as a preferred class in federal employment, and
>
> "WHEREAS, this department or agency is allegedly following a policy to impair veterans legislation, and are allegedly intimidating and punishing those veterans who expose or question the procedure.
>
> "NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that the Cook County Council of The American Legion authorize the appointment of a special committee to conduct such investigation as may be required to bring about full disclosure and complete correction of these alleged inadequacies and practices, which has as its purpose securing for veterans the rights and benefits which a grateful people meant they should properly receive."

That, in short, Mr. Chairman, is the position of The American Legion in regard to this matter now under investigation.

We are ready to proceed and call our first witness to testify in regard to the matters of which we complain.

BY MR. MOORE:

Q Mr. Chairman. Mr. Libonati, with reference to the letter of July 31, 1947, and the failure on the part of the Board to respond to that letter, what is the general attitude of other Federal agencies here with respect to requests of that nature?

A Well, we have found that in the matters of those agencies with which we have dealt, or with whom we have dealt, such as the Veterans Administration in matters in our field, they have been very cooperative.

MR. MOORE: Mr. Libonati, would you present for the record the letter and the resolution and could we mark those Exhibits A and B?

MR. LIBONATI: Mark the resolution of the Cook County Council as Exhibit A and the letter as Exhibit B.

MR. MOORE: Would you hand those to the reporter, please.

(Said exhibits were marked as Exhibits A and B and are as previously read into the record.)

BY MR. MOORE:

Q Mr. Libonati, you have concluded your testimony?

A I have.

Q (By Mr. Jones) Mr. Libonati, having had no reply from the special communications, did you ever personally telephone anyone at the Retirement Board or discuss it personally with them as to why you had not received answers to your letters?

A I do not have any recollection as to whether I called. I may have called and I might not have. I think my answer to that would be no, I did not communicate with them.

MR. MOORE: Mr. Chairman, the next witness is Mr. Francis D. Burke, Commander of the Railroad Retirement Board Post 856.

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Davis.

BY MR. DAVIS:

Q. Mr. Libonati, how many veterans' posts constitute the Cook County organization that you referred to?

A We have about 412 posts of The American Legion in Cook County, with a membership of over 90,000.

Q And the organization that you referred to represents all of those posts?

A Correct, sir.

MR. MOORE: Mr. Chairman, Mr. Francis D. Burke, Commander of the Railroad Retirement Board Post 856 of The American Legion.

FRANCIS D. BURKE,

was called as a witness and stated as follows:

EXAMINATION

BY MR. MOORE:

Q Mr. Burke.

A Mr. Chairman, my name is Francis D. Burke. I live at 244 East Pearson Street, Chicago, Illinois, and for the past 9-1/2 years I have been employed by the Railroad Retirement Board, occupying the positions of Assistant Economist, Final Reviewer, District Manager, Regional Adjudicator, Senior Employment Analyst and Training Advisor. I am now Commander of the Railroad Retirement Board Post 856 of The American Legion, a post for Railroad Retirement Board employees.

On May 17, 1946, the Board instructed the Director of Personnel to assign me to work on a "survey of the status of employees in military service." On July 24, 1946, I submitted to the Board my report consisting of the following parts:

Section I - General Report; Section II - Comparative Promotion Tables of Military and Non-Military Employees; Section III - a booklet entitled "Our Veteran Returns"; Section IV - List of Names of Military and Non-Military Employees by Departments; and Appendix entitled "Effect Upon This Report of Lack of Proper Records on Board Employees."

On October 10, 1946, the members of the Board, speaking of the three Board members as a unit rather than the agency, the Board named me Secretary of the Board's Veteran Adjustment Committee, stating "because of the great amount of very fine work you have done for the Board on this question, the Board has named you as Secretary of the Committee."

On January 10, 1947, Post 856 of the American Legion, Department of Illinois, awarded me a "certificate of Distinguished Service" which read in part as follows: "Recognition is hereby accorded for distinguished service rendered in behalf of the employees of the United States Railroad Retirement Board who served in the armed forces of the United States during World War II."

I submit the above facts as evidence of my qualifications as a witness at this hearing.

I wish to offer testimony on the following subjects:

First, anti-veteran policies and procedures adopted and enforced during the period of World War II while our veterans were in the armed forces.

Second, denial to veterans of benefits accruing to their positions during their absence in the armed forces, and denial to veterans of restoration rights to their former position.

Third, violations of the Veterans' Preference Act.

Fourth, illustrations of various types of anti-veteran discrimination.

First: ANTI-VETERAN POLICIES AND PROCEDURES ADOPTED AND ENFORCED DURING THE PERIOD OF WORLD WAR II, WHILE OUR VETERANS WERE IN THE ARMED FORCES.

I know of no other federal establishment within the United States Government which followed a policy of relentless scheming to deprive its employees who were away fighting in the armed forces for the defense of these United States, of their moral and legal rights in Civil Service career employment.

At the outset of the war, when civil service regulations required that employees in the armed forces be given the same consideration for promotion as if they were actively employed by the agency, the Railroad Retirement Board enforced a series of administrative orders which denied promotional rights to veterans and which blocked any move which might be made by appointing officers to correct the injustices when the veterans returned to civilian service.

These orders were contrary to the spirit and intent of Congressional legislation and were in direct violation of existing instructions of the United States Civil Service Commission.

A. First is the Procedure of January 26th, 1942. On this date a procedure for filling vacant positions was issued. Here is what it provided:

1. Notice of vacant positions would be posted, that is, posted upon bulletin boards throughout the agency.

2. Any employee could submit a written application for promotion to these positions.

3. Appointing officers were limited in selections to employees who had submitted written applications, and,

4. A provision added shortly afterward, before an employee could be appointed he had to sign a form indicating he was willing to accept the position at that time.

The veteran, of course, did not know what positions were vacant. He could not therefore apply for them. He could not be selected because he did not apply and even if by chance he obtained an application form and got it in on time, he could not be selected because he was not available to go to work on his job.

This condition was called to the attention of the agency during 1942 in a resolution passed by Railroad Retirement Board Local 13, United Federal Workers of America. Their resolution reads:

Fourth, illustrations of various types of anti-veteran discrimination.

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This condition was called to the attention of the agency during 1942 in a resolution passed by Railroad Retirement Board Local 13, United Federal Workers of America. Their resolution reads:

"WHEREAS, employees leaving their civilian positions in the Railroad Retirement Board to enter into military service are making extreme personal sacrifices in the service of their country in a time of national emergency, and

"WHEREAS, it is extremely unfair that such persons shall be removed from consideration during their absence for promotions to positions of higher grade, therefore, be it

"RESOLVED, That persons so situated be considered for vacancies in accordance with the procedure outlined in G.O. 7 in the same manner as if they were then engaged in the duties of their regular positions; that they be promoted to vacant positions within their own bureaus for which they are qualified; that they be certified by the personnel office for promotions to vacant positions; that notices of vacancy be mailed to them so that they may be given opportunity to file applications for vacant positions and that, after they are promoted, if necessary conditional positions be created to be filled temporarily until the employee returns."

That is the end of the resolution.

I wish to point out that what this employee union requested was also a matter of regulation, mandatory on all federal civil service agencies, War Service Regulation IX.

I understand that, in the spring of 1943, this regulation was actually called to the attention of the regional directors by the director of employment and claims, the name of the bureau having charge of the field organization, this director who was then in charge of the field organization.

Apparently the conflict with agency procedure was noticed by the regional directors, because they were notified that the division of personnel suggested "the most desirable course to follow would probably be to make the record show that persons on military service would have been considered for promotion in order that they may be given special consideration upon their return from military service."

The opportunity for even this gesture to be made a matter of Board policy soon presented itself - - -

B. War Service Regulation XIII of the Civil Service Commission. This regulation, issued July 19, 1943, provided that a returned veteran shall be "reemployed in any position to which, according to the records of the agency, or in its judgment, he would have been promoted if he had not been absent to perform military or naval service."

This regulation would now make it mandatory that a returned veteran receive the special consideration which the division of personnel suggested as a practice for the regional directors to follow. But such was not the case. This regulation was never recognized by the Railroad Retirement Board.

On the contrary, it is a well known fact that the director of personnel advised the Board that this regulation seemed to go beyond the provisions of law, and that it was administratively impractical to carry out, even if the employee in military service had the qualifications required for the position.

It is also well known that he advised the Board that this regulation should not be recognized since there was no way of determining if the employee would be interested in being promoted to the higher position. . .

BY MR. JONES:

Q Who said that?

A The director of personnel.

. . . that methods and procedures change frequently in the Railroad Retirement Board and there is no way the veteran could keep up with the changes, and that it would be a potential threat to the stability of employment of the employee who was promoted to the position.

BY MR. MOORE:

Q Are you quoting the director of personnel?

A No, I am not quoting all the words.

Q That is in essence what he said to the Board?

A Yes. It is a two page memo.

Q For the purpose of the record, will you name the director of personnel?

A Yes. The director of personnel, Mr. Paul V. Carney.

In line with its policy of protecting the rights of civilians, the Board accepted Mr. Carney's recommendation, the recommendation of the director of personnel, and adopted Board Order 43-671 in August, 1943, which stated among other facts:

> "Except as the employee had been promoted while absent in service or except as his former position had been reclassified during his absence, the employee shall be placed in a position of higher grade than he formerly occupied only after full compliance with the procedure in effect at the time for filling vacancies."

It is interesting to note the first line of that provision in view of the fact that promotions of absent veterans were prohibited when the order was enacted. Of more importance, however, are the purposes of the order:

(1) Upon his return, the veteran can be promoted only to a vacant position. Therefore, the returned veteran could not compete for the positions held by the non-veterans who were promoted according to the plan of the appointing officers -- to positions to which the veterans would have been promoted had they not entered military service. It would make no difference whether these non-veterans were permanent or war-service employees.

BY MR. JONES:

Q At that point, are you quoting from the statement or is that an opinion being expressed by you or someone else?

A Oh, yes. This is an opinion here. I finished with the quoted section of the order.

(2) Both the spirit and the letter of War Service Regulation XIII were evaded and nullified.

C. Board Order 43-719: It was not until the adoption of Board Order 43-719 on October 4, 1943, that absent veterans were permitted any consideration for promotion. But what did this order permit? --

- that the absent veteran could be considered only for positions within his own budget unit,
- could be promoted only to the next higher graded level of duties, which, in most cases, resulted in a promotion of only one grade, and,
- that if once promoted, could not even be recommended for a subsequent promotion while absent without a detailed justification and the specific approval of the Board itself.

Q That is in that order?

A Yes, that is in that order.

Q Of that number?

A Yes, sir.

Q Who signed that order?

A The members of the Board.

Remember that there were no such restrictions on the promotions of civilians, and remember also that the regulations, under which this agency operated by law, required that absent veterans be given the same rights as civilians.

Here is what one regional director thought of Board Order 43-719. I quote from my report to the Board in 1946. This letter was made available to me at that time and I quote this in my report, so I am quoting now from my report.

Mr. P. F. Murphy, Regional Director at Cleveland, wrote: "I am firmly convinced that Board Order 43-719 violates the spirit and intent of the Selective Training and Service Act; that it fails to conform with the high purposes of the President in protecting the privileges of servicemen; that it is not in line with War Service Regulation XIII; and that it is not consistent with the policy of the Board as related to promotional opportunities enjoyed by employees in civilian occupations. In my judgment, prompt action should be taken to correct the injustice now being done to Board employees who are serving in the armed forces of the United States."

The next Board Order was Board Order No. 44-656.

BY MR. DAVIS:

Q Excuse me, Mr. Chairman. To whom was this letter written by the regional director at Cleveland?

A It was written, I believe, to either his immediate supervisor, the director of employment and claims; I am sure it would be to the director of employment and claims.

Q Here in Chicago?

A Here in Chicago, yes, sir.

D. Board Order 44-656. The restrictions of Board Order 43-719 remained in effect until around December 1, 1944, with the enactment of Board Order 44-656, which removed the restriction on the "next higher graded level of duties" but retained the one-time limit on promotion, so that the vets who had received their one grade increase were as bad off as before. It seemed that the restriction on the number of times promoted was set up to "provide adequate control against unjustified multiple promotions," an admission that the administrative officers of the agency were incapable of handling the promotions of their employees. Of course, the Board apparently had no similar concern for the unjustified multiple promotions of civilians.

This order also instructed the director of personnel to submit the names of qualified veterans from other budget units, to the head of budget unit having a vacancy which he could not fill from within his unit and which was posted throughout the agency.

For example, a vacancy was in a certain department and there may be eight departments, and he could not fill it within his department, so the procedure provided he would post it throughout all the departments, if he could not fill it first in his own.

This will probably be cited by the Board to show that the veteran enjoyed promotional opportunities to any part of the agency. You see, if a position were open in Department C, the veterans who were absent from

Department A, they would not be here to see the notice on the bulletin board. This order proposed to equalize that by requiring the director of personnel to submit the names of qualified veterans who were absent from other units to this unit, whose head was the appointing officer.

It is my understanding, however, that from 12-1-44 to July 1, 1946, nearly 80 positions were posted; that absent veterans were referred to less than ten of these jobs, of these posted positions. That there were many such jobs for which absent veterans were well qualified, but not referred. I know of no veteran receiving a promotion during this period under that procedure.

E. Seniority Promotion Policy. In August, 1945, the Railroad Retirement Board revised their rules on promotions to give special preference on the basis of seniority with the agency. The result was that when the veteran returned, he was required to compete under seniority in applying for promotion to vacant positions, but was not permitted, in a single instance, to displace a non-veteran, junior in seniority who had been promoted around and above him while he was away—a characteristic of the railroad industry seniority system upon which the Board's policy was purportedly patterned.

This seniority policy was thus used against the veterans from both directions - he could not compete, or exercise his seniority, to displace junior non-veterans, regardless of their inferior qualifications, who had been promoted around him while he was away. And, at the same time, he could not compete for promotion to vacant positions with senior non-veterans unless he could prove that he was then "clearly better qualified." I have the term "clearly better qualified" in quotes to show it is part of this policy. One of the two employee organizations recognized by the Board referred to this term "clearly better qualified" as "not an objective test" and adds that it "leaves room for unequal treatment."

Seniority can sometimes take strange and unusual directions, as is well illustrated by an action of the director of personnel during a training course conducted by the training adviser in 1946. The training adviser's clerical assistant in the course was the one employee of his office, a recently-employed disabled veteran, grade CAF-2.

The director of personnel asked that the disabled veteran be removed from this assignment for the sole reason that he had "no right because of his lack of seniority to have the advantage of being present during this training."

Of course, when the seniority policy was proposed in the summer of 1945, it is understood that a majority of the heads of bureaus and offices of the Board, the agency's key operating officials, felt that this policy would not be for the good of the service—a fact of apparently little concern in the Railroad Retirement Board and a fact which the Board has carefully concealed from the records of appeals to Federal appeals bodies, when the Board was contesting the appeals of veterans from discrimination by the agency.

In January, 1946, the Railroad Retirement Board adopted a so-called "displacement policy" providing for demotions and separations of employees on the basis of the seniority policy, used in reverse. That is the term from the policy itself, in reverse. This policy, originating in and based upon, a seniority policy declared to be not for the good of the service, discriminated against veterans as a group, failed to protect the rights of career service employees, and was declared in a Decision of the 7th Region of the Civil Service Commission to be contrary to law and illegal because it "deprived veterans of certain rights and privileges guaranteed by the provisions of the Veterans' Preference Act of 1944."

In the face of this Decision of March 12 --

Q Was that a particular letter or directive or order you quoted from there?

A Yes, sir.

Q Would you identify it?

A Yes, sir. The Decision in the appeal of Oscar Gaskill from adverse action -- I don't remember the exact title -- in violation of the Veterans' Preference Act, and the Decision came out on March 12, and it gave certain instructions to the Board and also provided they could appeal.

In the face of this Decision of March 12, 1947, the Railroad Retirement Board maintained the policy in full force and effect and continued to use it against its veterans. This, in spite of a letter from the President of the United States to the heads of all agencies, dated August 23, 1945, which read:

> "It is my desire that the heads of all departments and agencies arrange to put into effect as promptly as possible the recommendations which the Civil Service Commission makes under Section 14 of the Veterans' Preference Act of 1944. This constitutes another way in which the Federal Government can demonstrate that it intends to live up to both the letter and the spirit of the Veterans' Preference Act."

The clever ruses and devices used by the Railroad Retirement Board to violate the Veterans' Preference Act will be brought to light in the course of this hearing.

To my knowledge, the "displacement policy" is still the official personnel policy of the Board with respect to demotions and reassignments of employees.

The history of the Railroad Retirement Board's personnel policies and practices during World War II is a history of attempts to evade the laws of Congress, the directives of the President of the United States, and the regulations of the Civil Service Commission. And all of this was done at a time when our veterans were offering their lives to defend America and American institutions.

The second part: DENIAL TO VETERANS OF BENEFITS ACCRUING TO THEIR POSITIONS DURING THEIR ABSENCE IN MILITARY SERVICE, AND OF RESTORATION TO THEIR FORMER POSITIONS.

Civil Service Commission regulations provide, in effect, that when a position is reclassified to a higher grade, without substantial change in the duties and responsibilities, it is still the same position and, if occupied by a veteran in military service, the veteran is entitled to the new grade and to within-grade increases in salary from the date of reclassification.

Now, there are apparently certain loopholes in civil service regulations regarding reclassification, that permit evasions and caprice. Considerable latitude appears to be given to agencies in determining whether a position is the old or a new position. For positions in the field service, it is my understanding that agencies may determine, not only if the position is old or new, but also may set the grade and salary of the position without prior approval of the Civil Service Commission.

This latitude has been used to great advantage by the Railroad Retirement Board in its pursuance of anti-veteran activities. It utilizes the device frequently of "abolishing" one or more positions and on the same date "establishing" new positions of a higher grade, and calling the action a "reclassification" or a "new position", depending upon which term best suited their current objectives.

In nearly all cases which have been called to my attention, the decision seemed to be made completely without foundation. Of course, the policy of the agency appeared to require the decision to be adverse to any veteran involved.

Now, during the war years, there were many board orders issued which abolished positions, created positions, and placed other positions in a special category which removed them from the authorized list of positions -- all three types of actions pertaining to the positions in a single office or area. For example, there was Board Order 45-414, gentlemen, which looks something like this. Can you see it from there? (pointing to chart).

MR. MOORE: Off the record.

(After discussion off the record.)

THE WITNESS: (Continuing) This Board Order 45-414-- the entire order is not quoted, but it states in effect what takes place: It amended the authorized list of positions. (1) It authorized the following positions, effective

November 5, 1945. Now, what it authorized was six Grade CAF-7 Field Representatives. This Order also abolished the following positions, effective as of the close of business November 4, 1945:

Five Grade CAF-6 Field Representatives
Positions numbered 7730-07, 08, 10, 11, 12.

It made the following position, effective at the close of business November 4, 1945 "Unavailable for use by its removal from the 'authorized list of permanent positions' to the list of 'additional authorized permanent positions: regular incumbent on extended leave without pay, conditional position not to be authorized'" -- 7730-43.

And all of that happened to one Grade CAF-6 Field Representative position, the position number being 7730-43. Now, that is what the order read.

Before this Board Order was passed, gentlemen, there were six Grade CAF-6 Field Representative jobs in the Minneapolis Region, carrying those numbers: 7730-07, 08, 10, 11, 12, and 7730-43. Those six jobs were filled by Mr. Butterfield, Mr. Kuehn, Mr. Jerde, Mr. Marinan, Mr. Sattler, and Mr. Beulke (pointing to chart, reproduced on following page, showing the six employees -- all in grade CAF-6 positions). Mr. **BEULKE** is the man indicated in the orange, and it so happened he was away on military leave then. He was in the Army at the time this order was passed. This is the way it looked before the Order was passed.

The Order was passed, and here is the way it looked: (pointing to chart, reproduced on page 17b, showing one position at Grade CAF-6 and six positions at grade CAF-7) Mr. Butterfield, Mr. Kuehn, Mr. Jerde, Mr. Marinan, Mr. Sattler, and Mr. Cole, were in Grade CAF-7, one grade higher. There is one new man in there, Mr. Cole, who did not appear in the other chart - Mr. Cole, in fact, was a grade CAF-5 and was moved up to the CAF-7.

Mr. BEULKE, the veteran, was retained in grade CAF-6.

His position, in other words, was taken out and "saved" for him while he was away! A very innocuous Board Order, over night changed the picture just like that.

Now, what is strange about this - and what I have no information on, gentlemen - is the fact that Mr. Beulke, the veteran, returned from military service eleven days after this Board Order was passed!

And I think it would be very interesting to know whether the Regional Director, or the responsible officials at headquarters, knew he was coming back? Usually, when a veteran has been away for two and a half **years**, it is known fairly well, at least to the executives, before he gets back, that he is going to return.

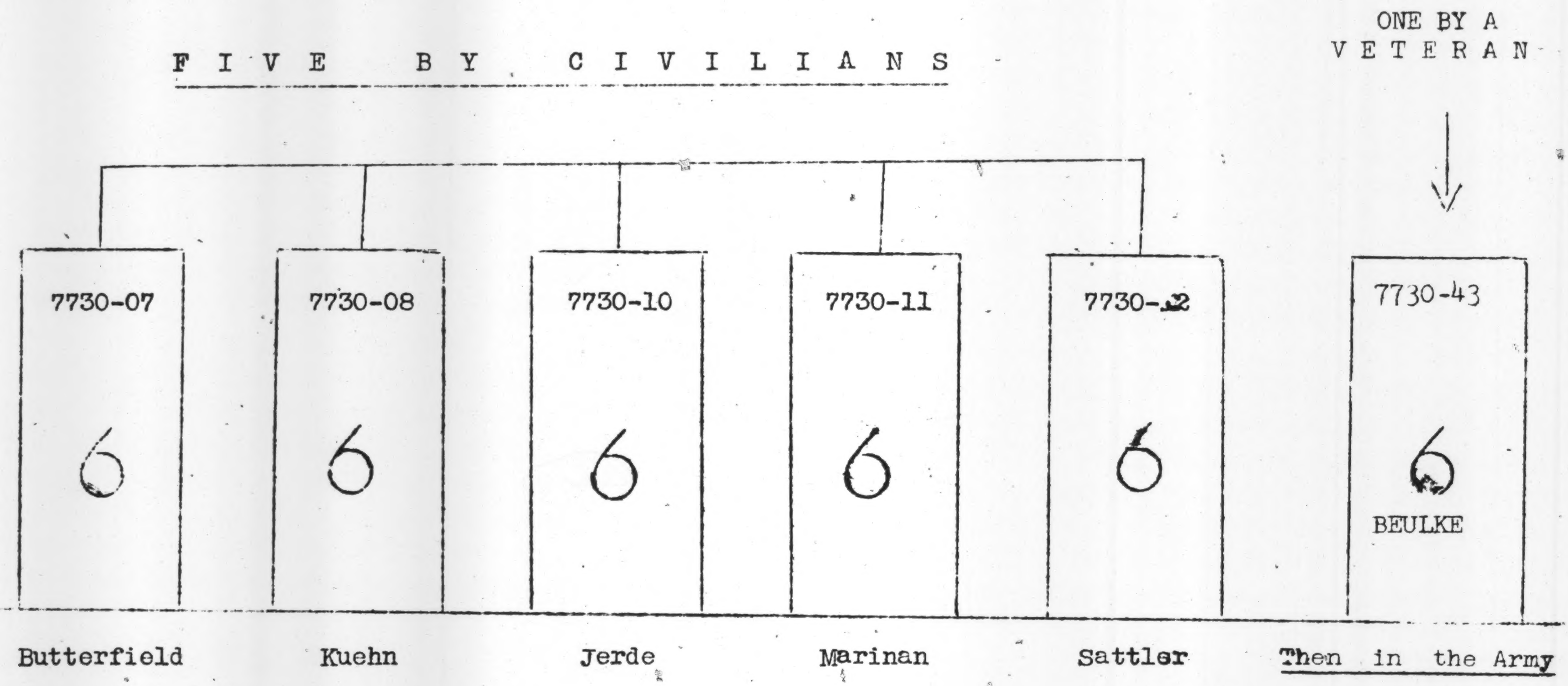
Of course, the Board will probably testify that in all such cases these positions were "new positions" and that substantial duties and responsibilities were added to them.

However, does it not seem that, if the duties and responsibilities were actually changed, the Director of the Bureau or Office concerned should himself know about it?

Yet, it is my information that Regional Directors have actually written to the headquarters of the Board to get a decision as to whether or not

BEFORE BOARD ORDER 45-414 WAS PASSED . . .

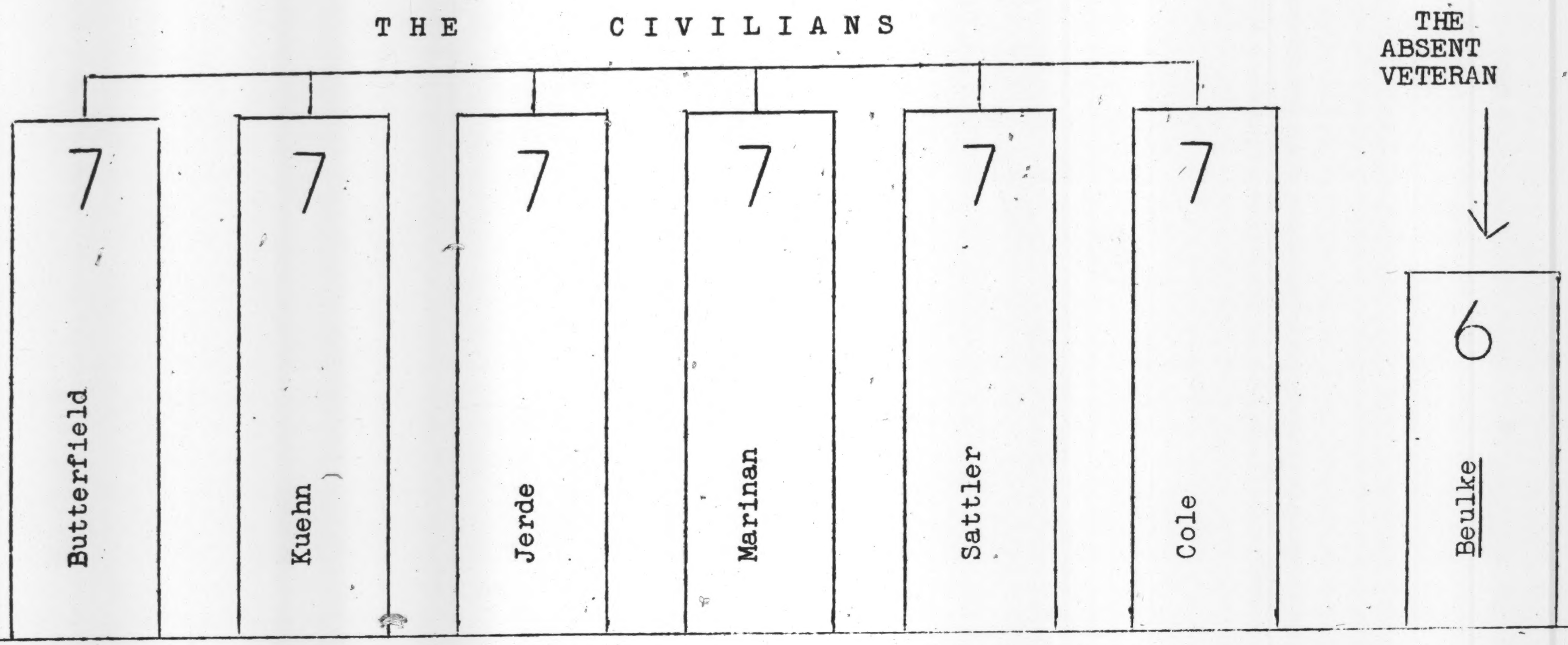
Six CAF-6 Field Representative Jobs in the Minneapolis Region were filled as follows:


FIVE BY CIVILIANS
ONE BY A VETERAN
7730-07
6
Butterfield
7730-08
6
Kuehn
7730-10
6
Jerde
7730-11
6
Marinan
7730-12
6
Sattler
7730-43
6
BEULKE
Then in the Army

AFTER

BOARD ORDER 45-414 WAS PASSED

THE PICTURE CHANGED . . .


THE CIVILIANS
7
Butterfield
7
Kuehn
7
Jerde
7
Marinan
7
Sattler
7
Cole
THE ABSENT VETERAN
6
Beulke

actions such as the following are to be considered as "reclassifications" or as "promotions":

Changes in the positions of -
Unemployment insurance claims examiners from CAF-4 to CAF-5
Field Representatives from CAF-4 to CAF-5 and later to CAF-6
Unemployment insurance claims examiners from CAF-5 to CAF-7

I am informed that regional directors have requested such information because the answers to the questions - - as to these changes in the jobs of veterans who were in military service at the time the changes were made - - would determine the beginning date of their salary increase periods. And, of course, whether or not the veteran would have restoration rights to the position.

Now, gentlemen, it appears to me to be ridiculous and fanciful to assume that the Regional Director, who supervised the employees in these positions, had to write to headquarters to find out whether the employees were now performing substantial additional duties and responsibilities. If this conclusion is incorrect, there can be but one other alternative -- that the officials occupying the position of Regional Director are by no means qualified for their positions.

It is a well-known fact that employment service positions during the war carried the same duties as field service positions. There was no real distinction so far as actual duties were concerned. But many veterans leaving positions of Placement Officers CAF-4, for example, were not given the benefits of the reclassification of that position to Field Representative CAF-5 when the change took place in 1943 throughout the various regions.

Let's take our veteran - EDWARD BLOCK - for example...

Ed left the position of Placement Officer CAF-4 in November, 1941 to enter the Army. On July 1, 1943, a new "list of authorized positions" carried no positions with the title of "Placement Officer" for his region; and, in fact, no CAF-4 field men by any title. It included, however, some 33 positions of Field Representative, CAF-5. One of these positions was obviously Ed Block's former job - - because the Placement Officers, CAF-4, were moved to CAF-5.

Now, Ed Block was employed in the Chicago District Office before he left, and therefore, one of the new CAF-5 jobs in the Chicago District Office was Ed's job. But Ed was not placed in a position (remember - he is still in the Army at this point) he was not placed in a position in the Chicago District Office. I would like to add that Ed's home was in

Chicago and there was no indication whatever given to the then regional director that Ed would be willing to be transferred away from Chicago.

But Ed Block was placed in a CAF-5 position, the position number of which applied to a job at Moline, Illinois.

The jobs were apparently again reclassified, and Ed was promoted while away to a CAF-6, still in Moline, Illinois.

When Ed returned on April 9, 1946, his notice stated: "Return from Military Furlough and Transfer" - and he was placed in a similar position at Sioux City, Iowa, being informed, of course, that the Board had protected his rights and had promoted him.

Now, at that time, Ed was offered either the CAF-6 in Sioux City or the CAF-5 in Chicago, in either case without benefit of any within-grade increases from the date of his so-called promotions. He accepted the Sioux City job and was ready to go there; but instead, was kept on detail in the Chicago Regional Office until October. While on this detail, his job again was changed from Sioux City to Des Moines, the Sioux City job being "abolished."

But in October, Ed's personal circumstances would not permit him to leave Chicago, his mother being seriously ill. He therefore asked for a like job, grade CAF-6, in the Chicago office. In answer to his request, the then Regional Director gave him the following choices:

(1) Move to Des Moines.
(2) Take a CAF-5 in Chicago - at the bottom of the grade.
(3) Resign from the service of the Board.

Ed accepted the job in Chicago, at the beginning rate for CAF-5. The result of this fiasco is that today EDWARD BLOCK is receiving a lower salary than he would have been receiving had he never been "promoted" from the position of Placement Officer, CAF-4.

The important point to remember is that EDWARD BLOCK'S position of Placement Officer in the Chicago District Office was reclassified to a position of Field Representative CAF-5 in the Chicago District Office, and probably to a CAF-6 grade later, and that job in the Chicago District Office, at the higher reclassified grade, is the job Mr. Edward Block was denied by the then Regional Director at Chicago.

Now, how the other CAF-4's with Ed in Chicago when he left, who remained as civilians during the war, fared with the Railroad Retirement Board, is plainly seen from this chart (pointing to chart reproduced on following page).

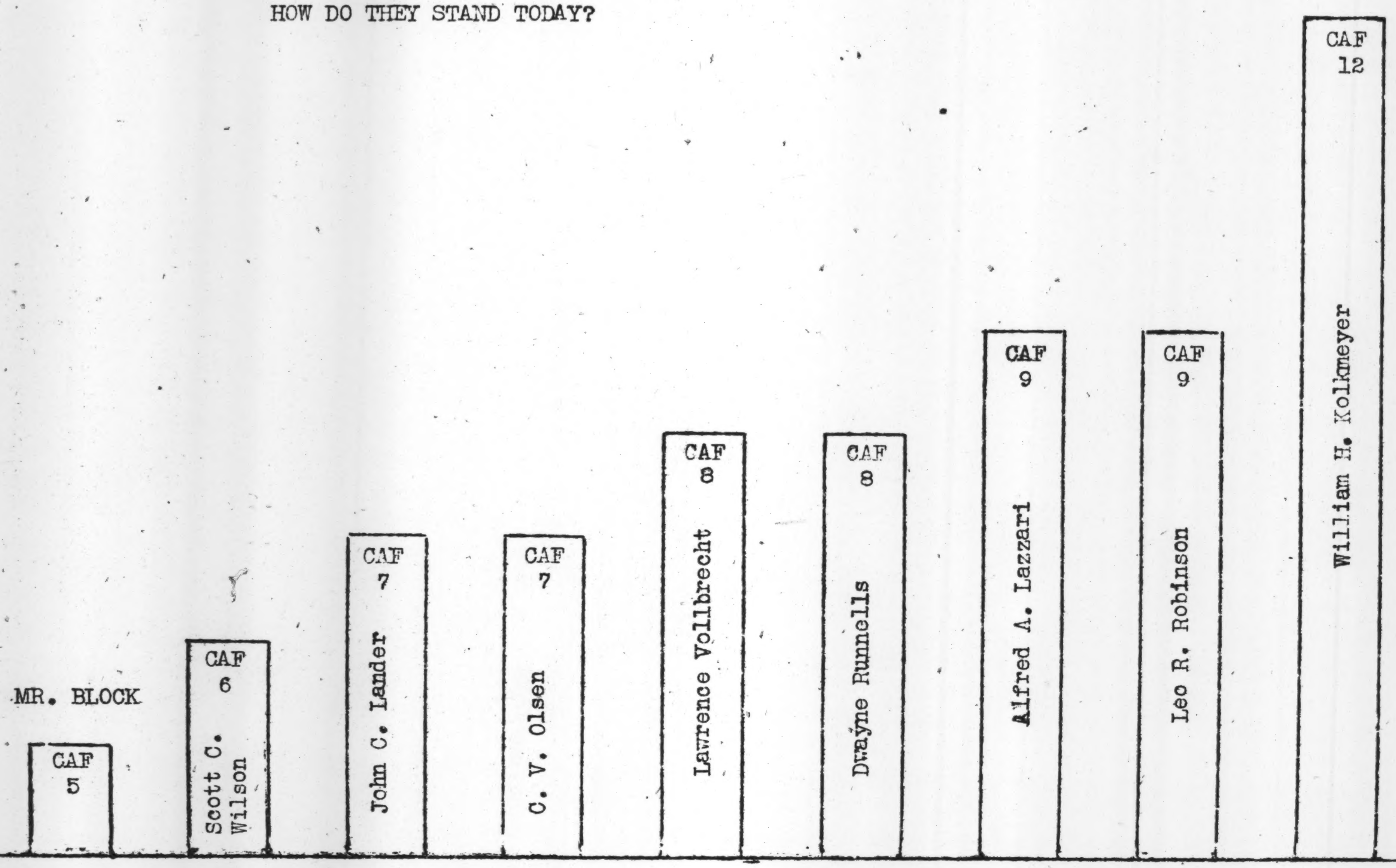
When Ed entered military service, there were six people, still in the region today, who were non-veterans and in the same grade as Ed when Ed left. This does not exclude any one.

Ed is a CAF-5. Mr. Wilson CAF-6. Mr. Olsen CAF-7. Mr. Lander CAF-7. Mr. Runnells is a CAF-8. Mr. Vollbrecht is a CAF-8. Mr. Lazzari is a CAF-9. Mr. Robinson is a CAF-9. And Mr. Kolkmeyer is a CAF-12. That is all. There are none taken out.

This is the kind of a situation then which existed generally for veterans in the Railroad Retirement Board. And the Board will present statistics to you, we know — but unless they can take the individual veteran

When EDWARD G. BLOCK entered the United States Army on June 8, 1942 from GRADE CAF-4 - the civilians shown below were also GRADE CAF-4 with him:

HOW DO THEY STAND TODAY?



and show who was equal to him at the time he left, where they are today, and where he is, the statistics are not worth very much, because it is so easy to perform tricks with groups of statistics.

I have been informed that in some instances --

BY MR. JONES:

Q How much longer is your testimony?

A I am on page 8 of 11-1/2 pages.

MR. JONES: At this time, the committee will be in recess for about ten minutes. We will take up again at 11:15, and give our gals down here a little rest. They have been going pretty steady.

Let me remind you again, you cannot smoke in this room. If you choose to smoke, please retire to the anteroom.

(A short recess was taken.)

MR. JONES: The committee will be in order and the witness will proceed.

A (Continuing) Gentlemen, I have been informed that in some instances positions of claims examiner, CAF-4, were reclassified to field representatives CAF-6 and held by the Board to be the same positions with no increased duties and responsibilities.

On the other hand, **FRANK LINGUIST**, a veteran, left for military service from the position of clerk CAF-6, head of office service section in the Dallas regional office. I am informed that the regional director stated that Frank returned to the identical position he left, but that he was informed from headquarters that new duties had been added to that position (which, of course, was in the regional director's office), and that Linguist would have to be considered as "promoted" when he returned, thus denying him the benefits of within-grade increases in the new CAF-7 grade. The same situation applied to veteran **JOHN McGREW** at Kansas City. But the civilians holding the positions were promoted and given the benefits accruing from the date of reclassification.

More subtle devices were sometimes used. **ERLING BOTHNE** of Minneapolis left from claims examiner CAF-4 in June, 1942, and returned in July, 1946, to claims examiner CAF-5 in the same office. In his case, he was denied the benefits of within-grade increases by a statement of the director of personnel that his CAF-5 position was numbered 7720-29 and that this was a "reinstatement" of an old position of claims examiner which had previously been established and was thus not a "reclassification" of the CAF-4 job which he left.

Sometimes the Board has not even attempted to be subtle. **FRANK McCORMICK** entered military service, so he tells me, from the position of Regional Certifying Officer, CAF-8, Cleveland regional office. When Frank returned from the army he was demoted to a position of grade CAF-7. He was told that his former position had been abolished and no other positions of like grade existed in the region. He was given no detailed information concerning the position changes. He merely knew something was wrong. He is still CAF-7.

Now, if practices are questionable, oftentimes there has to be a certain covering up. The status record card file in the personnel office of the Board shows McCormick being demoted to the position of employment officer, CAF-7 on May 16, 1943, two weeks before he entered military service. I am informed that the regional director writes of McCormick using the term "the record shows" that he entered service from CAF-7 and had rights to return only to CAF-7.

I am informed also that another record shows clearly that McCormick entered military service June 1, 1943, that he was then CAF-8, Regional Certifying Officer, that on July 14, 1943, the Board abolished his position and made the effective date of the action May 16, 1943, two weeks before McCormick left.

BY MR. JONES:

Q At that point, was there any reason given for abolishing the position or demoting the man?

A No, sir, not to my knowledge. What follows, I believe, will explain it.

Now, what really happened was that a grade CAF-9 position as Regional Certifying Officer was established and given to a civilian, a Mr. Kenneth Nokes. Mr. Nokes was promoted from a CAF-7 position, effective July 1, 1943. Mr. Nokes is now regional adjudicator, CAF-12.

It is understood that the change in grade of the Regional Certifying Officers from CAF-8 to CAF-9 constituted a reclassification rather than a promotion, that the position descriptions of McCormick's and Nokes' positions as certifying officers are virtually identical, that civilians occupying the CAF-8 positions when reclassified received the CAF-9 positions, and that another veteran who left this position from another region was given the CAF-9 when he returned with the director of personnel advising the regional director that this particular veteran is entitled to the salary of the higher grade plus the within-grade increases that accrue from the date of reclassification of the position.

Then we have the case of Miss F. **JANE METZGER**. She has since married and her name is F. **JANE PALMER**. Miss Metzger entered military service from the position of clerk, CAF-4, Birmingham, Alabama, district office on July 23, 1945. She returned from military service April 29, 1946, but not to her former position.

You see, when Miss Metzger left her CAF-4 position, which she had held for more than a year prior to military service, to enter the United States Navy, there was a civilian, Miss Ellen Duncan, in a CAF-2 clerk position in the same office. Miss Duncan had worked for the Railroad Retirement Board longer than Miss Metzger and thus was senior to her under the Board's seniority displacement policy, referred to previously in my testimony.

When Miss Metzger returned from the United States Navy, she was denied her former position and it is our understanding that she was denied that because Miss Duncan, who had been promoted to it when the veteran, Miss Metzger, left, was senior to Miss Metzger and had superior rights to the position according to the displacement policy of the Railroad Retirement Board.

Q At this point, does the record show the classification, or the rate, or the rank that Miss Metzger entered the service and the rate or rank she had when she came out?

A Out of the navy?

Q That is right.

A I do not believe so, Congressman. Her letter here does not seem to say, no.

Now, I know of no Act of Congress, nor of any regulation of the Civil Service Commission, that intended that such a vicious practice as this should ever be used against our returning veterans.

But let us go one step further. Let us suppose, gentlemen, that a civilian takes an extended leave without pay for any purpose other than entering the armed forces of the United States, and her position is filled in her absence by another employee. In this case, the person filling the position must sign a statement that when the regular incumbent returns, it is agreed that the person filling the position will return to her previous position. Full protection seems thus to be accorded an employee on extended leave without pay and, of course, the seniority policy of the Board does not operate, provided that the employee does not enter the armed forces of the United States.

Now, we have another case here showing a different technique. HOWARD E. LOHMAN, district manager at St. Paul, in the early days of the war, received a memorandum from his regional director a few weeks before he entered military service, which memorandum expressed the regional director's "heartfelt appreciation of your loyalty and the efficient way in which you have served the Board in every capacity in which you have been employed."

Now, I met Lohman for the first time this week end, and he is a good natured fellow, and, like most of our veterans entering military service, felt kindly toward his fellow man. In fact, it is said that when he left he told his regional director that he would be willing to work anywhere in the region when the war was over.

That was in the Spring of 1944.

On August 2, 1945, the regional director wrote to Lohman in the Philippines, taking him up on that promise. He notified him he was no longer district manager in St. Paul, where Lohman's wife and children, of course, were living. He told Lohman, "I hope to hell you won't have a fit over this deal." Adding, "You told me you would work anywhere, though I suspect because of Mil's father she would rather be in the Twin Cities," (Mil is Mrs. Lohman) and also adding that Mr. Hugh, the non-veteran occupying Lohman's position at St. Paul, had sold his home in Duluth where he lived before taking over Lohman's job, and "hence is anchored here." The regional director also wrote, "In order to have a definite, written record of your willingness to make this shift, I would appreciate your writing me as regional director to that effect," and enclosed a return stamped envelope.

Now, parenthetically, it appears that the regional director's request for a written record of Lohman's "willingness to make this shift" was entirely unnecessary, since Lohman's official notice of this action shows that it was already approved by the Board on August 2, 1945, the date the regional director wrote to him.

Well, Lohman was taken by surprise. He answered on August 10, 1945, from the Philippines stating he would accept the transfer, but it appears he made considerable sacrifice in going into the armed forces, that considerable importance is attached apparently to the ownership of property, but assuring the regional director that he can still do a good job.

After he was able to think the matter over, in his army camp in the Philippines, he wrote again to the regional director, his letter dated August 20, 1945, stating that the letter he received was a shock to him, that he had premonitions, from letters from his wife and others, that something would happen, that he wants consideration if it is possible to remain in the Twin Cities and is not too happy about the turn of events.

On December 14, 1945, Lohman made formal written application for reemployment, stating that it was being made in accordance with the Selective Training and Service Act, and that he wanted his job at St. Paul. He repeated his request in another letter of January 3, 1946, telling how conditions had changed since he went into the army and that it was important for him to be in St. Paul.

On February 7, 1946, the regional director wrote to Lohman stating that the Board had requested Lohman, McHugh, and the regional director to report to Chicago on February 12th for a hearing.

Now, it is my understanding that during this process, the regional director actually had a change of heart and recommended to the Board that Lohman be restored to his position in St. Paul, and that the members of the Board had been informed that a returning veteran upon exercising his statutory reemployment rights may rescind any statement made by him relative to his rights and that when he returns he then has the rights guaranteed by the Selective Training and Service Act.

In spite of this information, knowing that depriving Lohman of his job was a direct violation of an Act of Congress, the Board, it is reported, decided that Lohman should be denied his position. The only written notice Lohman received was from the regional director, the last paragraph of which letter read as follows:

> "On the basis of the foregoing, therefore, I feel very definitely that you have a moral obligation to accept the assignment to Fargo, irrespective of whatever legal rights you may have with respect to the district managership at St. Paul. It will be necessary, therefore, for you to report to Fargo in the very near future. Will you kindly acknowledge receipt of this letter and indicate to me what action you will take with respect to reporting to Fargo and indicate to me the date on which you will do so."

Lohman then appealed to the Civil Service Commission at Minneapolis. The Commission communicated with the Board. I understand that the director of employment and claims advised the Commission that Lohman had voluntarily relinquished his rights to St. Paul and had been assigned to Fargo, in accordance with the Selective Training and Service Act.

Now, it is interesting to note here that the provisions of the Selective Training and Service Act appear to differ from the civil service regulations, as I understand them, because the Act provides for restoration to his former position or a position of like seniority, status and pay, while the Commission's regulations provide, as I understand them, if I understand them correctly, provide in the case of a permanent civil service employee, that he be restored to his former position, if it exists, and, if it does not exist, to a position of like seniority, status and pay.

Although the reply of the Board to the Civil Service Commission in Minneapolis showed plainly that the Board was in direct violation of the Commission's own regulations, the Commission failed to sustain Lohman's appeal.

On March 6, 1946, Lohman advised the Commission at Minneapolis that he was withdrawing his appeal. A letter dated March 7th, 1946, from the Commission's regional director at Minneapolis, signed by the Commission's Regional Veterans Federal Employment Representative, returned his file and stated: "We are happy to know that you have decided to accept the transfer to Fargo, North Dakota, and feel confident that you made a wise decision in this matter."

Gentlemen, in view of the time, that will be the end of my formal testimony.

BY MR. MOORE:

Q Mr. Burke, in view of the testimony you presented here, do you feel that the Board's policy has emphasized other factors than veterans' preference generally?

A Yes, sir.

Q In other words, those are examples of a general policy which, in your judgment, seems to prevail?

A Very definitely, yes.

Q Will you explain to the committee your view of the Railroad preference given employees in the Railroad Retirement Board and the statutory basis upon which that is founded?

A Yes,sir. If I understand correctly, under the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937 - I may be wrong on these details - but there was a certain preference given by which people were brought into employment of the Railroad Retirement Board without having to go through Civil Service examinations, if they had a certain amount of railroad employment or experience. It is known as, I believe, Section 205.

I believe that the provision is something to the effect that persons with railroad experience shall be given preference in employment with the Railroad Retirement Board. And, as I understand it, that has been interpreted by the Board's general counsel to mean only at the point of coming into the Railroad Retirement Board.

The Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act was passed in 1938, and that also sets up railroad preference above all other preferences. And from 1938 until 1944, I believe, the railroad preference was the first preference.

Now, the Veterans' Preference Act in 1944 stated, I believe, that all other acts in conflict with it would be superseded by this, so veterans' preference came first.

At the present time, I am not sure what it is, but I understand that veterans' preference takes precedence over railroad preference.

So far as the Board is concerned, I believe 8 or 9% of the employees are people with railroad experience. I do not believe it constitutes more than that.

Q In your judgment, has the policy of the Board under the Act establishing railroad preference, been extended to considerations in personnel actions of promotions and the like?

A Well --

Q In other words, is it not true that that preference is extended in connection with personnel actions in considering transfers and promotions and general betterment of employees?

A Well, it would have to be a matter of judgment. Of course, the seniority policy gave preference to the senior people, and the 8 or 9% of the employees, of the railroad employees, I think are to a large extent people with great seniority, because they came in 1936 and '37.

Q Seniority is one of the bases upon which promotion is given?

A Yes.

Q In your judgment, do you feel the Board could adopt a similar policy with reference to veterans' preference, consider veterans' preference one of the bases upon which promotion should be given?

A It is very difficult to answer. I would say that the justification for veterans' preference in most of the jobs at the Board -- that veterans' preference could be justified as much as railroad preference.

Q Have you ever been criticized for your activities as a member of The American Legion by any official or representative of the Board?

A Yes, sir, I have.

Q I wonder if you would explain to the Committee the nature of that criticism.

A Yes. A few months ago I was told by the director of personnel, and it was later confirmed in writing . . .

BY MR. JONES:

Q What is his name?

A Mr. V. Paul Carney.

. . . that I must not perform any American Legion activities during working hours. This came about, in fact I was first told it, when I went in to see him in the interest of a veteran by the name of Daniel Pasquariello who had, I thought, received an awfully bad deal in his bureau.

In fact, he was called in one day and was told that it was felt by his supervisor that he was taking too much sick leave and, therefore, he must resign the following day, which was the end of the pay period.

So, he came to see me and I told him he did not have to resign, and I gave him a little quotation from the Veterans' Preference Act — I told him to show it to his supervisor -- regarding the 30-Day Notice. He said his supervisor told him I did not know what I was talking about. Of course, his supervisor had learned from personnel, from the office of the director of personnel, that because Pasquariello was a war service employee, he did not have the right to receive the notice under Section 14 of the Veterans' Preference Act.

I replied that surely they must have misunderstood, because, according to the regulations, war service employees had the same rights as permanent employees, but the right was taken away some time before to temporary indefinites, the people who were employed since March, 1946 on temporary appointments pending the establishment of registers. They were not entitled to the 30 days' notice.

So, the conversation went back and forth between myself and this division head, and he again talked to me, and said again that Personnel had stated they had some information -- that is, apparently the placement officer in personnel, Mr. Rasmussen - this was a Mr. Blume with whom I was speaking, a division head; and Mr. Bloom quoted Mr. Rasmussen as saying that Mr. Rasmussen had information which I did not have and that his information was more up to date.

After so long a time, apparently the thing was understood -- without a doubt.

Then on Friday, as I was leaving the office, Mr. Pasquariello was in Mr. Carney's office, the director of personnel. I happened to see him there. I was not back on Monday. Tuesday I called down to the bureau and I was told Mr. Pasquariello had resigned. I presumed from what went on that undoubtedly he did not feel he would have much of a chance in the Railroad Retirement Board. He had been an employee for three years of the Railroad Retirement Board.

Then I called Mr. Blume about it and was advised by him that he thought he saw no reason for my giving this information to Pasquariello or any other veteran in his bureau, because it would only stir up trouble!

Now, Mr. Bloom is also a veteran - and I was rather surprised. But that was the way he seemed to feel about it.

Then I went in to see -- it was during that process that I went in to see Mr. Carney and Mr. Carney said, "If you have any veterans that come in to see you, you send them to Mr. Rasmussen and he will take care of them," and he advised that I must tell any veteran who came to see me that I would have to see him after office hours.

BY MR. MOORE:

Q That answers my question and leads me to another question. There is no committee now set up in the Railroad Retirement Board for the purpose of hearing these appeals from veterans, is that correct?

A Yes, that is right.

Q It is my understanding the Veterans Adjustment Committee has been liquidated. Is that correct?

A Yes, sir.

Q Could you tell the committee when that committee was established and how long it was in existence, and why, in your judgment, it was disbanded?

A Yes, sir. I believe it was established in the latter part of August or first part of September, in 1946, and it operated fairly actively, actively in terms of meeting regularly, for two or three months. And then from that point on, from November, yes, from November on, I guess there were no formal meetings of the committee.

The veterans were coming in little by little, maybe one today and two tomorrow, and so on, and if they knew that the committee existed, of course, they would probably come and ask for an application blank and fill it out, and then I would help them fill out the application blank.

I had Army and Navy conversion manuals between military and civilian occupations and I could help them greatly there, and then I would write a memorandum to the Chairman of that committee, Mr. Paul Johnson, an attorney for the Railroad Retirement Board. Mr. Paul Johnson was the Board's representative. In the course of writing one memorandum, in which I described in a page some of the problems that this particular veteran had, a copy was sent to Mr. Carney, I believe, or it went through him, and he advised I had exceeded my authority as chairman of the veterans adjustment committee.

I advised him that the secretary of the veterans adjustment committee was outside his range, that it was a direct appointment from the Board. But he said I had, and that I should just merely record their names, send them down to Johnson, give them an application blank, and that he did not see any reason for the existence of the committee.

It was not too long after that until the committee was discontinued, I believe.

Now, I have here a memorandum from the Board on the subject of discontinuance of the Veterans Adjustment Committee, which says:

"The Board, having been informed that substantially all employees who had returned to its employment from military service, except for a few individuals in the field and a probable few at headquarters, have received job adjustments to higher grades, determined at its meeting of August 7, 1947, that there appeared to be no longer any need to continue the existence of the veterans adjustment committee. It believes that such unadjusted veteran cases, as may exist, or as may arise in the future, can be handled satisfactorily by the chief executive officer and director of personnel. If you find it necessary to seek the adjustment of a veteran in the future, you should present your problem to the director of personnel."

I think also that the committee consisted of representatives of The American Legion, the AFGE and UPWA unions, and a representative of the Board. I believe that the representative of the Unions and of the Board are all here today, and it might be well to hear from them.

Q Mr. Burke, were you a voting member of this Board?

A No, I was not.

Q You were secretary. Is that right?

A That is right.

Q How many veterans were on this committee?

A On the committee?

Q Yes, sir. How many were veterans?

A One.

Q One veteran and three non-veterans?

A Yes.

Q Could you tell the committee, to whom would a veteran go in the Railroad Retirement Board if he had questions to ask with reference to his civil service rights as a veteran, where and what procedure is set up, what persons would he contact?

A There is no procedure set up whatever. He would contact the placement section which has to do with the placement and reassignment of employees, and there is no veteran there and I do not believe there has ever been a veteran in that section.

Q In other words, according to whatever procedure the Board now has, there is no veteran in the personnel office to whom these veterans in the Board can go?

A Yes. I am in the office.

Q What I mean is, representing the Board?

A Oh, representing the Board specifically . . .

Q That is right.

A And known to be . . .

Q And known to all of the employees of the Board, as the place for them to present their grievances or seek advice?

A No, sir. There is no place whatever there, and, in fact, I have frequently cautioned the veterans about coming to my office.

Q You mentioned a Mr. Rasmussen.

A Yes, sir.

Q Was he an employee designated by the personnel office to whom these veterans should speak?

A Yes, sir. It was he that Mr. Carney mentioned.

Q Is he a veteran?

A No, sir, he is not.

MR. MOORE: Mr. Chairman, I do not have any further questions of Mr. Burke at this moment, but I may later.

BY MR. JONES:

Q Were you ever promised any reprisals or were you ever demoted, or were you ever marked down in your efficiency, for what appeared to be in your opinion for any activity that you have taken on behalf of the veterans?

A Yes, sir, very definitely.

Q Will you tell the committee, please, some of the specific instances?

A Yes, sir.

Q And name names of those who promised you reprisals or took part in any down grade markings or any demotions that you may have suffered as a result of your veteran activities?

A Yes. I am in the office.

Q What I mean is, representing the Board?

A Oh, representing the Board specifically . . .

Q That is right.

A And known to be . . .

Q And known to all of the employees of the Board, as the place for them to present their grievances or seek advice?

A No, sir. There is no place whatever there, and, in fact, I have frequently cautioned the veterans about coming to my office.

Q You mentioned a Mr. Rasmussen.

A Yes, sir.

Q Was he an employee designated by the personnel office to whom these veterans should speak?

A Yes, sir. It was he that Mr. Carney mentioned.

Q Is he a veteran?

A No, sir, he is not.

MR. MOORE: Mr. Chairman, I do not have any further questions of Mr. Burke at this moment, but I may later.

BY MR. JONES:

Q Were you ever promised any reprisals or were you ever demoted, or were you ever marked down in your efficiency, for what appeared to be in your opinion for any activity that you have taken on behalf of the veterans?

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Q Will you tell the committee, please, some of the specific instances?

A Yes, sir.

Q And name names of those who promised you reprisals or took part in any down grade markings or any demotions that you may have suffered as a result of your veteran activities?

A   Yes, sir. In the spring of 1946, before this veteran adjustment committee was set up, The American Legion had asked the Board to conduct a survey of its returned veterans. It was apparent that they were coming back and were way behind their fellow employees, and the Board instructed the director of personnel to assign me, by name, to that study.

Then I worked on that study for about two months or more and I presented the report to the Board, and I have heard it said so many times that - it would be difficult to quote - that, "Well, you did too good a job on that survey." We had a hearing before the Board. I presented the survey, and the Board members voted to establish this veterans adjustment committee; and at that time I was named secretary of the committee because of the "great amount of very fine work I had done," as the Board said.

So, I worked with that committee from the late summer, in August . .

Q   How many veterans were on that committee?

A   One.

Q   You referred to that in your previous testimony?

A   Yes, sir. Then, about the end of November the veterans committee work, as far as I was concerned, slowed down to where I gave most of my time - in fact, virtually all of my time - to trying to organize the work of my own profession, namely, trying to organize a training program. And after many discussions with the Board, in which the Board insisted that training should be done as bureau and office heads want it, I secured from the bureau and office heads requests for much more in the way of training services than I could give them, and I set up a Board-wide training program.

My training program was scheduled in practically all of the bureaus, to open in the third week in April, 1947, and I believe that, at the last meeting of the Board before this training program opened - it was on April 10, 1947 - of all things the Board voted to abolish my position and voted to abolish it as of May 15, 1947.

It was the greatest surprise I had ever received in my life. I had no foreknowledge of it of any kind. Here, for the first time since I had come back from the Navy, was ready to get into something that I could show the value of training, and prove the value of my type of work, but the job was abolished. It was abolished as of May 15.

Q   This year, last year, 1947?

A   1947, yes, sir. And I just heard about it verbally, except as I saw a copy of the official Board Orders which contained that order, along with many others, and I was not too concerned because I thought, "Well, here the Board members disagreed with me. They think that perhaps my job was an expense that cannot justify itself." And I was influenced in thinking that, perhaps, by the fact that under the Board's displacement policy, under their own policy, the person who was junior to me in my grade - I was not only qualified for his job, but it was my old job which I had come out of. And I know of no seniority policy where a person cannot bump back into his old job. So, I was called by the chief executive officer of the Board -

Q What was his name?

A Mr. Robert Lamotte. And this was on about, I believe, May 1, 1947, and Mr. Lamotte said to this effect: that there had been a meeting in his office the day before, Mr. Carney and Mr. Luhrsen, labor member of the Board, and Mr. Squire, the carrier member of the Board, and that he could not understand why they would take an action like this; but that they had decided that I could not displace this man by the name of Merritt Robson, even though I was senior to him, and even though it was my old job; and he added that they had also agreed that I could not displace anyone at grade 11, the next CAF grade lower than my own, and I might have to go down to 10, or even possibly 9, if I wanted to stay with the Board!

So he suggested then that I immediately write a request to the three Board members and ask them to hear my case, but by all means to go there by myself, and particularly not to have anyone from The American Legion there.

So, I thanked him and I stated, though, before I left, that I would have to receive a 30-day notice under the Veterans' Preference Act, and he said, "We don't even know what the Veterans' Preference Act is around here."

Q Who said that?

A Mr. Robert Lamotte, the chief executive officer.

So I said, "Well, Bob, you are going to have to give me the notice anyway. You know it is the law. I want that notice." So he said, "I will call Carney." So, he called Mr. Carney, the director of personnel, and instructed him to give me the notice, and I received the notice either that night or the following night at the close of business, and that notice told me, in effect, that I was going to be dismissed - or rather that my name had been referred to the director of employment and claims for the displacement of Mr. Robson under the displacement policy, that the director of claims had declared Mr. Robson "clearly better qualified" under the displacement policy, which is quite the customary thing, and that I would be reduced in rank and compensation - no statement as to how much - if I did not request a hearing or appeal by the Board; and then disclosed in writing, in the very same letter, that two members of the Board had already agreed informally that they were going to uphold the director of employment and claims in his determination, even before the hearing!

Q Which two members of the Board was that by name?

A I presume that it was the two members who were in Mr. LaMotte's office, namely, Mr. J. G. Luhrsen, who is the labor member of the Board, and Mr. Frank Squire, who is the carrier member of the Board. Those were the two whom Mr. LaMotte mentioned by name to me.

BY MR. MOORE:

Q Mr. Robson, is he a veteran?

A No, sir, he is not.

So, that was May 1. So I wrote a request to the Board for a hearing and I appointed Mr. Elliodor Libonati of The American Legion as my attorney. I believe that, about May 13 or 14th, just before the date of abolishing - the Board apparently passed a Board Order extending the date of abolishing my job, to June 1. Now, they did not communicate with me, of course.

Then, on about the 28th of May they passed a Board Order extending the job to September 1, I believe. Then I heard nothing at all.

The Board never acknowledged receipt of my letter to them, my request for a hearing. September 1 came along and I did not hear anything. September 2 I did not hear anything, September 3, and I believe it was on about September 8 or 9th when I purposely went to the secretary of the Board to ask what my status was. Here, so far as the Board records were concerned, my job had been abolished since September 1.

She assured me that I was still on the payroll. This was all verbal. That was the only assurance I got.

Then I believe that on the 10th or 11th I received from the secretary of the Board a copy of a memorandum written by her to the chief executive officer, which attached a copy of a new Board Order passed on September 9, cancelling the previous Board Orders which abolished my position. All that, without any written recognition from the Board, without anything except a feeling that, well, I have got to stay in here and fight just to keep my job.

I did not know what was the matter, but I began to realize, of course, very quickly, when those actions were taken in the spring, that there could be no other possible reason for those actions except the fact that I was interested in the welfare of veterans. And I have had many people mention this - that possibly I was the only veteran by that time in a responsible position in the Board, who was familiar with the details of the activities carried on against the veterans by the Railroad Retirement Board during the war.

Now, as I say again, it is just hearsay, but I really believe that, myself.

BY MR. JONES:

Q I think you have answered my questions. How long have you belonged to The American Legion?

A Well, since, I believe, about a month after I came back to work.

Q You are not a veteran of World War I?

A No.

Q Just World War II?

A Yes.

Q Have you ever held office in The American Legion?

A Yes, sir. I am commander of our post.

Q You are commander of the post?

A Yes, sir, I am.

Q All of your efforts on behalf of the veterans is a labor of love and in no sense have you ever been compensated?

A No.

Q For any of your work?

A No.

Q In behalf of the veterans?

A No, sir, at no time. The year previous I was chairman of the Americanism Committee and promoted Americanism programs in our agency.

MR. JONES: That is all.

MR. MOORE: Mr. Chairman, I believe Mr. Libonati wants to address the Board.

MR. JONES: Thank you very much, for your splendid testimony.

MR. LIBONATI: We have, Mr. Chairman, about nine witnesses here whose testimony is cumulative and corroborative of what Mr. Burke has testified to, and if it is the desire of the Chair to hear them we are ready for them to take the stand.

In addition to that, we have one witness whom we would like to have heard in particular.

MR. DAVIS: Your nine witnesses, would their testimony relate to the same cases outlined by Mr. Burke, or would they relate to different cases?

MR. LIBONATI: They would relate to their own cases, but involving a principle -

MR. DAVIS: Are they persons who were mentioned by Mr. Burke in his testimony?

MR. LIBONATI: Some of them.

MR. DAVIS: And some of them are different?

MR. LIBONATI: They are practically all different, on a different point, but they go to show discrimination against the veteran.

MR. JONES: Have you one witness that would possibly take just a few minutes, the point being I want to adjourn for lunch and I do not want to take more than an hour for lunch. I thought if you had a witness that would take ten minutes, we would take that up, but if you cannot dispose of that witness in ten minutes, I suggest we adjourn now until 1:15. Does that sound like a reasonable time for all those concerned? I think if we do not take more than an hour for lunch that we can make greater progress during the afternoon and possibly not hold so late.

So, I think we will adjourn until 1:20.

MR. LIBONATI: Will the witnesses be instructed to return?

MR. JONES: All witnesses will be instructed to return. Be here at that time.

(Whereupon, at 12:15 o'clock P.M.
the hearing was recessed until
1:20 o'clock P.M. this day, Friday,
March 5, 1948.)

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Re: Hearing before a Subcommittee of the House of Representatives, Post Office and Civil Service Committee, relative to Veterans Preference in the Railroad Retirement Board)

Room 582
Post Office Building
Chicago, Illinois
March 5, 1948
1:30 o'clock P. M.

The hearing was resumed pursuant to adjournment.

PRESENT:

Mr. Homer R. Jones,
Chairman of the Committee

Mr. James C. Davis,
Member of the Committee

Mr. George M. Moore,
Chief Counsel for the Committee

Mr. Elliodor M. Libonati,
Attorney and Chairman of a Special Committee of the Cook County Council of The American Legion.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will come to order.

MR. LIBONATI: We will now proceed, if the committee please, with the testimony of Mr. A. Russell Brainerd. Mr. Brainerd.

MR. BRAINERD: Mr. Chairman, my name is A. Russell Brainerd. My address is 1340 Brophy Avenue, Park Ridge, Illinois. I am a World War II veteran with almost two and a half years of service in the Army, over half of such service being in England, France and Germany.

I entered the service of the Railroad Retirement Board March 23, 1937, as an adjudicator, grade CAF-6, and have served successively as reviewer, administrative assistant to the chief of annuity claims division, chief of annuity claims section, certifying officer, special assistant to the labor member of the Board for approximately three years - that was the former labor member of the Board, Mr. L. M. Eddy - employment analyst, and unemployment claims analyst, my last grade being CAF-11, which grade I have held since June 1, 1942.

I should like to testify with respect to the matters of seniority, and railroad and veteran preferences as they affect employees of this Board, and as to the bad faith on the part of the Board in establishing the Veterans Adjustment Committee.

I am a member of the liaison committee of the Railroad Retirement Board Post 856, American Legion, and probably should take full "responsibility" for the much talked of Veterans Adjustment Committee of the Railroad Retirement Board. For it was my motion in a regular meeting of our legion post on March 1, 1946, which called for the establishment of a Board liaison committee. This Committee in turn apprised the Board by memorandum dated April 5, 1946, of the results of a survey of 100 veterans, setting forth also the contents of my motion and stating that it had been passed unanimously.

For the record, I would like to say, with respect to the meeting of March 1, 1946, where the vote was unanimous, that there are certain employees of the Board, members of The American Legion and former members of The American Legion, who are present in this court room and who participated in the voting on that date. The vote, as I said, was unanimous. I should like to name some of those members who are present; and the minutes of the Legion will bear out my statement. Former comrade and former commander Danner of the Legion, former comrade Haviland, comrade Habermeyer. Also comrade Barber, who is present, I understand.

The liaison committee also requested the Board to invite it to attend a meeting of the Board to discuss the memorandum. This was the memorandum which I just referred to. Although I am informed that no written reply was ever made to the liaison committee memorandum, a meeting was arranged and held. The result of the meeting was described in a mimeographed flyer which the liaison committee put out, which reads as follows:

> "Railroad Retirement Board Post Number 856, American Legion. On April 11, 1946, the Board liaison committee met with the Board to discuss the memorandum read at the last regular meeting of the post, concerning promotions for veterans who were qualified but passed over during their absence. As was expected, our general problem met with intelligent understanding. The Board advised the committee that the Director of Personnel has started a bureau by bureau investigation of the problem to determine exactly what has happened in each bureau with respect to promotions. No definite plan was suggested but the committee was left with the impression that as soon as the facts are all in, the Board will see them and take action to make the veteran whole. In addition to the facts gathered by the director of personnel, the Legion was asked to submit the names of veterans, the grade they held when they entered the Armed Forces, and the grade at which they returned. The Board was also desirous of having a list of veterans with long military service, and no recognition while absent. In view of their interest, you are requested to leave a write up of any such case with the Post Commander. Be sure the facts are as stated, because it does not help a cause to be misrepresented. The Board indicated that it would not object to one member of the committee being present at general discussions of personnel policy which involves employee problems. Meantime, sit tight and be assured that the Board is willing and intends to make the necessary adjustments. Another report will be made as soon as there are further developments."

With regard to the paragraph relating to the presence of a member of the liaison committee at Board meetings where general discussions of personnel policy were held, I am told by Mr. Richard Cooper, former chairman of the liaison committee, that he can remember having been invited to only one such meeting. Moreover, I note that recently a meeting of the Board was held with the result that Board Order 48-63 was passed. This Board Order is entitled "Amending the Board's Displacement Policy Contained in Board Order 46-22, as Amended" and I quote Board Order 48-63:

> "Upon consideration of the letter of February 5, 1948, from the Honorable Harry B. Mitchell, President, United States Civil Service Commission, relative to the Board's displacement policy, and after discussion of the subject with the employee representative organizations, the Board approved the release of attached letter to Mr. Mitchell, setting forth an amendment to its displacement policy to provide that no status employee shall be displaced by a non-status employee except in special and unusual cases, in which cases the prior approval of the Civil Service Commission will be secured."

This was after the Oscar Gaskill decision by the commission - the Civil Service Commission - which related directly to the displacement policy of the Board. No member of the liaison committee was invited or had attended the Board meeting at which employee representative organizations were present.

Both employee representative unions recognized by the Board vied with each other in espousing the cause of the veteran which was now so much in the limelight. The UPWA, which proposed the plan for "adjusting" the veteran which was finally adopted in the main, stated in an informational sheet that it recognized that "The adoption of the program is only a step in the direction of discharging the obligation to the veteran," but did not indicate what further steps should be taken. The AFGE, on the other hand, felt that the adjustment committee, after determining the veteran's grade loss, should place the veteran in the proper grade, but only over all junior employees. However, the AFGE did feel, so its publicity stated, that the veteran was not made whole "until both the grade loss and training loss has been restored to him."

Now, as to bad faith on the part of the Board:

As the adjustment program gained momentum, the Board became more and more convinced that it was a program which the Board itself had concocted and was placing in effect because it had suddenly discovered the inadequacy of legislation designed to place the returned veteran back into civilian employment. Thus, we have the following item in the "Chicago Sun" of September 29, 1946, which I shall read. This is entitled --

THE CHAIRMAN: I would suggest that unless it has some important bearing on the testimony of someone to follow, that you insert it in the record at this point.

MR. BRAINERD: I shall be glad to do that, Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN: You might go ahead and tell us briefly what it is.

MR. BRAINERD: I would like to say that it quotes - in effect it quotes - members of the Board with respect to the procedure which will be followed, and it was indicative to my mind of the fact that the Board took upon itself the instigation of this committee and not that it had set up the committee through any pressure of any type from the veterans.

THE CHAIRMAN: You have only one copy?

MR. BRAINERD: Yes, sir. I will be glad to insert that in the record as an exhibit.

MR. MOORE: I will ask the official reporter to supply the committee with copies.

MR. BRAINERD: Yes, sir. I should like to read one single paragraph, if I may.

THE CHAIRMAN: Very well.

MR. BRAINERD: Here is the paragraph:

"With the plan for promoting veterans are provisions safeguarding the rights of employees hired as replacements for men who entered the service."

MR. MOORE: That article will be marked Exhibit "C".

(Whereupon the above mentioned document was marked Exhibit "C", a copy of which is attached herein as directed by the Chairman.)

MR. BRAINERD: The Board would undoubtedly like this committee and others to believe that it has voluntarily done something "special" for the returned veteran in following out this adjustment program. Actually, of course, the Board was going through a period of expansion because of the amendments to the Railroad Retirement and Unemployment Insurance Acts, and had to have personnel to fill the new jobs opening up. A returned vet who knew merely that the Board was a Federal agency and was administering the two Acts just mentioned was of infinitely greater value than a newcomer lacking completely in knowledge of the Board and much easier to come by.

At one and the same time, the Board was relieving the pressure upon itself from disgruntled veterans and obviating the need for searching outside the Board for employees to satisfy its expanding program. Even this situation would not have been too intolerable to the careful analyst except for two important factors, both of which the Board consistently fails to cite when it tells of its achievements under the adjustment program:

(1) (and very important) At the time the veteran was being weighed and measured to determine his appropriate restoration grade, civilian employees with whom he was currently being compared and to whom he was trying to catch up, were being promoted upward and onward, so that when he finally did become "adjusted" he looked around for his old neighbors, only to find that they had moved up to more forward desks. A good analogy to my mind would be to place a man on an escalator and then tell him he is on a equal footing with a man two steps above him. They are on the same escalator, at least.

(2) The veteran was being put on the spot without the support of training to make up for his loss of experience, previous skills and on-the-job training, which losses he suffered while away in the service of his country. He was forced to maintain the pace without the proper equipment. Further, once he had been adjusted from, say, a grade CAF-4 to a CAF-6, he would not dare bid in on a grade 7 vacancy which might open up the day following his so-called "adjustment," yet the CAF-6 civilian employees who had been in their grade for two or more years, although in comparable grades 4 or less

when the vet left for the wars, could in all confidence apply for the grade 7. To use another figure of speech: it was like "equalizing" a non-swimmer with experienced swimmers by dumping him in the midst of a deep stream alongside the swimmers who like him were seeking the far bank.

If the Board had sincerely wanted to do something worthwhile for the veteran, it could have given him complete and accurate information upon his return from military service concerning his rights, as well as a clear and definitive picture of what the Board's policy was supposed to be respecting the returned vets. The repetitive cry that the liaison committee has heard, especially from the vets out in field service, is: "Why doesn't somebody tell me?" "What goes?" Training of the vet, of course, would have been an extra burden on the Board, but it would have paid off handsomely in increased efficiency, higher employee morale, and a lower number of veteran quits.

On November 16, 1943, when most veterans were away in the service, the Board authorized "the establishment of an instruction course to train selected candidates for the positions of retirement claims examiner-O, CAF-6, and the filling of such positions by the trainees without advertising the vacancies." That was Board Order 43-784. The absent vets did not have the advantage of any such training course. It is my understanding that one of the reasons given by the Board for not conducting training programs for veterans is because they would interfere with the operations of the Board's seniority policy.

Although I understand that an appellate procedure was set up so that rejection of referrals by the veterans adjustment committee could be appealed to the Board, only two such rejections were appealed. The Board denied both of them. On August 12, 1947, the veterans adjustment committee was discontinued by the Board. I believe Mr. Burke read the essence of that discontinuance memorandum dated August 12, 1947.

I have here a booklet which was printed during the war year 1945, entitled "Employees' Handbook". In this booklet, which is addressed to all employees and printed sometime in, as I say, 1945, there is a statement, "Promotions here are based solely on merit." On page 12, it reads, "Promotions are also in the nature of rewards for work well done. The Board is proud of its 'promotion from within policy' which means that Board employees get first chance at any vacancy." I should like especially the committee to note that point - "Board employees get first chance at any vacancy."

In August 1945, the promotion policy of the Board reputedly was changed from the so-called merit basis to one emphasizing seniority as a basis for getting places. This sentence was added in the new Employees' Handbook issued in December 1945, and I shall read from that. "If two or more Board employees apply for a position, the employee with the longest period of service in the Board shall be given preference unless an applicant having a shorter period of service is clearly better qualified." That is on page 24.

And yet somewhere there must have been a bigger loophole in the restrictive fence of seniority. I should like particularly to call to this committee's attention the case of John Dewey Coates. This case strikes very closely, for this gentleman came into the service of the Railroad Retirement Board for the first time in my own bureau, the Bureau of Employment and Claims. Here is the story as I know it. The "Open Sesame" will have to be told by someone else:

Mr. Coates was a grade CAF-13 in another Federal agency. He was brought into the service of the Board on June 10, 1947, as a grade CAF-11, with salary at the top of the grade ($5905.20).

The position into which Mr. Coates moved was titled either "Unemployment Claims Analyst," or "Claims Examiner," and was located in the Division of Claims. However, Coates physically and actually worked under the employment analyst, grade CAF-12, in the Division of Employment Service, another subordinate unit of the Bureau of Employment and Claims. Most of his preliminary training and coaching was accomplished by Walter R. Noell, Employment Analyst CAF-9, a World War II veteran with nineteen years of railroad experience and a Board seniority date of August 4, 1936. The job Coates was on was probably the same job which I left when I was transferred from the Employment Service Division to the Division of Claims, except for number and title.

Comes now a Board meeting of September 9, 1947. On this date, the position of Director of Employment Service, Grade CAF-13, in the Division of Employment Service was "authorized for a period of two calendar weeks beginning September 8, 1947." This was Board Order 47-347. By the same Board Order, the position of claims examiner, CAF-11, in the Division of Claims was "withdrawn from the list of authorized positions for a period of two calendar weeks beginning September 8, 1947. On September 22, 1947, this position shall be reinstated in the list of authorized positions." Well, it was removed for two weeks.

The committee would probably be interested in inquiring into the reason for this shifting of positions and also as to who occupied them. Mr. Coates during the two weeks in question made no noticeable change in his physical location or his duties.

By Board Order 48-24, approved in Board meeting of January 15, 1948, the final move in this gambit was accomplished. The position of Claims Examiner, CAF-11, Division of Claims, was abolished. The position of Employment Analyst, CAF-11, Division of Employment Service, was authorized. Mr. Coates had not moved from his seat.

My guess is that he is now an employment analyst, grade CAF-11. Mr. Noell is still an employment analyst CAF-9. If an appropriate grade CAF-12 opens up, Mr. Coates will be in competition for it with myself, with Mr. Noell, and with any other qualified veteran. Seniority is now the rule with the Board but Mr. Coates could be "clearly better qualified" than Mr. Noell, his trainer, or myself, or any other veteran.

Now, further with respect to this matter of railroad preference, which was brought out so pleasantly a while back. To my knowledge, there has never been an investigation made into the matter of whether or not the employees of the Railroad Retirement Board who claim to have had railroad service and, therefore, would take advantage of this much talked about railroad preference, ever did perform the railroad service claimed. With respect to my own case, the gentleman who was previously mentioned in Mr. Burke's testimony, Mr. Robson, whom he could not displace, became my superior officer by virtue of my having gone into service. I left from an employment analyst position, grade CAF-11. Mr. Robson had been brought into the employment service division and trained by me, had gone to a CAF-9 under me, took my job when I went into the Army, at a conditional grade CAF-11. Later on, there was put back on the authorized list a grade CAF-12, employment analyst. The duties of the two positions are comparable. The grade CAF-12 was formerly occupied by a man who had gone into military service, and was even then serving in the Navy. I appealed this promotion, which occurred while I was away, on the grounds that I was fully qualified for the position. I had ten years of railroad service behind me, one of the preferences which we have just been talking about; Mr. Robson had none. I was senior to Mr. Robson in Board service. We have been talking about Board seniority. I was senior to him in Board service by two years and three months, in service in the Division of Employment Service by one year, and in service in the grade just below the vacancy by one year. I came back to grade CAF-11, working for the man whom I had trained and who had occupied my conditional position while I was away. I contended, too, that I was in a permanent grade CAF-11 position, whereas Mr. Robson was then only in a CAF-11 position conditional to mine - that is at the time of the promotion to the grade CAF-12; that I was rightfully in line of succession for the promotion, having been Mr. Robson's supervisor and superior officer at the time of my induction and previous thereto. I appealed this to the Railroad Retirement Board, the three member Board. My appeal was denied. I appealed to the 7th Civil Service Region. My appeal was denied there. I appealed to the Civil Service Commission in Washington. My appeal was denied there. When the Chairman came to the Board, the first opportunity I had to see him occurred, I think, either in the latter part of June 1946 or in July 1946. I went over the situation with him and fully apprised him of the situation as I saw it with respect to veterans in the Railroad Retirement Board.

Getting back once again to this matter which I spoke of in the Coates case, of juggling around jobs and individuals without changing the physical locations of the individuals. I pointed out in my appeal to the Board that Mr. Robson had been, at the time he was serving on a grade 12, demoted to a permanent vacant CAF-11 position. The only reason I could figure out for that move was that if the grade CAF-12 former incumbent returned from naval service, he would have been privileged to bump Mr. Robson, I, in turn, would have been privileged to bump Mr. Robson out of the conditional grade 11 to my position, and he would have gone back to his former grade 9. That is the only conclusion I can draw.

I would like to make one more statement with respect to the attitude of the Board toward the Legion's attempt to assist the Board in arriving at an equitable handling of the veterans. By letter dated November 24, 1947, the Board liaison committee addressed the following letter to the Railroad Retirement Board. I shall read it quickly.

"Re: Promotion of veterans who do not meet the length of experience requirements of the Civil Service Commission

"Gentlemen:

"Several veterans in the Railroad Retirement Board who were employed by the Board before they entered military service have advised our committee that they have been told by their supervisors that although they are capable of performing duties of positions vacant in higher grades, they cannot be considerd for promotion to these positions because they do not meet the length of experience requirements specified in experience and training standards established by the Civil Service Commission. The promotion history of non-veterans comparable to these veterans in seniority and grade at the time they entered military service shows that generally the veterans lack the required experience because of their absence from the Board while serving in the Armed Forces. Even though the veterans were promoted after their return, the promotions came too late to enable them to get enough experience to qualify now for further promotions.

"Since August 30th past, the Civil Service Commission has provided that upon request it will approve the promotion of any veteran or merchant mariner who does not meet the length of experience specified in the non-competitive experience and training standard for a position if:

"1. The veteran left a Federal Civil Service position to enter military or merchant marine service and was restored or reemployed in the agency he left.

"2. The agency unqualifiedly recommends him for the position and certifies to the Commission that, in the agency's opinion, he lost opportunity for promotion or reassignment because of his military or merchant marine service.

"3. The Commission finds that the employee's total training and employment record indicates that he is capable of performing the duties of the position.

"In view of the difficulty which we understand the Board is experiencing in finding employees within the Board who have the length of experience required for promotion to several types of positions, it would appear that the Board should take advantage of this opportunity for the promotion of Board employees.

"Although the regulation went into effect nearly three months ago, this Committee is not aware of being utilized in the interest of Board employees. If it has not been utilized, we recommend that steps be taken immediately to effect the promotion of qualified employees.

"We feel that this is of special importance because of the Board's stated policy of PROMOTION FROM WITHIN, and because positions have been filled at higher grades by employees of little seniority and even by persons from outside the Board when we might have been able to fill these positions by Board employees if we had recommended our own returned veterans.

"It is respectfully requested that this Committee be informed of the action or decision taken on the matter.

"Very truly yours,

Francis D. Burke,
Chairman
Board Liaison Committee."

On December 3, 1947, there was this memorandum:

"TO: Chairman, Liaison Committee,
Railroad Retirement Board Post 856
The American Legion

FROM: Secretary of the Board

SUBJECT: Promotion of Veterans Who Do Not Meet the Length of Experience Requirements of the Civil Service Commission.

Because the Board Members think your memorandum of November 24, 1947, recommending that consideration be given veterans for promotion even though they may not meet the length of experience requirements of the Civil Service Commission if they meet certain other requirements set up by the Civil Service Commission for such cases, merits consideration by a full Board, I have been asked to remove the item from the agenda until the return of the Board Member Luhrsen. I am writing you so that you will not expect immediate action on your request."

The Post 856 Liaison Committee has received no further notice of any action taken by the Board, although I understand that Mr. Luhrsen has returned.

That concludes my testimony, gentlemen.

MR. MOORE: What was the decision of the Civil Service Commission, in effect, in turning down your appeal?

MR. BRAINERD: The decision of the Civil Service Commission was to the effect that the promotion of an individual was an administrative matter and I had no right under law to demand that I be promoted in absentia, and (2) that there was no reallocation, as I suggested, of my grade CAF-11 job to the grade CAF-12 job which was reauthorized by the Board.

MR. MOORE: Did you appeal under either Section 12 or Section 14 of the Veterans' Preference Act?

MR. BRAINERD: The subject of my appeal was an appeal from the decision of the Regional Director of the 7th U.S. Civil Service Region denying appeal from the decision concerning the filling of employment analyst, CAF-12, division of employment service.

MR. MOORE: It was a classification appeal, then?

MR. BRAINERD: Partially, I would say.

MR. MOORE: As I understand this case, Mr. Robson was promoted in your absence to your position. Is that right?

MR. BRAINERD: That's correct, sir.

MR. MOORE: What position was offered you on your return?

MR. BRAINERD: A position of grade CAF-11 employment analyst, under Mr. Robson.

MR. MOORE: And your former grade was CAF-11?

MR. BRAINERD: That's correct.

MR. MOORE: Now, Mr. Robson was a CAF-12?

MR. BRAINERD: That is correct.

THE CHAIRMAN: Did you say you are still employed now?

MR. BRAINERD: Yes, sir.

THE CHAIRMAN: Have any of the head men, so to speak, talked to you or told you that you were jeopardizing your future in the service by your activity in promoting your own welfare, as you saw it?

MR. BRAINERD: I have had several friends tell me that.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question I am asking you now is about the members of the Board or any of your seniors.

MR. BRAINERD: Aside from my discussion with Chairman Kennedy of the Board, I have had no other discussion with the Board members.

THE CHAIRMAN: You have never held any salaried position with The American Legion?

MR. BRAINERD: No, sir.

THE CHAIRMAN: It has been entirely a labor of love?

MR. BRAINERD: Yes, sir - entirely voluntary.

MR. MOORE: Mr. Libonati, will you proceed?

MR. LIBONATI: (Interposing) Thank you very much for your testimony.

MR. BRAINERD: Yes, sir.

MR. LIBONATI: We will call Mr. Barnhisel.

D. BARNHISEL,

called as a witness to testify at this hearing, was examined and testified as follows:

EXAMINATION
by
MR. LIBONATI:

Q Will you state your name?

A D. Barnhisel.

Q You are a member of The American Legion?

A Yes, sir.

Q Which post?

A The Railroad Retirement Board post.

Q Are you employed now, working for the Railroad Retirement Board?

A No, sir.

Q When were you last employed?

A I think, August 15, 1943, I believe.

Q Will you tell us your reasons for being detached from the Railroad Retirement Board? Give us a brief history of your case?

A Well, I was employed from an adjudicator's register in 1937, in August or September, and remained with the Board until January, 1938, when they had a general reduction in force. At that time, we had a railroad preference clause in the Act that was completely disregarded.

Since we have a Board member representing employees, or a labor member, I attempted to go before him to show him that he was circumventing the section of the Act that afforded employees with railroad experience a preference, both in retention, original employment, and so forth.

However, after a month or two of separation from the Board, I happened to be one of the very few called back to the Board. That date is not too clear in my mind, but I think it was about February or March of 1938.

I remained in the capacity of an adjudicator which is synonymous with the title claim examiner. I think there was a motive behind the change in title, due to the fact that an adjudicator came off of the register of Civil Service, whereas the claim examiner, I think, is a coined or misnomer title in the Board, and it was possibly done for the purpose of attempting to circumvent the railroad preference, and a few other things that entered into it.

In March 1943, around the latter part of the month I was called in to Mr. A. R. Wells' office, who was my superior, and I was told that I had an unsatisfactory service rating - or efficiency rating.

Now, from 1937, other than the one or two months that I have mentioned, up to that time I had received a "very good" efficiency rating. I was doing the same type of work. I hadn't changed that. My production was the same and I had never been called before my reviewer with any complaints as to whether I was doing good or bad work. No corrective measures were taken at all. And, here I was faced with this unsatisfactory rating.

They then decided that I would be transferred to another unit. I think it was on the floor above us, under Mr. John Swartz and, I think, Mr. David Kelly, with John Swartz as the reviewer superior.

They then decided to dismiss me, and on July 31, they furnished me with a letter telling me that I was going to be separated. I tried to secure some information as to why they were separating me without a hearing, and most all the doors were blocked. However, I did get into Mr. Carney's office, and he told me it was a prerogative of the Board to separate us without a hearing, and something about the approval of the Civil Service Commission. That was set forth in documentary evidence. I have that in letter form.

However, through some contacts I managed to get a hearing, and this hearing took place on August 15th. It was predicated upon a register ending March 31, 1943. The hearing was conducted August 14th and 15th. I believe those dates are correct. Isn't that correct, Mr. Carney?

MR. CARNEY: You are using my name pretty carelessly.

MR. BARNHISEL: (Continuing) In any event, I asked for a report of the hearing which was denied by the Chairman holding the hearing, and I also asked to have the labor member of the three-man Appeal Board removed, due to the fact that he was prejudiced. I worked with him almost every day. And that was denied. Then, I asked for my efficiency rating from March 31, 1943, to August 15, 1943 inclusive, and that was denied.

However, I understand that there was an efficiency rating made from March 31, 1943 to August 15, 1943 and, I believe, that came out a G-5, or "Good." I believe I have shown I had good and very good efficiency ratings up to this point, except for the fact I ran into this unsatisfactory, and then again I was good.

MR. LIBONATI: That is the substance of your case?

MR. BARNHISEL: Yes, sir.

MR. LIBONATI: I think that is all.

THE CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much.

(Witness excused)

MR. LIBONATI: We will call Mr. Powell.

FRANK P. POWELL,

called as a witness in his own behalf, was examined and testified as follows:

EXAMINATION
by
MR. LIBONATI:

Q State your name and address.

A Frank P. Powell. 909 Agatite.

Q You are a member of The American Legion post?

A Yes, sir, the Jackson Park post.

Q The Jackson Park post?

A Yes, sir.

Q Of The American Legion?

A Yes, sir.

Q Are you now employed at the Railroad Retirement Board?

A I am.

Q In what capacity?

A Right now I am a searcher and instructor.

Q Speak up.

A Yes, sir.

I am a searcher and instructor. When I started out with the Board, I sat there for two months with no instructions, just marking ledgers, whether the name was there or not. In the meantime, several people came in and went to classes, and they were shoved ahead. I waited there. I finally started to gripe about getting to go to a class and learning something about the ledgers.

Then, they put me in a class - turned me loose. I stayed on that job of miscellaneous adjustments for about three months, and they were putting out promotions to young girls; three or four girls who were seventeen years old were being put in who were there a shorter time than I was. I was still a CAF-2.

I finally started griping about it and they gave me a CAF-3. These girls who had been there a shorter time got CAF-4's.

I was put on another job then. I was assigned to a lady, doing what we call BA-12 consolidations. This lady was supposed to train me in the work. This lady didn't know the work herself.

Q What is her name?

A Miss Nachenberg.

I was taken off of that position and called back. I explained it to Miss Beck, I think it was.

I was put on another job then and there was something came up in our group, and Mr. Blume, the head of the department, came over and started bawling them out, including me. So an argument came up between Mr. Blume and myself about production. So he checked Miss Beck on my production - found out I was high on production. Miss Beck then turned around and had all my work checked from the time I started with the Board. Since I had had only a few hours' instructions in about five months, of course they found mistakes.

So, shortly after that I had to go to Hines Hospital for an operation. Then I came back. I was in the hospital for two months on this knee operation. I had forty stitches in the knee. I had some growth and broken bone removed.

THE CHAIRMAN: Were you wounded in the war?

A Yes, twice.

I came back and Mr. Blume told me they just had one job for me. That was a searcher - where I would be on my feet at all times!

So, I was moved upstairs after that, in survivors' claims, at the same grade, I have been up there since then, and since I have been up there, I have been teaching certifiers work they have been certifying for the last year - I have been teaching them how to do the work of searching.

MR. MOORE: Are they in the same grade as you?

A No, they are in a grade above me.

MR. MOORE: They are a grade above you, and you are instructing them?

A Yes, that is right.

MR. LIBONATI: Do you know Mr. Levine?

A Yes, I do.

Q What is his job there?

A He resigned from the Board.

Q He is not there any more?

A No.

Q While he was there did you have any discussion with him.

A Well, I was sitting at a table and he started talking communism to me.

THE CHAIRMAN: Who was that?

A Sidney Levine.

THE CHAIRMAN: What position did he have?

A I don't know what position he had then, but he started talking -

MR. MOORE: Was he an official?

A He was a supervisor, yes. But I don't know what he was at that time.

THE CHAIRMAN: To your knowledge, is he still working for the Board?

A No, he resigned from the Board.

He was talking about how right the Russians were in Yugoslavia, and how he thought about it. I asked him if communism ever would happen here, what he would do; if he would change his mind about communism, or if he would talk like he is now.

THE CHAIRMAN: Did he resign, do you know, at his own request, or was he asked to resign?

A He resigned on his own request just before we were finger-printed for the loyalty checks.

MR. MOORE: Mr. Chairman. You mentioned before you went to the hospital you were working with some girls, and they received instructions, as I understand it, and you did not?

A The policy there is: if they seem to want you down on the third floor, you get the instructions.

MR. MOORE: I see.

A (Continuing) Somebody will stay with you for three or four days. If they don't want you, you get a couple of hours of instructions and they turn you loose.

MR. MOORE: And you were performing the same work as they - at a lesser grade?

A Yes.

MR. MOORE: Has anyone told you at the Board you have a right to appeal to the Civil Service Regional Office on the grounds of a wrong classification where you are doing the same work as somebody else with a different rate of pay and a different classification?

A No. The only thing we were told was to take an examination. That was all I was told. And I have ten points' preference.

MR. MOORE: Do you understand from the Board that there is any place you can go in the Personnel Office of the Board, or any one of the offices of the Board, where you can discuss your classification - or these matters - and get advice from?

A No, I have never been told that.

MR. LIBONATI: That is all.

MR. MOORE: Thank you very much.

(Witness excused)

MR. LIBONATI: We will call Mr. Morrissey.

JOHN F. MORRISSEY,

called as a witness in his own behalf, having been examined and testified as follows:

EXAMINATION
by
MR. LIBONATI:

Q What is your name?

A John F. Morrissey.

Q Where do you live, Mr. Morrissey?

A 7555 Rogers Avenue.

Q You are a veteran?

A Yes.

Q You are a member of the Railroad Retirement Post?

A Yes.

Q Are you employed by the Railroad Retirement Board?

A Yes, sir.

Q In what capacity?

A Right now, chief of operating service, a CAF-9.

Q How long have you been employed by the Railroad Retirement Board?

A Since June 16, 1939.

Q You went into the service while you were employed there?

A Yes, sir.

Q Now, will you tell the Board briefly about your situation?

A I entered the Navy May 4, 1944. I left the Board as a CAF-8. I returned to that agency after my discharge in December, 1945.

I worked there on that job only for about six months, and due to a reorganization, they were going to abolish the job. And, about the same time, I saw a posting for a CAF-9 in Personnel.

I bid on this CAF-9 and I was told that I did not qualify for the job. So, I took my case to the Adjustment Committee, and they ruled that I was qualified for the position, and they would present my case to the Board, which they did.

The Board here - along with Mr. Carney - stated that I was not qualified for the job.

I understood that when the job was posted there were about thirty applicants, and that fifteen of these people that had been passed over had turned their case to the AFGE, and nothing could be done.

Upon investigating why, I found that the job was filled by an employee from the Civil Service Commission. In other words, the Board had authorized Mr. Carney to go outside to fill this job; that there was not anyone qualified for that job, a CAF-9, in an organization of our size.

In addition, during the war, the Board had a division called the employment service, in which they had an extensive recruiting program. Now, we had a number of people in the Board that had recruiting experience - and they had told me that was the reason I didn't qualify for the job - because they needed someone to produce immediately without training.

It might be interesting to know that the employee selected by the Board with these outstanding qualifications was employed by the Civil Service Commission. She reported to the Board on the job as Devota Mullins.

Q What is her name?

A Devota Mullins.

Q How do you spell that?

A D-e-v-o-t-a M-u-l-l-i-n-s.

Shortly after she reported to the Board, she married the Regional Director of the Seventh Civil Service District.

Q What is his name?

A Mr. Conner. I think he is in the house here.

Q That is all. Does anyone wish to question the witness?

THE WITNESS: (Continuing) I also have a statement, that was given to the Board, that four of my former supervisors had considered me qualified for the job. Mr. Carney, who considered I was not qualified for the job, has never worked directly with me, and I have never worked directly for the three Board members who considered me not qualified. All of the members of the adjustment committee, including the veteran and non-veterans, considered me qualified for the job, though.

THE CHAIRMAN: What was your commission? Were you commissioned an ensign?

A No sir. I went in as an apprentice seaman and came out as a petty officer, second class, yeoman. I had two letters of recognition while I was in the Navy, not battle recognitions, but due to high performance.

THE CHAIRMAN: What was your rating, petty officer yeoman?

A Yeoman second class. And all of my supervisors had made statements that they considered me qualified for that job.

MR. LIBONATI: That was at the time you went into the service?

A No. This was after returning from the service. I returned to the job I had vacated when I left for the service.

CONGRESSMAN DAVIS: Had you had any railroad experience?

A No sir.

MR. LIBONATI: That is all.

MR. MOORE: Thank you very much.

(Witness excused)

MR. LIBONATI: We have about five or six other witnesses. I feel that the Committee has received an overall picture, and rather than take up any more time on the part of the Board, we will close our case and use them at a future time if it becomes necessary.

THE CHAIRMAN: I would like to suggest this: That those who are present and have not testified - what you suggested possibly isn't necessary - that you state for the purpose of the record that they are here to testify, and that in case their testimony is required at any future hearing of this committee, that they will so testify. I think that that would be very much appreciated by us in the interest of time, but we do want to have everybody heard here that you think is necessary to be heard on both sides of this question.

MR. LIBONATI: We have present here, and under subpoena, Marcelle Fischer. We also have here Esther Ninos, and also we have here Joseph Sowers, William Eggert, Edward Block and Wilbur Millhouse. We also have present here a girl and a boy that we might call on later if the conditions and circumstances become necessary. We have here also Herbert Block.

Now, may we have permission to insert into the record any additional statements that we desire to make?

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes. There are no objections to submitting additional statements. In doing so, give copies to the other side of any statement that you do provide in the record.

MR. KENNEDY: Mr. Chairman, does the Railroad Retirement Board get a chance to answer such statements?

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes. That is the purpose in supplying you the copy.

The Committee would like to call Mr. Burke to the witness stand.

MR. BURKE: Yes, sir.

FRANCIS D. BURKE,

called as a witness by the committee, having been previously sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

EXAMINATION
by
THE COMMITTEE:

MR. MOORE: Mr. Burke, the committee this morning saw three charts that you had. Do you have those with you still?

A They are in the possession of the lady who was the court reporter this morning. But I have some additional ones that I will present later.

Q At one point during this morning's hearing you showed the CAF-5 in orange, on the left hand side of the chart, and then you showed in progression a CAF-7, an 8, a 9, and then on up to 12 in blue.

A Yes sir.

Q I wonder if you will give the committee the background of the persons represented by the ones in blue? Do you know the background?

A No sir. I am sorry to say I don't know the background.

Q Do you know whether they are veterans or non-veterans?

A Oh, they are all non-veterans, of course. There might have been, for example, and there were oftentimes, many veterans in the position of placement officer CAF-4. And there might have been three or four other veterans who were not shown in that particular chart. It shows just this particular veteran, and with him the non-veterans who, upon the date he entered service, were of equal grade.

Q CAF-4?

A Yes sir. That is right.

Q I wonder if you could supply the committee with this information?

A Yes, I am sure I could.

Q The committee will ask the Board the same question also.

CONGRESSMAN DAVIS: Could you state now whether or not the five or six - as it might have been, that you had represented in blue on the chart - whether or not they were employees with previous railroad experience?

A I believe they were not.

Now, the first chart I showed was with Mr. Beulke and five other people, and then later with six other people in the two charts. I believe Mr. Beulke was senior to four of the five people insofar as Board seniority is concerned - and all of this happened ten days before he got back. And he was the senior person. For railroad experience, I don't know.

CONGRESSMAN DAVIS: You mentioned this morning, I believe, that there were nine per cent of the personnel of the Railroad Retirement Board veterans, did you not?

A No sir. That there were about eight or nine per cent who had had railroad experience.

CONGRESSMAN DAVIS: Oh, who have had railroad experience?

A Yes, sir.

Q Now, do you know what percentage of the employees are veterans?

A I believe it would run around twenty-eight or twenty-nine per cent. That was the figure, I know, several months ago.

THE CHAIRMAN: The committee will be in recess for about five minutes to give the reporters an opportunity to rest, and if it is your choice, you can go out in the hall and take a smoke or walk around. We will recess for five minutes.

(Whereupon a recess was taken.)

THE CHAIRMAN: We will now hear from Mr. Kennedy, Chairman of the Railroad Retirement Board.

MR. LIBONATI: May I state for the record that Mr. Barnhisel, who testified here before, is a disabled war veteran and was wounded in action in World War I. I want the record to show this in connection with his testimony.

THE CHAIRMAN: (Addressing the reporter) Will you insert that where he began testifying.

MR. KENNEDY: I am William J. Kennedy, Chairman of the Railroad Retirement Board.

May I say to you that there was great stress made upon the fact - I have a statement but I would like to make another statement first?

THE CHAIRMAN: You may proceed.

MR. KENNEDY: I would like to say a few words about the failure of the Board to reply to Mr. Libonati's letter, about failure to reply within ten days within which, we take it, we were supposed to prepare for discussion with him and discuss the facts with him, and the conflicting questions which he raised.

Now, if you will listen to the questions and consider them you will recognize that no court would have required any Federal agency in the country to do this job within less than thirty days, and he placed a limit of ten days.

In addition, at the time the letter was received by the Board, I did not act as the Chairman then because I was undergoing a serious hospital operation in Cleveland. At that time, incidentally, I was recuperating from that operation and it was uncertain when I could be back. The other two Board members were considering contacting me in Cleveland in the event I could not come back very soon.

While in the process of determining what to do, gentlemen, you realize that the Board has many duties to perform as an administrative body of the Retirement Board. And, as presented in the record, the ten days had gone by before there was an opportunity for a decision by the Board. Then the Board received another letter from Mr. Libonati, which he wrote on the tenth day, advising he had withdrawn the first request. Because of this, nothing further was done.

Now, had Mr. Libonati called by phone or made some other inquiry about the matter he would have been advised of the situation and a new date would have been set for a meeting with him.

Now, gentlemen, I think it only fair, since Mr. Libonati's letter to the Board was made a part of the record, that his second letter of withdrawal of his first letter also should be made a part of the record.

I am confident that we will overcome very soon the picture presented at the hearing which would lead you to believe the Board and officials are sitting up nights preparing devilish schemes.

I will now proceed with my prepared statement.

I am William J. Kennedy, Chairman of the Railroad Retirement Board. You know that the Railroad Retirement Board administers the retirement and unemployment insurance systems for the railroad industry. These systems cover some million and a half regular railroad employees. In addition, we have records of and cover also some six to eight million persons who have had some railroad employment.

You are, of course, familiar with the set-up of the usual run of government agencies. You also know, however, that the Railroad Retirement Board is unique in that its membership represents various interests, that is, one of its members represents railroad management, one railroad labor, and a third, myself, the public interest; further, unlike other government agencies, this agency's operations are financed entirely through taxes levied on the people it directly serves, the railroads and their employees, the public as a whole bearing no part of the expense, except the cost of crediting military service in the armed forces of the United States.

At the outset I wish to say that, although I do not know specifically the basis for this investigation, I see now that there must have been some complaints about the Board's treatment of returned veterans, otherwise you gentlemen would not have taken the trouble to travel to Chicago to conduct this investigation.

On this assumption, I must say to you gentlemen that I am surprised and shocked that such complaints were made against the Board. I am fully confident that your investigation will establish beyond doubt that this Board in its treatment of its returned veterans has met, or exceeded, all requirements of law. Furthermore, I am confident, that, in the spirit of making the veteran whole, this Board, the records will show, has surpassed any other Federal agency.

Up to the present time a total of 549 Board employees have entered the armed forces. Our records indicate that 25 are still in the military service, and 141 failed to return to the Board after discharge from military service. 103 who returned to the Board have since voluntarily separated and of those, I may say, many have been promoted on the average of 1.1 grades above the grades held at the time of their entry into the military service. The remaining 280 have returned and are still with the Board. Those 280 returned veterans have been promoted a total of 685 grades; in other words, the average promotion for returned veterans still with the Board has been 2.44 grades.

Of these 280 veterans, some of course, have received no promotions. Their number, however, is very small; 20 altogether, and their failure to secure promotion is due to a variety of causes, such as their having reached such high grades before entering military service that no opportunity for further promotion has been presented, or they are so located that acceptance of promotion would have involved moving difficulties and family problems. 134 of the 280 veterans returned have been promoted three or more grades, in two cases, as many as seven grades.

For example, take the case of Harold W. J. Smith. He was first employed by the Board in July, 1941, as a messenger. When he entered military service in December, 1942, he was a file clerk at grade CAF-3. He returned from military service in March, 1946, to his grade 3 position. Four months later, he received a grade promotion. In October, 1946, he was promoted to the position of claims examiner at grade CAF-6. Two months later, he was promoted to grade CAF-7 as a claims examiner; and in November, 1947, after having transferred to the field at the same grade, he was promoted to the position of branch manager, grade CAF-8.

I could go on citing instance after instance showing the liberal treatment accorded to veterans by the Board; and I think I should point out that, although only 29.4 per cent of the Board's employees are veterans of World War I and World War II, as many as 36.8 per cent of the employees in the higher grades, CAF-11, P-4 and above, are veterans. And I may point out further that in the office of the director of personnel, who has full charge of the recruitment and classification of the Board's employees, five of the nine male employees are veterans of World War II. All this would justify my feeling of surprise if there are any complaints of the Board's treatment of veterans.

It may be of interest to this subcommittee to know that the Board, after receiving information that the promotion of its employees had been retarded because of absence in military service, established a committee for the express purpose of assuring fair and liberal treatment of its returned veterans, this committee being composed of a representative of the Board, of each of the two labor organizations at the Board, and of the Board's American Legion post itself.

At this point, I would like to place before your committee a letter from the Commander of the American Legion Post in the Board expressing his appreciation of the Board's action in this regard. I quote it in part:

> "We take this opportunity to convey to the Board our sincere appreciation of the action indicated in the memorandum from the Secretary of the Board dated August 19, 1946. The statements of policy coincide with our original petition and the method chosen to implement the policy conforms with our sense of fairness to all Board employees. Accept our thanks and be assured of our cooperation."

THE CHAIRMAN: What is the name of the commander?

MR. KENNEDY: Mr. H. C. Danner, I understand.

I will present that too as Exhibit "8".

MR. MOORE: Mr. Chairman, with your permission the Committee will have that marked as Exhibit "D".

MR. KENNEDY: That is all right with me.

MR. MOORE: It may be marked as Exhibit "D".

(Whereupon the above mentioned document was marked as Exhibit "D" as requested."

MR. KENNEDY: This adjustment committee was instructed by the Board to make the necessary adjustments in accordance with the following policy laid down by the Board:

> "The Committee is expected to confer as necessary with appointing officers, bureau and office heads, with a view to placing the veterans where they are deemed by the Commission to belong. --"

We did not say, give them one, two or three grades, but give them their just dues; give them more, in substance is what we stated to them.

> "-- Where such a placement cannot be accomplished by agreement, the Committee should place the full facts before the Board for its determination. --"

In other words, if the Committee itself did not do justice to these veterans we wanted to know about it. We wanted to know about it and we were willing then, as now, to remedy any wrong. What more can you ask?

"-- It is to be further understood that the Committee will attempt to place the veterans in vacant positions wherever possible and will refrain from causing displacement unless such method of making the adjustment is necessary."

You men can understand that. From an administrative standpoint we wanted to disrupt the organization as little as possible. We were in the throes of a tremendous increase and we wanted as much peace and harmony and uniformity and ease as we could operate under.

In accordance with that policy the Board suspended its seniority principle applicable to all employees in the matter of promotions, and pursuant thereto, this adjustment committee, which in every instance, I understand, acted unanimously, recommended promotions in some one hundred veteran cases, and in every case, I understand, their recommendation or its equivalent was accepted.

Each member of that committee, I am informed, was awarded at the instance of the same Legion post a special certificate of merit signed by the State Commander of the American Legion; a copy of which I would like to have placed in the record. This award was given to your committee for meritorious service and, as I understand it, during the discussion making that award it was contemplated to even giving such an award of meritorious service to the members of the Board.

In other words, the American Legion post said to this Railroad Retirement Board and its committee adjusting veterans, "Well done, good and faithful public servant," and made an award which I would like to make a part of this record.

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Chairman, that will be marked as Exhibit "E".

(Whereupon the above mentioned document was marked Exhibit "E" as requested.)

MR. KENNEDY: I may say further that the present commander of the American Legion post at the Board, Mr. Francis D. Burke, wrote a letter to the Civil Service Commission for my signature in connection with the Board's treatment of veterans. I had understood that Mr. Burke was most familiar with the situation and I asked him to give the full facts to the Commission. A copy of this letter I submit here for the consideration of the subcommittee. I would like to call the committee's attention to the following statement in that letter which is dated January 10, 1947:

"We are especially happy because we believe the Railroad Retirement Board fulfilled its responsibility to the returning veteran in a manner unique either to Federal establishments or private industry."

THE CHAIRMAN: What is the date of that letter?

MR. KENNEDY: January 10, 1947.

That was the letter. I was not familiar with the operations and details of your new adjustment board. I was back of it and I recommended that they do everything humanly possible, but I was not familiar with the details when the Commission wrote me a letter, and I gave it to the man who was the spearhead of this committee and asked him if he would be kind enough to give the Commission all of the facts for my signature.

I may say further that in making the necessary adjustments the committee considered the promotions obtained by non-veterans during the absence of the veterans and aimed to make certain that the average grade promotion for veterans be at least as great as if not greater than was accorded to non-veterans.

To achieve this result, Mr. Burke, the present commander of the Board's Legion post, and also secretary of the adjustment committee, worked out a formula for this purpose and his formula was the basis for the adjustments made by the committee in cases of the lower graded employees. For the higher grades the committee attempted to work out as exactly as possible whatever loss in promotion the veteran sustained.

It seems highly unreasonable for anyone to assume that after affording most favorable treatment to its many returned veterans, --

I may say here for myself that the best we could give them is none too good, and I will say that is the sentiment also of the associates on the Board.

-- the Board would deliberately discriminate against any veteran. Why would the Board do that? I assure you that of the employees who have been designated by the committee to appear before it, I have never seen but two or three and if any did not receive the same liberal treatment that was afforded the others, there must have been sound reasons which made such action with respect to them unavoidable.

You can readily see, gentlemen, why the Board has cause to feel aggrieved in this matter. Although I am confident that your investigation will establish conclusively that the Board's treatment of returned veterans has been most exemplary, damage to the Board's prestige and reputation has already been done by this very public meeting at which the Board, in so far as the public can tell, stands charged with unfair treatment of veterans. I fear that your ultimate clearing the Board of this public charge may not receive the publicity that the charge is receiving; and this, I feel, would be most unjust to the Board.

The Board is particularly aggrieved by this: Even if the Board had, in some instances, failed to afford proper treatment to a returned veteran, it would seem only fair that the veterans should give the Board an opportunity to correct whatever errors exist.

The Board has established a procedure enabling any aggrieved employee, veteran or non-veteran, to appeal, personally or through his labor organization or Legion Post, over the head of his immediate supervisor, through regular channels, to the Board itself. There is nothing to stop a veteran from walking into a Board Room meeting any morning that he wants to, and say, "Gentlemen of the Board, I am aggrieved."

The Board does not stop him from doing that. I say again, gentlemen, that the Board is ready, willing and able to hear his case in every instance. But that has never happened.

The purpose of the Board's procedure is obvious. The Board wishes to be completely fair to everyone of its employees; and it should be given an opportunity to correct any failures of its own supervisory employees before complaints are made to the Civil Service Commission, to members of Congress, or to anyone else.

I am sure that the Civil Service Commission and members of Congress would prefer that an employee in such instance exhaust such remedies as are provided for him within the Board before seeking relief elsewhere.

We have the same procedure for benefit claimants under the Acts. The three Board members cannot, of course, adjudicate the hundreds of thousands of claims; they are adjudicated by bureaus established specifically for that purpose. But if a bureau commits an error, it is, on appeal, corrected by an appeals council of the Board; and an error of the appeals council is, on appeal, corrected by the Board itself. The courts uniformly refuse to hear a claimant until after the Board has had an opportunity to correct the errors, if any, of its own officials. Yet, of the fourteen employees who have been requested to appear here as having grievances, only four, to my knowledge, have come to the Board with any complaint.

In pointing this out, gentlemen, I do not mean to imply that I have any objection to this investigation. On the contrary, in view of what has developed, I welcome it, and I assure you that the Board will cooperate with you to the fullest possible extent and will make every effort to assist you in developing whatever information you wish. Further, I assure you on behalf of the Board that we will make proper adjustment in any case in which the Board finds that injustice has been done.

The other two Board members were here just a minute ago; one is still here, and I speak for the Board when I say to you gentlemen with all sincerity at my command, with all emphasis I repeat, I assure this Honorable Board that we will make proper adjustment in any case in which the Board finds an injustice has been done. What more can you ask? What more can you ask? We will remedy any injustice.

I have with me, Mr. Robert H. LaMotte, the Board's chief executive officer, Mr. V. Paul Carney, director of personnel, and Mr. Paul M. Johnson, who was chairman of the veterans adjustment committee. These three and any others you wish are available for questioning. Although, as I indicated to Mr. Moore, I had other plans, I shall remain here throughout the proceedings to be of such help to you gentlemen as it is humanly possible for me to give.

Now, I would like to go away from this manuscript that I have delivered to you gentlemen this afternoon. I want to close on this note by saying that I challenge any man or woman within hearing of my voice, yes I defy successful contradiction, that the Board, to my knowledge, either in deed or act or anything else, has been anti-veteran at any stage of the game.

Thank you very much, gentlemen.

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Kennedy, in view of the testimony you heard here this morning and in support of the statement you have just made --

MR. KENNEDY: Yes sir.

THE CHAIRMAN: (Continuing) Do you feel that an injustice has been done to any of the people who testified here today that may have escaped the notice of the Board here before?

MR. KENNEDY: That is probable, Congressman, but I do not think it to be a fact.

THE CHAIRMAN: Then from what you say here to us, we take it that there is a possibility that the Board stands ready and willing to correct any injustice that may have been brought out by the testimony?

MR. KENNEDY: By anybody, anywhere, anytime, sir.

CONGRESSMAN DAVIS: Mr. Kennedy, you referred in your talk at several places, I believe you called it an adjustment board, that was composed of representatives?

MR. KENNEDY: I probably should have better designated that as the veterans committee.

CONGRESSMAN DAVIS: The veterans committee?

MR. KENNEDY: Yes sir.

CONGRESSMAN DAVIS: Just what is that committee composed of? Who and how many, and who were they?

MR. KENNEDY: They consisted of a representative of the Board which was Mr. Paul M. Johnson; so that we might know what was going on. I think that was proper, inasmuch as the two labor organizations were representing veterans as well as the labor members, because whether a man is a veteran or a non-veteran, he belongs to a labor organization and he is represented by the head of that organization. We thought we were doing an unusually good job by saying, "Mr. Johnson, please represent the Board on that veterans committee." Then, we had too Mr. Ben Diamond. We told him, "Please represent us on that committee because you represent the CIO and veterans employees of your organization." And, I think we said to Mr. Kirkes to sit in. He is with the AFGE, which is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. We said, "You have a large number of veterans in your organization. So, you sit on that Board." And, we said to Mr. Burke - I think we said to Mr. Burke, "You have done a pretty good job in developing a basis for making those adjustments." We said to him, "You act as a spearhead or a guiding light so that justice will be done."

CONGRESSMAN DAVIS: That is the same board or committee he referred to in his testimony?

MR. KENNEDY: I have omitted one name, Willis Barber, who was then an officer of The American Legion, Railroad Retirement post number 856.

CONGRESSMAN DAVIS: Is that the same committee that Mr. Burke referred to in his testimony this morning?

MR. KENNEDY: Yes sir.

CONGRESSMAN DAVIS: Is that committee still functioning now, Mr. Kennedy?

MR. KENNEDY: It is not functioning. The committee was disbanded, as I understand it, and I noted before coming down here this morning that the number of adjustments that had been made before the committee came into existence and since the committee has been disbanded was far greater than those made during the life of the committee.

CONGRESSMAN DAVIS: Well, would you imply by that, that the committee was not able to handle it, or just what?

MR. KENNEDY: It appeared to me at that time, if my memory serves me correctly, that they had finished the job. In other words, the big bulk of the boys had come back. As Mr. Burke testified this morning, one would come back today and one next week and so on. So, it appeared on the surface there would be no need for a committee.

CONGRESSMAN DAVIS: Has there been any complaints since the committee was disbanded, or any adjustments to be handled since the committee was disbanded?

MR. KENNEDY: Not to my knowledge, sir.

CONGRESSMAN DAVIS: Now, these particular complaints that were made in detail here this morning, did they arise before that committee was disbanded or since the committee was disbanded?

MR. KENNEDY: I think the committee was in existence, if my memory serves me right - and I am depending on my memory.

Is that correct, Mr. Brainerd?

MR. BRAINERD: You are speaking of my own case?

CONGRESSMAN DAVIS: And the others?

MR. KENNEDY: Of course, there was one that went back to 1938 and I don't know anything about that, and in addition to that most of these grievances apparently - not that I want to dodge it - but they all happened before I appeared on the Board in April.

I understand now on good authority that most of the complaints heard here this morning were brought about and listened to, and gone over while the committee was in existence, sir.

CONGRESSMAN DAVIS: Did they come through that committee?

MR. KENNEDY: Yes sir.

CONGRESSMAN DAVIS: Could you put in the record - if not now but later - the disposition of the fourteen complaints by that committee?

MR. KENNEDY: I will be glad to put that in the record sir, later. I do not have it at my finger tips now.

CONGRESSMAN DAVIS: Thank you.

MR. MOORE: Mr. Chairman, have you contacted other government agencies to determine what they are doing with respect to similar problems?

MR. KENNEDY: I have not.

MR. MOORE: Would it be of interest to you to know that every government agency has a veterans committee in existence today?

MR. KENNEDY: I did not know that.

MR. MOORE: As a continuous proposition?

MR. KENNEDY: I did not know that.

MR. MOORE: As I understand it, the Veterans' Adjustment Committee - and for the record I would like to receive information officially from any representative of the Board as to when this organization was created and when it was disbanded?

MR. KENNEDY: I will be glad to have that put in the record.

MR. MOORE: All right.

Also, I wonder if any of your representatives could testify as to on whose initiative it was created?

MR. KENNEDY: On whose initiative?

MR. MOORE: That is right. In other words, did it come from the Civil Service Commission? Did the initiative at the beginning of this Veterans' Adjustment Committee come from the Civil Service Commission or the American Legion, or from an outside source?

MR. KENNEDY: It originated with the Post, which developed a study - and it followed it systematically from that point on.

THE CHAIRMAN: You mentioned in your statement that the employees have the right to go before the Board. I wonder if you could advise the subcommittee as to whether any memorandum has been sent out to the employees advising them of their right to appear before the Board?

MR. KENNEDY: That, sir, is printed in the Employees' Handbook, and has always been a part of the Board's policy.

THE CHAIRMAN: Now, this morning, some of the witnesses testified as to the fact that they believed that the officials of the Board criticised them, or acted prejudicial to their interest because of their activities and membership in The American Legion. Would you like to make any comment on that?

MR. KENNEDY: First, I doubt it. Second, if it is true, it is criminal, in my opinion.

MR. MOORE: I wonder if you would tell the committee the job, or rather the classification and duties and responsibilities of Mr. LaMotte, who is the executive director of your Board, or if Mr. LaMotte would like to tell the committee his duties and responsibilities, as to what they are?

MR. KENNEDY: We have already, I might say, furnished that information to the committee in Washington, but I will be glad to have Mr. LaMotte tell you briefly what his duties are. I am under the impression he can tell you what his job is better than I could. I could tell you what his job ought to be.

MR. MOORE: Well, all right, Mr. LaMotte?

MR. LA MOTTE: My name is Robert LaMotte. I live at 1367 Asburn Avenue, Winnetka, Illinois.

Briefly, my duties are to act as the administrative head next under the Board and report to the Board.

MR. MOORE: In other words, it is your duty to advise the Board with respect to matters which have been discussed here this morning as to the interpretation of Veterans' Preference Act, and as to the rights and privileges of veterans in the Railroad Retirement Board?

A No, I wouldn't say that would be my duty. That would probably fall under the director of personnel.

I have approximately three thousand employees under me from ten bureaus and offices here in Chicago, reporting directly through me, and nine regional offices in the field, for a total of about one hundred field offices. Obviously, I cannot be apprised in detail with everything connected with personnel; everything connected with the bureau of retirement claims, bureau of unemployment, sickness, and finances, and all others that we have.

MR. MOORE: What I am trying to find out is this: Who is responsible in the Board? The Board members have testified they can't familiarize themselves with the intimate details, and Mr. LaMotte disavows any responsibility at all. Now we come down to Mr. Carney. Does Mr. Carney?

MR. KENNEDY: Just a minute, Mr. Moore. There is no one here that is going to disavow any responsibility. I am here as Chairman to take my full responsibility, and my associates are here to assume their full responsibility.

MR. MOORE: We would just like to know who the man is that is officially responsible.

MR. KENNEDY: May I ask a question, please?

MR. MOORE: Yes?

MR. KENNEDY: As I understand it, Mr. Johnson here is a fine employee of the legal department and a good lawyer, and I think he has some course of action that he would be glad to give you to conform with this?

MR. MOORE: Very fine.

MR. KENNEDY: But I wish you two gentlemen would agree upon the procedure here so we won't get our wires crossed.

MR. MOORE: That is fine.

Mr. Johnson, will you kindly state for the record your full name?

MR. JOHNSON: My name is Paul M. Johnson. I am a member of the legal staff of the Railroad Retirement Board. I was appointed by the Board to act as its representative on the Veterans Adjustment Committee that has been talked about today.

That committee was a result of a study made in the bureau of personnel by Mr. Burke who was in the office of the bureau of personnel, employed as Training Adviser. He made a report which was received sometime in the summer of 1946. On the basis of that report, suggestions were made to the Board by the personnel office, the American Legion post, and one or two labor organizations.

The Board after considering these recommendations established this committee. This was on August 19, 1946. Notices were sent out to the American Legion post, to the CIO Local at the Board, to the AFGE, and to me, addressed - sent out by the Secretary of the Board to these parties named.

This is the notice or instructions that we received:

"August 19, 1946

Lodge 375, American Federation of Government Employees.
Local 13, United Public Workers of America.
American Legion Post 856.
Mr. Paul M. Johnson

Secretary of the Board

Committee to Adjust the Status of Board Employees Adversely Affected by Absence on Military Leave.

After consideration of submissions by the various employee organizations in the Board and of reports prepared at the Board's instance, bearing upon the status of Board employees returning from military service, the Board has appointed the following Committee to consider the case of each returning veteran with a view to making him as nearly whole as possible:

A representative to be named by Lodge 375, American Federation of Government Employees.

A representative to be named by Local 13, United Public Workers of America.

A representative to be named by American Legion Post 856

Mr. Paul M. Johnson as the Board's representative.

Mr. Francis D. Burke, who has done a great deal of very fine work for the Board on this question, has been named by the Board as Secretary of the Committee.

The Committee is expected to confer as necessary with appointing officers, bureau and office heads, with a view to placing the veterans where they are deemed by the Committee to belong. Where such a placement cannot be accomplished by agreement, the Committee should place the full facts before the Board for its determination. It is to be further understood that the Committee will attempt to place the veterans in vacant positions wherever possible and will refrain from causing displacement unless such method of making the adjustment is necessary."

Following this notice and instruction the committee met and got organized; spent a week or two in that process, and considered the methods and procedures of making the adjustments the Board wished the committee to make.

The committee had before it the material that Mr. Burke had developed for the Board and on the basis of that material and the recommendations of Mr. Burke, developed the formula for promoting the employees of the Board who had returned from military service. We looked over the material and found that it was necessary to develop an arbitrary formula for the employees of the Board who had left the Board service from the lower grades, CAF-5 and below, because it was impossible to check each employee's record and determine the necessary information, and the desire of the employee himself as to the exact loss he has sustained. So, we accepted, as I said, the material that Mr. Burke had developed and used that as a basis for an arbitrary formula for placing the veterans who had left the service from Class CAF-5 and below; and for employees who had left the service from grade CAF-6 and above, on those we determined it would be advisable to look into the records of those employees, and the records of those who were competing with him at the time he left for military service, and to determine as good as we could in what position he would have been - probably had been, if he had not gone into the military service.

We then secured from the Board an order on the various bureau heads and regional directors to give us notice of every vacancy that occurred so that we could place the veterans immediately in the vacancy. But the thought was that it would be undesirable to force displacements which might necessarily result, and that the best procedure would be to place the veteran in a vacant position, and then, if necessary, make the displacement.

The committee proceeded on this basis and in every instance acted unanimously. The member representing The American Legion did not dissent in a single action of the committee. The committee met in Mr. Burke's office and had the services of Mr. Burke and his assistant in their consideration.

At that particular time, the Board's operations were expanding. There were numerous vacancies that occurred; that is, at the beginning the vacancies were quite few, but they began to become large in numbers as the committee operated. And, of course, in about two or three months we had placed about one hundred and four veterans in jobs.

THE CHAIRMAN: Were they previous employees or new?

MR. JOHNSON: They were all previously employed by the Board.

THE CHAIRMAN: Sir?

MR. JOHNSON: They had all been previously employed by the Board.

The vacancies in the field at that time were somewhat few but we went into the Board and asked them that since there were vacancies in the departmental service whether it would be agreeable to pay the expense of the employees in the field who, to secure adjustment, would have to come into the departmental service. The Board gave that authority.

It turned out, however, that the expansion in the field was somewhat delayed, and the Board believed that if the committee took action to place the field employees in the departmental service and other places in the region it would involve many difficulties, disruption of Board service and so forth, when the jobs were created in the field. It would mean moving them back out because that was, presumably, where they wished to be. They came from the field and that was their first choice in most instances.

Secondly, at about the time the committee had its adjustments made in the departmental service - and I would say about one hundred of the veterans had already returned - the Board suggested an order of the committee be deferred on the placing of those in the field, until the sickness program developed. At the same time, it ordered the committee to give a list of all veterans to the chief executive officer so that, pending the establishment of these positions, as vacancies occurred these veterans could be placed in the available positions.

The committee worked out on its formula the grade promotions which it thought that the veterans in the field were entitled to, and gave such a statement to the chief executive officer. He in turn notified or gave the list to those regional directors to which they applied, and, as I understand it - Mr. Carney is more familiar with that than I am - the adjustments were made on the basis of those recommendations.

In August, 1947, the Board notified the committee that its jurisdiction had apparently ceased and that it would not be necessary for it to continue in operation any more, and requested that the records and files of the committee be turned over to the director of personnel.

THE CHAIRMAN: Was that a written notice?

MR. JOHNSON: Yes sir.

THE CHAIRMAN: Will you put a copy of that in the record?

MR. JOHNSON: A copy of that is in the record, I believe, having been furnished through Mr. McCormack.

THE CHAIRMAN: Go ahead.

MR. JOHNSON: As I said, the committee made adjustments in the cases of one hundred and four veterans for a total of one hundred and seventy grades. And, I wish to emphasize further that all actions of the committee were unanimous.

I will say further that in January of 1947 each member of the committee was requested to appear at the Legion post meeting and to receive a certificate of distinguished service. I think we all received a certificate of a kind that has been placed already in the record.

The case of Mr. Morrissey, to which reference was made this afternoon, was considered by the committee. We found that Mr. Morrissey, who had left the service of the Board as a grade CAF-8 and had returned to such a job, that while he was away had suffered the loss of one grade that he would probably been promoted to a higher position if he had not remained longer in the military service, and that this position would be one grade higher than what he had.

We determined on the basis of the information that we had that he was qualified for the position of placement officer in the bureau of personnel, and we made a referral to the director recommending Mr. Morrissey for that position.

The director of personnel informed the committee that he had been instructed by the Board to secure a person with the highest qualifications possible for the position and, therefore, could not accept the referral of Mr. Morrissey for the job.

THE CHAIRMAN: Do you mind being interrupted?

MR. JOHNSON: No.

THE CHAIRMAN: I would like to ask you a question regarding this: As I understood you, you said the personnel director stated to the Board he had been instructed?

MR. JOHNSON: He stated to the committee he had been instructed by the Board.

THE CHAIRMAN: He stated that to the committee, you mean?

MR. JOHNSON: That is right. I am sorry about that.

THE CHAIRMAN: Go ahead.

MR. JOHNSON: The committee then referred the matter to the Board itself for consideration. The Board sustained Mr. Carney's decision. Refused Mr. Morrissey for the position.

We then sought another grade 9 position for Mr. Morrissey and he was placed in the bureau of employment and claims where he did work for a short time or a few weeks thereafter. So that he did receive the adjustment that the committee had found he was entitled to.

Understand, of course, we did not find that he would have been promoted to a position of placement officer in the bureau of personnel had he not gone into service. We merely determined that he might at least have qualifications for the job and since he was entitled, as we thought, to a grade 9 position, that he could be placed in that position.

Then, as I said before, our referral was denied and Mr. Morrissey was then placed in another position of equivalent grade.

The case of Ed Block, to which reference was made this morning in Mr. Burke's testimony, came before the committee also. Our records showed that Mr. Block had left the service of the Board as grade 4, and that he had been promoted in his absence to, I think, a grade 6; to a CAF-5, and then to a CAF-6, in the field.

Mr. Block appeared before the Committee and stated that he had accepted this promotion to the field and that he was perfectly willing to take the position but that after having been assigned to it for several weeks but detailed to duty in Chicago, that certain family difficulties had come up - I don't remember exactly what they were - but it required that he stay in Chicago. He informed us he had accepted a position in Chicago. The only one available to him was a grade CAF-5.

Now, in view of the fact that he had already received the adjustment to a grade 6, the Committee determined that it would take no further action in his case and could not make any recommendation of a finding of a grade loss. This finding was concurred in by a representative of The American Legion.

MR. LIBONATI: For the purpose of the record, may the last statement be read? Mr. Block is here and I asked him to come here so he could hear the statement of the gentleman who testified, because we all expect to offer, if possible, rebuttal here - the reason that Mr. Block, he said, accepted.

MR. JOHNSON: I would like to correct that last statement. I think he stated he had accepted a like CAF position in Chicago.

That is all, Mr. Chairman.

MR. MOORE: Mr. Chairman. - is it Mr. Johnson?

MR. JOHNSON: Mr. Johnson, that is right.

MR. MOORE: Will you tell the committee if you believe a veterans committee should be established in the Railroad Retirement Board now for the purpose of protecting or hearing grievances of veterans, and protecting the rights of veterans generally?

MR. JOHNSON: Well, I haven't given the matter much thought, but the Board has established grievance procedures for all employees whereby any employee who has a grievance of any kind can appeal through the regular channels to the Board, and it is my understanding that this procedure permits the employee to have any representatives he wishes; either by himself or an individual, or the labor organization or by the Legion post, and in view of that --

MR. MOORE: Was the Veterans Adjustment Committee in existence as of January 10, 1946?

MR. JOHNSON: January 10, yes. - No, it was not.

MR. MOORE: It was not in existence then?

MR. JOHNSON: On January 10, 1946, no, it was not established then. It was not established until August, 1946.

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Johnson, you mentioned that grievances procedure was established for all employees. Now, do any other groups of employees, other than the veterans, have preferences which correspond with the veterans' preference?

MR. JOHNSON: Well, there is a provision in the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937 which provides for preferences to employees with railroad experience in making appointments to the Board.

THE CHAIRMAN: Now, where there should be any conflict between veterans' preference and that 1937 provision, what would be your construction as to which should supersede the other?

MR. JOHNSON: Well, as I understand it, our general counsel has expressed the opinion that the Veterans' Preference Act takes precedence over the Railroad Retirement Act to the extent they are inconsistent.

MR. MOORE: Where there are any conflicts?

MR. JOHNSON: Yes.

THE CHAIRMAN: What I was getting at is this: Mr. Moore just asked you a question, and you answered that you did not think there should be a committee established to handle veterans' grievances or matters of that kind that arise. Now, in view of the fact that this particular group, the veterans group, does have this preference established by law, do you see any objection to having a committee to handle the grievances and matters which might arise involving veterans preference adjudication? You mentioned that the Legion post was a possible agency representing the veterans, but as I understand it, the Legion post does not get paid for that kind of work, and what they do, of course, is just simply incidental to the purposes which they are organized and function. Whereas, if such a committee on grievances was established here within the organization, that would be a permanent proposition, instead of just being incidental?

MR. JOHNSON: Mr. Congressman, you are referring to the fact that representatives of the Legion post would not be paid. I think that is also true of representatives of the two labor organizations functioning in the Board.

THE CHAIRMAN: I probably did not explain my question or get my point over. The intent of it was this: What I had in mind was that the Legion is interested in many things. Its interest, for instance, at Christmas time, is distributing baskets. And it has an interest in promoting programs, like universal military training; it has patriotic endeavors; and all things like that. And, its handling of these matters would be more or less incidental. In other words, this would not be one of its primary objectives. Whereas, if you had a committee set up here such as you did have set up, you could probably give more attention to the facts, and more time, than if it was just turned over to The American Legion. What do you think about that?

MR. JOHNSON: Well, of course, I am just an employee of the Board and I don't think that my opinion would be worth very much to the Board, or to the committee, because as I said, I haven't given the matter any consideration at all. I said I served as chairman of this Veterans Adjustment Committee, and our functions were rather limited; to secure for the veteran the loss in promotion that he would have had if he had remained in service. We did not, of course, consider, for instance, such veterans' grievances as demotions or their rights under the Selective Training and Service Act.

Now, whether it is a good policy to set up a committee or not I don't know but, as I said, we do have this grievance procedure, and to devise a special committee to hear them, well, that could be done, of course, but I don't know whether it would serve any more useful purpose than the procedure the Board has established.

THE CHAIRMAN: Are you a veteran, Mr. Johnson?

MR. JOHNSON: No, I am not, sir.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is any member of the Board?

MR. JOHNSON: Yes, Mr. Squire is a veteran, and I may say too that Mr. LaMotte here is a veteran, the chief executive officer. Also, the general counsel, my superior, is a veteran.

MR. MOORE: Mr. Chairman, during your testimony you mentioned the fact that the purpose of the Veterans Adjustment Committee was to form a comparison between the non-veterans who were promoted during the war and the veterans?

MR. JOHNSON: That is right.

MR. MOORE: Do you have the statistics on the non-veterans?

MR. JOHNSON: I don't have them here, but we used as a basis for our study and the adoption of the formula of our promotional policy the study that Mr. Burke had made while a member of the director of personnel staff.

MR. MOORE: In other words, it is correct to assume - I believe the Chairman of the Board in his testimony said the veterans were promoted 1.1 grades as a result of the recommendation of the Veterans Adjustment Committee?

MR. JOHNSON: 1.16.

MR. CARNEY: May I interrupt you in there, sir?

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes?

MR. CARNEY: That 1.1 per cent was the grade promotion given to 141 veterans who had returned from the military service to the Board, but where they have since resigned from the Board. They are no longer with us. Many of them stayed just two days, some . . . maybe, nine months. That represents only that figure.

Of the overall 280 veterans who left the Board to enter the military service and who came back to the Railroad Retirement Board and who are still with us today, their average rate of promotion is 2.44.

MR. MOORE: You have never furnished the committee with that before, have you?

MR. CARNEY: I have furnished the committee with a figure that showed at that time 282 had gone into service and were with us as of November 30, 1947.

THE CHAIRMAN: The last figure that you submitted was 1.6 or 1.7?

MR. MOORE: (Interposing) To the Board?

MR. CARNEY: Oh, I know what you mean. I believe these are the figures that Mr. Moore referred to?

THE CHAIRMAN: That is right.

MR. CARNEY: They are broken down into four methods in which -

MR. MOORE: Just a moment.

Do you comprehend the question?

THE CHAIRMAN: My question is - what I want to know is this: The average number of grades promoted or given to the veterans by the Veterans Adjustment Committee in promotion?

MR. CARNEY: The Veterans Adjustment Committee adjusted 104 veterans to a total of 170 grades, or an average of 1.6.

THE CHAIRMAN: 1.6?

MR. CARNEY: Yes.

THE CHAIRMAN: Now, what were the average promotions of the non-veterans during that period of time?

MR. CARNEY: We do not have those figures available.

THE CHAIRMAN: What I am trying to find out is this: What was the basis upon which you arrived at the grades to promote the veterans? If you don't have the other figures available?

MR. CARNEY: Mr. Burke made a study and he took all of the employees - check me on this, Francis, and see if I am correct - that were in the departmental service. That is, both the veterans who had gone into service - both employees who had gone into service, and the employees who still remained, and he took and made his comparison of it at the time they went in, the grade they held in comparison with the people who remained in the Board and did not go into military service but continued in the Board service, and then cut it off as of a certain date, and he showed that.

THE CHAIRMAN: Now, let us take that as an example. Let us take this illustration which was given this morning. You have been here at the hearing this morning?

MR. CARNEY: Yes.

THE CHAIRMAN: You saw the graph on which was shown in orange a CAF-4, and then, side by side, a CAF-7 - 9, up to 12, in blue?

MR. CARNEY: Yes.

THE CHAIRMAN: Could you explain how that worked with respect to that case?

MR. CARNEY: With respect to that case, no, I am not familiar at all with that case, and I didn't see it until it was presented here.

THE CHAIRMAN: The committee would like to have the Board submit an analysis of that case and that situation which was presented to the committee this morning by Mr. Burke.

MR. JOHNSON: Mr. Congressman, may I say one thing more at this point? What I said was the average promotion made by the Veterans Adjustment Committee, 1.6, I didn't point out that was additional. That was the promotion which we had actually made on the people who had already been promoted one or two grades but did not receive full promotion. It was what we thought they were entitled to. So, consequently, those veterans whom we promoted on an average of 1.6, the total promotions given have been an average of much more than that. You see, this is just the additional promotions that the Adjustment Committee found it necessary to make, because some of the supervising officers and the bureau heads had made promotions before the Adjustment Committee had gone into operation and our function was merely to fill in the gap. So, you see, that 1.6 represents that gap.

MR. MOORE: I don't know to whom this will be addressed? It will be addressed to anyone who will answer it.

I would like to call the committee's attention to a letter which the committee received on March 1, 1948 from the Civil Service Commission, and I would like to quote a part of this letter, in view of Mr. Kennedy's statement that he knew of no decision of the Board which violated the Veterans Preference Act. This is a part of the letter:

> "It appears that Mr. Gaskill was demoted from Claims Examiner, CAF-10, to Claims Examiner, CAF-9, without change in salary, effective February 7, 1947. This demotion was due to a reorganization within the Railroad Retirement Board in which the Board abolished an entire unit involving some eleven positions. Mr. Gaskill's displacement and demotion were made pursuant to the Board's displacement policy as established by Board Order No. 46-22 of January 10, 1946. This displacement policy makes no distinction between veterans and non-veterans and gives preference on the basis of seniority, unless in the opinion of the Board officials the person with the lesser seniority is clearly better qualified."

It goes on to state:

> " - the policy ignores the Veterans' Preference Act; does not provide definite standards for determining whether one employee is 'clearly better qualified than another'."

I would like to have a comment with regard to that from any member of the Board, as to that decision? I would like also to point out that this case was well after January 10, 1946. In other words, as I understand it, it was some time in the first part of this year that this Gaskill case was settled. In the meantime, the Board Order No. 46-22 was the policy of the Board from January 10, 1946 until the time the Civil Service Commission issued its decision some time in 1948, as I understand it. I may be in error on these dates. But if there is any comment the Board would like to make on that, we would like to hear it?

MR. JOHNSON: Mr. Congressman, I think the decision of the Commission in the Gaskill case pointed out that the standards for determining that the junior employee was better qualified than the senior was susceptible to abuse.

Since receiving that decision the Board has offered, in accordance with the Commission's instructions, Mr. Gaskill the position of grade CAF-10 which he was demoted from, but he has refused that because he wishes to stay in the field.

MR. MOORE: Let me interrupt you, sir. The committee is more concerned with the policy? The committee understands the decision of the Civil Service Commission, and understands that you are under an obligation to follow that decision. The question involving the policy of the Board, as to how many people were affected between January 10, 1946 and the time the decision was made by the Commission, is what we are interested in?

MR. JOHNSON: Since receiving that decision by the Board, they are now considering a standard that was the matter of an objection of the Commission.

MR. MOORE: That is with respect to the future?

MR. JOHNSON: That is right. As to the past, we have made statements to the committee on that. I think the committee has that information in its files, as to what persons to whom this policy has been applied and the action taken in that respect.

MR. CARNEY: That has been adversely affected. It should be changed because of that decision. The committee has been informed that we, the Board, will take the necessary corrective and remedial action.

MR. MOORE: Let me interrupt you there.

This subcommittee is conducting a hearing, and it probably does not have notice of some of the material that you are in possession of. And, if you have any statements that you wish to make now in connection with that policy, now is the time to do it?

MR. CARNEY: I thought, maybe, that would save a little time. That is all.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will take a five minute recess.

(Whereupon a short recess was taken as instructed by the Chairman)

MR. MOORE: Mr. Chairman. I want to submit for the record this document which will be marked Exhibit "F", dated March 1, 1948, to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service from Mr. H. W. Rempe, Assistant Chief, Field Operations. Here is the letter:

"UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

March 1, 1948

Mr. George M. Moore, Chief Counsel
Committee on Post Office and Civil Service
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Moore:

In accordance with our telephone conversation of Friday, February 27, I have checked with the Board of Appeals and Review in the Central Office of the Civil Service Commission regarding the appeals which it has entertained under Section 14 of the Veterans Preference Act involving employees of the Railroad Retirement Board. I am advised that only two cases have come before the Board. A brief summary of these cases and the disposition made of them follows:

> The first case was that of Mr. Oscar Gaskill, who appealed to our Seventh Civil Service Region under the provisions of Section 14 of the Veterans Preference Act from the action of the Railroad Retirement Board in demoting him from grade CAF-10 to CAF-9 by reassignment. It appears that Mr. Gaskill was demoted from Claims Examiner, CAF-10, to Claims Examiner, CAF-9, without change in salary, effective February 7, 1947. The demotion was due to a reorganization within the Railroad Retirement Board in which the Board abolished an entire unit involving some 11 positions. Mr. Gaskill's displacement and demotion were made pursuant to the Board's displacement policy as established by Board Order No. 46-22 on January 10, 1946. This displacement policy makes no distinction between veterans and non-veterans and gives preference on the basis of seniority, unless in the opinion of the Board officials the person with the lesser seniority is clearly better qualified. Our Regional Director ruled that the demotion of Mr. Gaskill was not for such cause as will promote the efficiency of the service and that the maintenance and operation of the policy would not promote the efficiency of the service because the policy ignores the Veterans Preference Act; does not provide definite standards for determining whether one employee is 'clearly better qualified than another'; is easily susceptible to abuse; does not provide any safeguards to insure that the employees affected will be given fair and impartial treatment and does not give the veteran any means to contest a demotion as he ordinarily would not have available evidence of whether he was or was not clearly better qualified than another employee. The Board of Appeals and Review in the Central Office sustained the findings of the Regional Director and when further appeal was made by the Railroad Retirement Board the findings of the Board of Appeals and Review were upheld by the Commission. Mr. Gaskill, however, declined restoration because he had obtained another position more suitable to him.
>
> The second case involved an appeal of the Railroad Retirement Board from a decision of the Director, Twelfth Civil Service Region that the demotion of Harold E. Reece from the position of District Manager, CAF-9, to Field Representative, CAF-5, effective March 20, 1947, as the result of the agency's displacement policy is in violation of Section 14 of the Veterans Preference Act because it was not shown to be for such cause as

would promote the efficiency of the service. This case involved practically the same demotion policy referred to in the case of Mr. Gaskill. Mr. Reece raised the question of whether his demotion was shown to be for such reason as would promote the efficiency of the service since non-veterans were retained within the region as District Manager, CAF-9. The Commission found in the favor of Mr. Reece and ordered his restoration to the position he formerly held. From the information at hand it is understood that he has been restored to such position.

As stated above these are the only cases which have come before the Board of Appeals and Review in the Central Office from employees of the Railroad Retirement Board.

Very sincerely,

H. W. Rempe
Assistant Chief,
Field Operations."

THE CHAIRMAN: The Committee will be in order.

I might state it is our plan to carry right on through until we finish the hearing without having to continue the hearing until tomorrow. So, I hope everyone will say everything he has to say as briefly as he can. We want everyone to be heard.

Counsel has a few more questions to ask the witness. Go ahead.

MR. MOORE: Mr. Carney, will you tell the committee about this: As I understand it, the testimony here has developed that you are not a veteran. Is that correct?

MR. CARNEY: I am not a veteran. I would like to say, however, that I am not a veteran not because of my own choice because late in 1942 I had all of the papers completed for an application for a commission in the Navy. However, at that time a Federal employee had to have the release of his agency. Now, the agency had just moved from Washington to Chicago and the Board members at that time would not give me a release. I might say that none of the present Board members were on the Board at that time.

MR. MOORE: Mr. Carney, do you have railroad experience?

MR. CARNEY: Yes, I do, sir.

MR. MOORE: I wonder if you would give the committee a little bit of your background? That is, your qualifications for the position?

MR. CARNEY: I was born April 11, 1902 in Cincinnati, Ohio.

MR. MOORE: No. I mean just briefly what your qualifications are for the position of director of personnel?

MR. CARNEY: All right.

I am - I have two degrees in law from Georgetown University in Washington, D. C.

I am a member of the District of Columbia Bar Association.

I am a member of the Bar Association of the State of Ohio.

In addition to that education I have two and one-half years at the University of Cincinnati in the Engineering School.

I have had two years of accounting and business administration.

Insofar as work is concerned - I will skip the minor ones. I have spent two and one-half years in the Cincinnati Milling Machine Company in their Engineering and Time Study Department where we explored the flow of a particular unit of a milling machine and a great many other machines.

MR. MOORE: This committee is acquainted with time and motion studies.

MR. CARNEY: All right.

I have been with the Government in a permanent position since 1931. In 1933 I was made an assistant administrative officer with the Bureau of Labor Statistics. That office had charge of the personnel, mail and files, and responsibility for the administrative procedure.

I moved from there to the Railroad Retirement Board on August 28, 1937 in a CAF-9 capacity. That was in the division of personnel.

From that I became a CAF-11 as chief of the records and analysis and procedure division, a section of the office of director of personnel.

From that I moved to the director, and have been director since 1942.

MR. MOORE: Mr. Carney, during the testimony of Mr. Kennedy, he mentioned the fact that in the personnel office there were six, I believe, veterans?

MR. CARNEY: There are five out of the nine male employees. I have only nine male employees.

MR. MOORE: You have nine male employees, and five of those are veterans?

MR. CARNEY: That is right.

MR. MOORE: If an employee of the Board has any grievance, if a veteran, to whom will he go in the personnel office, a veteran or non-veteran?

MR. CARNEY: He can go to either Mr. Rasmussen, head of the placement and transaction section, who is not a veteran, or he can go to Mr. MacLeod, who acts as my assistant, and who is a veteran, or he can come to myself, sir.

MR. MOORE: Is that procedure generally known to the employees of the Railroad Retirement Board?

MR. CARNEY: Just one second, if I may.

Mr. MacLeod is a veteran at the present time by the decision of the Court - I forget which it is - in the District of Columbia. A court there, I believe.

MR. MOORE: In other words, he was a reserve in the Coast Guard.

MR. CARNEY: Yes sir. I am sorry to have interrupted.

MR. MOORE: That is all right. I just wondered if that policy was generally known throughout the Board, that a veteran may see someone in the personnel office?

MR. CARNEY: I would put it this way, sir: As far as I am concerned, and I think as far as every bureau and office head is concerned, and every division head and section head, they have been instructed that any employee, veteran or non-veteran, can come to the personnel office if he feels that he has a complaint, a grievance, or wants information.

MR. MOORE: Is that in the form of a memorandum to the employees of the Board? In other words, the committee would be interested in tangible things.

MR. CARNEY: I will tell you this: That was the policy of the Board when I came into the Board in 1937.

MR. MOORE: All right, sir. I believe that is just -

MR. CARNEY: (Interposing) I might tell you this, that we did have an employee counselor at one time. That was well known.

MR. MOORE: Who is the employee counselor?

MR. CARNEY: The employee counselor left in about 1943 to go into the Red Cross to serve overseas. As yet, he has not come back.

MR. MOORE: In other words, the Board has no employee counselor?

MR. CARNEY: Not at the moment.

THE CHAIRMAN: Not since 1943?

MR. CARNEY: That is correct.

MR. MOORE: Just before the recess I was asking you about the policy of your Board as expressed in Board Order of January 10, 1946, and, I believe, you were going to tell the committee what the Board's new policy will be in view of the Commission's decision in the Gaskill case?

MR. CARNEY: I would like to explain first - or answer what has happened insofar as the action of the Board is concerned upon receipt of the decision in the Gaskill case.

The Board has reviewed, in light of the decision of the Civil Service Commission in the Reece and Gaskill cases; we combined both of them; the cases of all veteran employees who have been demoted under the Board's displacement policy. As shown in Exhibit 8-3, I believe it is, there are only three preference eligible employees that are now in grades lower than those from which demoted under the policy. Each of these three have only a war service appointment. And, each was displaced by an employee with a permanent status. Two of the displacing employees had in addition veteran's preference. Accordingly, no further action appeared to be necessary in these cases.

Now, that is the Board's answer to that.

The question on what the Board was going to do about those cases, in answer to Mr. McCormack's letter, I might say this: That one of the employees who was demoted was displaced by a non-veteran, permanent.

The other two were displaced by permanent veterans.

The three who were displaced were war service, and even under the retention preference regulations, those displacements would have actually taken place.

MR. MOORE: At the time the Veterans' Preference Act was passed, it is my understanding that the General Counsel's office of the Railroad Retirement Board objected to the application of the Veterans' Preference Act to the Railroad Retirement Board and, accordingly, the matter was taken up with the Civil Service Commission, and it was only after a letter from the Executive Director of the Civil Service Commission to the Railroad Retirement Board, that the Board acceded to the proposition that the Veterans' Preference Act of 1944 superseded all other acts which announced preference for any type of employees. Is that substantially correct?

MR. CARNEY: Well, I don't think so. I don't think the office of the general counsel said that the Railroad Retirement Act - the preference under the Railroad Retirement Act should be greater than the preference granted the veterans under the Veterans' Preference Act.

Pardon me, our general counsel is here if you would like to ask that question?

MR. MOORE: Was he the general counsel at that time?

MR. CARNEY: Yes.

MR. MOORE: Will you identify yourself?

MR. GIBBONS: My name is Myles F. Gibbons.

MR. MOORE: Mr. Gibbons, will you tell the committee about the discussions which you had with the Civil Service Commission at the time of the passage of the Veterans' Preference Act, and the position of the Board with respect to the Veterans' Preference Act and subsequent letters from the Civil Service Commission?

MR. GIBBONS: I had no discussion with the Civil Service Commission at the time of the passage of the Veterans' Preference Act.

MR. MOORE: Subsequently?

MR. GIBBONS: As far as I know, no one in my office had.

Subsequent to the passage of it, we had no discussion with anybody in the Civil Service Commission.

MR. MOORE: I have here a copy of a letter dated December 31, 1946, signed by Mr. Moyer, Executive Director and Chief Examiner of the Civil Service Commission to the Secretary of the Retirement Board wherein he refers to his letter of November 22, 1946, and to a previous conference between officials of the Railroad Retirement Board and the Commission's Chief Law Officer concerning the general problem of the effect of the veterans preference provision of the Veterans'. Preference Act of 1944 on the railroad experience preference of the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937 and the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act of 1938. He says the statement as to the Railroad Retirement Board's position in this matter as set forth in that letter has been given every consideration by the Commission. Then, it goes ahead and states that the Veterans' Preference Act of 1944 supersedes other provisions where there are any conflicts.

MR. GIBBONS: I did not understand the letter to say there was a conference with the general counsel of the Railroad Retirement Board.

MR. MOORE: I assumed that this having been a problem of law, you would be involved?

MR. GIBBONS: Perhaps I was involved but I attended no conference.

MR. MOORE: Then the other members of the Railroad Retirement Board were under the impression that you sat in on that conference? In other words, I just wondered - just assumed it was within your province because it was an interpretation on the Veterans' Preference Act? Of course, I don't think we should take up the committee's time on that now.

MR. GIBBONS: I am sorry, but on that I had nothing to do with it.

MR. MOORE: It is perfectly all right. I just assumed that because it was a question of interpretation on these two Acts which, in the judgment of this Committee, I know was very important and would be within the province of the General Counsel to submit his views to the Board.

MR. GIBBONS: The matter was discussed, as I recall, with some Board members. I appreciate the view that the railroad preference and veterans preference could be merged in a certain way which was urged in a letter to the Civil Service Commission.

MR. MOORE: And the Civil Service Commission, as a matter of fact, said they should not be merged?

MR. GIBBONS: No, they said it could be merged on a priority basis.

MR. MOORE: Anyway, with the Veterans' Preference Act of 1944 -

MR. GIBBONS: Would override. The veterans.

MR. MOORE: Yes. Maybe you have a different definition of merger than I have. That seems to supersede the Act of 1937 with respect to the provisions in conflict.

That is all.

Mr. Carney, I asked a question of Mr. Johnson with respect to the establishment of a Veterans' Committee in the Railroad Retirement Board. I wonder if you would furnish the Committee with your views on the matter?

MR. CARNEY: (Interposing) May I ask this question: Do you have in mind, in order to clarify - do you have in mind the establishment of a committee of full time and full paid employees of the Railroad Retirement Board?

MR. MOORE: I have this in mind: I assume you are a member of the Federal Personnel Council?

MR. CARNEY: Yes.

MR. MOORE: It is my understanding that it has been the policy of the Federal, State, and various agencies to establish within themselves a Committee with a representative chairman, a Board chairman, and employees of the Board and officials of the Board whose duties are to look for the interest of the veterans, because our Government now has approximately fifty per cent of its personnel in the Federal Government veterans, and in your own organization, I think it is twenty-eight per cent?

MR. CARNEY: Twenty-eight or twenty-nine.

MR. MOORE: And in view of the large number of veterans, the problems have been increasingly difficult as to the solution; that is, to some of the problems. And, these committees have been established in other agencies.

That is the kind of a committee I had in mind. I assume you are familiar with that through your associations with other personnel directors on the Federal Personnel Council?

MR. CARNEY: I think that it is possible to set up such a committee, but I would look at it this way: To set up a committee that would take care of the grievances of all employees, veterans and non-veterans; and if necessary take and school - that is, the members of that committee - in the Veterans' Preference Regulations, rights, privileges, and everything else. Our Board is not a large agency.

MR. MOORE: That is right.

MR. CARNEY: We do not have too many grievances. If we set one up for the veterans, then we have to set one up for another procedure for the non-veterans. I mean, even though we are dealing with veterans, we have to deal with both veteran and non-veteran employees.

MR. MOORE: Maybe that leads me to another question. It seems to me that all of the rest of the Government agencies are conscious, not only of a legal responsibility but a moral responsibility to the majority of the employees of the Government who are now veterans. And, perhaps, in answer to my question, you have answered it by saying, "We don't think we should give any special recognition to the problem of veterans." Is that your position?

MR. CARNEY: No, I am not saying that. No, Mr. Moore, I am not saying that.

MR. MOORE: All right, sir.

Are you familiar with a letter which Mr. Libonati wrote to the Railroad Retirement Board in which he asked certain questions?

MR. CARNEY: There is a copy of it here, yes.

MR. MOORE: Were you familiar with it at the time it was received by the Board?

MR. CARNEY: No, I did not see it then.

MR. MOORE: Well, let me put it this way: Did the Board call you in and say -

MR. CARNEY: No.

MR. MOORE: (Continuing) Mr. Carney, we have this letter here and it is something we consider should be looked into?

MR. CARNEY: No, they did not do that.

MR. MOORE: Had that not been discussed from the day it was received up to the present?

MR. CARNEY: Yes, it had been but - I mean, I said within the ten days' period that Mr. Libonati asked for an answer. It was not handled within that period.

MR. MOORE: Then you gentlemen agree on this? Mr. Kennedy put a great deal of stress that it must be handled on the ten-day period.

MR. CARNEY: I am just stating the facts.

MR. MOORE: I understand that, but within the ten-day period you were not called in on it?

MR. CARNEY: That is right.

MR. MOORE: When were you called in with reference to the letter?

MR. CARNEY: I can't say definitely when it was, but I think it was two or three months afterwards.

MR. MOORE: Now, do you feel, that regardless of the stipulated period of ten days, that the letter warranted some attention by the Board from the standpoint of the fact that it dealt with their employees?

MR. CARNEY: Mr. Moore, I think that is rather sort of putting me on a spot on that question, for the simple reason I have to say whether I agree or disagree with my Board members.

MR. MOORE: We wouldn't want to embarrass you to that extent.

You heard testimony this morning by Mr. Burke?

MR. CARNEY: Yes.

MR. MOORE: And you heard an analysis of the various Board orders?

MR. CARNEY: Yes sir.

MR. MOORE: The Committee at this time, I do not believe, wants to hear a detailed analysis of these with respect to his statement but I wonder if you have any comments, generally, to make with respect to his interpretation of the opportunities given the veterans in the Board orders?

MR. CARNEY: Yes sir. I would like it very much. As a matter of fact, I would like to go into a little history itself. I think the history is going to bring out a number of things that are involved here.

On December 7, 1941, Pearl Harbor was bombed. December 8, 1941 we went into war against Japan.

December 19, 1941, the Railroad Retirement Board was ordered decentralized from Washington to Chicago. As of that date in our Departmental Service we had 1,499 employees in the Departmental Service.

We realized that many of the employees could not move from Washington to Chicago because they had either owned their own homes or were buying them at that time, and they had their family connections there, and they had their children in a school and they were well settled. You might say their roots were deep in the District of Columbia.

That led us to adopt this procedure that Mr. Libonati referred to in (a) on or about January, 1942 - now, by the way, as of that date very few of the Board's employees had gone into the military service. We knew we were going to lose a lot of employees. So, we put up a procedure which permitted the employees to apply first for vacancies in their own budget units. If there was no one wanting the job or no one was qualified for it, it was posted in the rest of the departmental service. Now, that I think, basically, is for that one of January, 1942. I would like to have more time -

MR. MOORE: I didn't have in mind for you to analyze it in detail, the statements. You will have an opportunity to do that later. I just wonder if you have any general comment on it with respect to the Board's policy?

MR. CARNEY: I think this about the Board's policy; that from the very beginning and a short while after the enactment of the Selective Service Training Act of 1940 and the joint resolution, the Board, in a Board order - which was distributed to the employees in the Board - the Board told them that "if you are called for training we will protect your job and we will carry you on the payroll on leave-without-pay status."

In many agencies, when an employee left he went off of the payroll. We kept him on the payroll all the time, on leave-without-pay status. He knew what job he left, and he knew where he could come back to.

Then we went further. As time went on and we became more and more experienced, we developed the idea of granting promotions to veterans while they were absent. Now, Mr. Burke, had made the point that on promotions, because the veteran was delayed on promotions while in military service, they could not get the benefits of the increases. The comptroller general has ruled that in promotions made in absentia the individual cannot get the benefits of that higher grade until he actually returns to stay in the agency. Our next step was realizing that maybe the veteran was being a little bit forgotten, we permitted him to be considered for jobs outside of his budget unit. Now, Mr. Burke indicated it was quite difficult for a veteran to get more than one grade promotion while in military service. I would first like to point out this: That the returning veteran was promoted to the next higher position in the organization unit to which he was.

Now, I have here a CAF-7, and the next classification is 9, 10 or 11. He can jump that, whatever the next higher grade is.

Furthermore, the Board order requires that all subsequent promotions are justified. One of the witnesses that was called by the Legion Post is Mr. Block. Now, just for an example and nothing else, Mr. Block left as a CAF-4. While he was in service, first, he was promoted to a CAF-5 and then next promoted to a CAF-6 without any trouble and without too much special justification.

The attempt has been made to say it practically was impossible - I didn't know that he had a case here until I looked at Mr. Block's folder.

Now, going a little bit further, in Mr. Burke's study which resulted in the Veterans Adjustment Committee. Now, this is a part of his report:

"PROCEDURE DEVELOPED BY THE STAFF OF THE
OFFICE OF DIRECTOR OF PERSONNEL.

> During April, 1946, a series of staff meetings was held by the Director of Personnel for the purpose of working out a solution to the veteran problem. The following persons participated in the series of meetings: Mr. Carney, Director of Personnel; Mr. Cawley, Position Classification Examiner; Mr. MacLeod, Records Analyst; Mr. Rasmussen, Records Analyst; Miss Gochnour, Placement Examiner; Mr. Auchter, Payroll Clerk; and the Training Adviser. Four sessions of about three hours each were devoted to developing a plan which represented the thinking of the personnel staff and which all members agreed was the proper approach that should be taken with respect to our veterans. The plan agreed upon by the group was as follows:
>
> 'Pursuant to the Board's Policy of protecting and advancing the rights of its employees who are or who have served in the Armed Forces and the Merchant Marine and to also provide a procedure for the assignment of employees displaced as a result of the enforcement of those rights the following Board policy is adopted:
>
> '1. There is hereby established a committee consisting of - '"

We left that out, the number to make up our committee.

> "'2. With respect to each employee who is now in military service or has returned from military service, the committee shall review all actions taken, subsequent to the date of the employee's entry into military service, on promotions within such employee's budget unit and on posted positions within the Board.'"

In other words, that is everything in his unit from the time that he left; that is, if he had been eligible and could apply for it.

> "'3. On the basis of such review, the committee shall determine for each such employee, based upon his qualifications and seniority, what position he would have probably been assigned had he not gone into the Armed Forces, including the Merchant Marine, and designate the position in which he is to be placed.

4. Upon such designation by the committee, if it is necessary to displace an employee, such displacement shall be made in accordance with the displacement policy.

5. Any designation made by the committee shall be binding upon all appointing officers except that the appointing officer concerned shall have the right of appeal to the Board through administrative channels.'"

That is the end of it.

MR. MOORE: What was this last? Was that in connection with the establishment of the Veterans Adjustment Committee?

MR. CARNEY: No. This was the plan that was developed in my office. I would like to say this: It was what Mr. Burke of his own accord developed. This plan is the plan that we felt would have considerable merit and to be worthy of consideration in an approach to the solution of the veteran's problem.

MR. MOORE: Your point being what?

MR. CARNEY: My point being that all of the way through we were conscious of the veteran and the lack of opportunity that he was missing because he was away.

MR. MOORE: You have heard the testimony of one gentleman this morning who was a disabled war veteran?

MR. CARNEY: That was Mr. Powell.

MR. MOORE: That is right, Mr. Powell. Did you hear his statement this morning?

MR. CARNEY: Yes sir, and there were a few comments that I wanted to make.

MR. MOORE: Do you have any comments now on that to make?

MR. CARNEY: I would like to.

Well, without finding the file I would like to say it this way: Mr. Powell's military service in the army was from March 5, 1941 to July 29, 1945. He first entered in service in the Railroad Retirement Board on August 13, 1946 as a temporary indefinite appointee, CAF-2.

He was promoted on November 4, from August 13 to November 4. He was promoted to a CAF-3 as a temporary indefinite.

On June 30, 1947, his name was certified to us by the Seventh Civil Service Region as being eligible for an appointment for a CAF-2; no higher. We converted him to a probationary CAF-2 without change in salary from the 3.

On December 29, six months later, we figured he was eligible to his CAF-3.

As to the incidents that occurred down in his bureau about this training and the lack of training and time spent; I personally can't answer that, but our Bureau Head - our Director of the Bureau, the Director of the Bureau of Wage and Service Records and his assistant are here. If you would like to question them about these points I am sure they will give you any cooperation you desire.

MR. MOORE: All right, if you will call them. First, the Head of the Division. Just one.

MR. CARNEY: Mr. Rutherford Taylor. Will you come here, please?

MR. TAYLOR: Yes sir.

MR. MOORE: What is your name?

MR. TAYLOR: Rutherford T. Taylor.

MR. MOORE: What is your title?

MR. TAYLOR: Director of the Bureau of Wage and Service Records.

MR. MOORE: Were you present this morning when one of the disabled veterans gave some testimony with respect to employees in your section?

MR. TAYLOR: I was not, no. My assistant was here.

MR. HABERMEYER: I was here this morning.

MR. MOORE: Will you identify yourself?

MR. HABERMEYER: Howard W. Habermeyer. 1345 Talman Street, Aurora, Ill.

MR. MOORE: What is your title?

MR. HABERMEYER: Assistant Director of the Bureau of Wage and Service Records.

MR. MOORE: Were you present here this morning?

MR. HABERMEYER: Yes.

MR. MOORE: You heard the statements with respect to the training which he had received.

MR. HABERMEYER: Yes, I suppose I heard them.

MR. MOORE: Were they virtually correct?

MR. HABERMEYER: No sir. Mr. Powell was hired as an employee as Mr. Carney just stated, in the grade 2 level. He was given the normal training at that level.

MR. MOORE: What was the normal training at that level?

MR. HABERMEYER: The grade 4 clerk took the individuals and trained them on the particular jobs that they were expected to do.

MR. MOORE: How long was the training?

MR. HABERMEYER: The training period varied with the particular position or job. Some jobs could be accomplished in a day or a day and a half, and some took longer.

At the grade 2 level Mr. Powell performed satisfactorily and, as Mr. Carney indicated, he was considered qualified for a promotion to grade 3.

At the grade 3 level the duties were a little more difficult. The training was over a longer period of time.

THE CHAIRMAN: How much?

MR. HABERMEYER: We have class work.

THE CHAIRMAN: How much longer?

MR. HABERMEYER: That depends upon their ability. I think we take a week of about four hours a day in class to train employees on the particular jobs. Then they go from the class training to work with another individual who knows the job, until they are familiar with the duties. Then, they are put on their own to do the job.

At the grade 3 level, it is my understanding, Mr. Powell was a little bit slow. Rather than hold back the class, he was dropped to come up with another subsequent class.

When he was dropped, we expected to put him back to more routine work with another subsequent class.

When he was dropped, we hoped to put him back to more routine work that didn't require detailed training, and then he was brought back again on the next class.

Finally, it was decided that this particular operation was not particularly suited for Mr. Powell's ability, and so he was transferred to another section where it was felt he might do a better job. This decision, as far as Mr. Powell's work is concerned, resulted in him doing much better in his present position. Although his allogation or reference that he is, at the grade 3 level, training the grade 4's, I don't believe is correct. I was quite surprised that he made this statement here before this committee, and it was my first knowledge of the subject. Mr. Powell has been in the bureau but I have never talked to him personally, except to pass the time of the day. As to his testimony, he has never called these things to my attention. As a matter of fact, no employee in the Bureau of Wage Service Records is discouraged from airing his grievances that he might have. And, Mr. Powell's designation at the time was that of a veteran.

The Section Supervisor, it is true, was not a veteran, but the Division Head was a veteran, I am a veteran, and Mr. Taylor is a veteran.

We would like to if Mr. Powell -

CONGRESSMAN DAVIS: May I interrupt you there at this point?

MR. HABERMEYER: Yes sir.

CONGRESSMAN DAVIS: You said earlier in your testimony that he was slow and showed some inaptitude, or words to that effect. Was there not some consideration given to the fact that he was wounded or a disabled veteran?

MR. HABERMEYER: I couldn't answer that with any degree of correctness because I don't know.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is that the employee who said - I believe he said this, if my memory is correct - there were seventeen year old girls also promoted up and he was not promoted.

MR. HABERMEYER: I believe he made that statement.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is that correct?

MR. HABERMEYER: To my knowledge I don't know whether a seventeen year old girl was promoted but I could check that.

THE CHAIRMAN: What was the particular work that was involved in that grade?

MR. HABERMEYER: In the Bureau of Wage and Service Records we keep a record of the wages and compensation and service of every railroad man in the country. We have reported to us by approximately eleven hundred and fifty railroad employers the earnings of about two million, eight hundred and fifty thousand workers in any particular year. We have to see that these wages, as reported, are properly credited, so that when a railroad employee becomes eligible for benefits we have records on which the claim can be certified.

The particular work that Mr. Powell was involved in was in regard to making this adjustment. Now, when these eleven hundred employers report in excess of two million employees there are apt to be some incorrect social security numbers, one individual's name might apply to the other name, and things like that, for adjustment to be made in the Bureau of Wage and Service Records. We have to have proper investigation to see that the individual gets credit for the compensation. The work Mr. Powell was being trained for was in the Miscellaneous Adjustment Unit.

MR. MOORE: That is all.

Mr. Carney, do you have anything to say?

MR. HABERMEYER: There was one other employee mentioned in the hearing this morning that I would like to testify on now because I have personal reasons for trying to get away from here as soon as possible.

MR. MOORE: Yes?

MR. HABERMEYER: That was Mr. Pasquariello. It was the individual who was brought into the testimony. Mr. Pasquariello was another individual who came to the Board after serving in the military service. He entered as a temporary grade 2 tabulating equipment operator. We have the International Business Machines in keeping these accounts. He worked at that job and performed satisfactorily and was promoted to the grade 3 level. At that point, some time after he had been in that grade, I don't remember just how long he had been in that grade of service level, he complained about not being able physically to do the job, and there was evidence by his leave record that he had taken an excessive amount of leave. I believe at that point he brought out he was a disabled war veteran also.

So, we made a transfer, a lateral transfer from the tabulating section where the employees had to handle trays of cards that were quite heavy. We transferred him into a clerical job where, although he was on his feet most of the time, the ledger books he had to handle were much lighter than the cards.

Mr. Pasquariello's leave record did not improve on the clerical job and on four occasions, I believe, his supervisors called attention to the fact that he was taking too much time off; that he should try to get on the job. So, it finally came to the extent the supervisor reprimanded him. He, the supervisor, told him if he did not improve, some action would have to be taken.

So, finally after four occasions, the Division Chief talked to him and told him he was going to have to ask for his resignation. He called the

Director of Personnel's office and through a misunderstanding, got incorrect information. He asked the general question as to whether or not a temporary employee who was a veteran needed to be given thirty days notice. And the answer was no.

But it so happened, Mr. Pasquariello was not a temporary employee as defined by the Civil Service Commission. He was known as a war service appointee. Although he is not a permanent employee, still he is not purely a temporary employee here either.

When he was told he was going to be requested to resign the following day, he went to Mr. Burke, and Mr. Burke told him he could require us to give him a thirty-days notice. Then, he came back to the Division Chief, Mr. Blume, who is a veteran, and told him that he thought he should be given thirty days. Mr. Blume called the Director of Personnel and at that time was told, "Yes, if he was a war service employee, he has to be given a thirty-days notice." Mr. Blume said he would give him a thirty-days notice.

The case was called to my attention and I asked the employee to come and talk to me. He came up. I said, "I see you are married and have a child and are a disabled veteran, are you not?" He said, "I am a veteran." And, I said, "I want to see if there is anything that we can do for you. What is the extent of your disability?" He said, "I have a bad heart." I said, "Can you get a doctor's statement substantiating that?" He said, "No, no, I can't." I said "Well, is that a disability that was incurred in service?" He said, "No. I have an ulcerated toe." I said, "Is that all of your disability?" He said, "Yes." I said, "Have you anything to substantiate your charges?" He said, "No doctor will give me anything."

I said, "If you can give me anything concrete to show your disability to not work here, I will try to do more for you. In the meantime, I will call Mr. Carney." And, I called Mr. Carney and I said, "This man complains that he can't be on his feet for the job down here which requires him to be on the feet most of the time. Isn't there anything else that the Board might be able to transfer him to?" Mr. Carney said, "Let me check." And, I believe, he called Mr. Pasquariello up there. I am not sure, but I think Mr. Carney did check to see if he could find another job for Mr. Pasquariello. And, I think the next day or so we were informed that he had found another job, and he decided to leave.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will recess for five minutes for the reporters again, and following that we will call the Commission.

(Whereupon a five minute recess was taken as directed by the Chairman.)

THE CHAIRMAN: We will be in order. Counsel, you may proceed.

MR. MOORE: Mr. Chairman, the next witness is Mr. J. A. Connor, Regional Director of the Seventh Civil Service Region.

J. A. CONNOR

called as witness by the subcommittee, having been first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

EXAMINATION
by
THE COMMITTEE:

Q Will you state your name and address?

A My name is Joseph A. Connor. I reside at 5520 South Shore Drive, Chicago, Illinois. I am the Regional Director of the Seventh Region of the United States Civil Service Commission. This region comprises the states of Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin.

I am responsible for the Commission's operations in these three states. Briefly, those operations cover recruiting and examining, under which function we have (1) probational and temporary appointments; (2) reinstatements; (3) reappointments; (4) inter-agency transfers; (5) promotions, demotions, intra-agency transfers and reassignments.

We also are responsible for investigations covering suitability and loyalty of Federal employees. We are responsible also in the field of classification under which we set up standards and maintain pre-audits and post-audits. With respect to the Railroad Retirement Board, I might say we do not have any responsibility in classification; that is handled between the Board and our Central Office.

We are also responsible for medical examining under which we set up physical standards and render supervisory service. Also, post audits on decisions made on delegated authority by the agencies, and report the handling of retirement on disability statements. In addition thereto, we handle appeals, including reductions in force and also appeals under the Veterans' Preference Act.

Mr. Chairman, concerning the subject matter before the Committee, I would like to state that formal appeals insofar as our records are concerned - and I am speaking only of the Seventh Regional District and not concerning the operations of the Board on a nationwide basis - we have of record five cases that have been formally presented. The one case that has been adjudicated is the Oscar Gaskill case. Mr. Francis D. Burke, who appeared before this Committee, did file his appeal with us. The matter was never formally adjudicated since the Board rescinded its original action against Mr. Burke.

We also have the cases of Clarence Connell, which falls under Section 14, the case of Frank Penn, which is being held at his request without being acted upon. Also, the case of Hanna Stahl. Also, we had adjudicated two other cases of the Railroad Retirement Board, namely, the Brainerd case and the Marcelle Fischer case.

I would also like to state at this time that an inspection of the Railroad Retirement Board was made from April 24 through May 1, 1947. The purpose of the inspection being to determine whether or not the Railroad Retirement Board followed and carried out the instructions and the policy of the Commission with respect to the handling of personnel under delegated authorities. At this time, I would like to state that I have certain members of my staff who are entirely competent to answer questions concerning the various subject matters.

MR. MOORE: Mr. Chairman. You mentioned an inspection which was made of the Railroad Retirement Board. Who conducted that inspection?

A The Railroad Retirement Board inspection was conducted by Mr. A. F. Fraser, who at that time was an inspector but now is Chief of the Civil Service Inspection Division.

Q Is he present?

A He is present, yes sir.

Q Will he identify the inspection report that you have in your hand, and present it to the committee? Or, will you identify it?

A I will identify the copy if it will suffice.

Q That is fine.

A I will present it in evidence to the Committee.

Q All right, will you please do that?

A Yes sir. Here is the document.

Q Now, that will be Exhibit number "G".

(Whereupon the above mentioned document
was marked Exhibit "G" as requested.)

Q Mr. Connor, will you tell briefly what is in that inspection report that you offered to the Committee?

A I have read the report, Mr. Moore, but I think with your permission I would like to ask Mr. Fraser, who wrote the report for us, to point out wherein we found that the Railroad Retirement Board had not followed the instructions and authority, if that is satisfactory to the Committee.

MR. MOORE: Thank you.

ALFRED F. FRASER,

called by the Committee to testify, was examined and testified as follows:

EXAMINATION
by
THE COMMITTEE

MR. MOORE: Be seated where you are, Mr. Fraser, if you like?

MR. FRASER: Thank you.

My name is Alfred F. Fraser. I reside at 6334 Ridge Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

Mr. Chairman, the subject matter of this inspection, following the directions of our central office, covers subject matter herein involving position classification, efficiency ratings, reduction in force, within-grade salary increases, temporary appointments, reinstatements, reappointments, intra-agency transfer, promotions, demotions, inter-agency transfer, reassignments, medical examining, investigations, retirement, veterans' preference, Board of U. S. Civil Service Examiners, and concluded with one chapter on general observations.

Following Mr. Connor's statement, as I understand, it is requested to point up the phases in which we found the Railroad Retirement Board to be deficient or on which instructions were not followed. I will remain silent on the other phases of the report.

In the area of position classification I made a negative observation, and even though it does not come within our jurisdiction in the region to take action, I made a recommendation that the position descriptions, certain of them, be redrawn in a manner so that each would be self-sufficient for allocating purposes. That recommendation followed my finding that some were not described in a manner that would permit allocation realistically.

Another observation was made that a searching study of that procedure would undoubtedly be productive of means to simplify a cumbersome and time-consuming paper work routine.

In the area of efficiency ratings, I made a finding that although the Commission's instructional and informational material is used in administering the program, a major weakness in the Board program lies in the almost total absence of written performance standards by which to judge an employee's efficiency.

Another weakness pointed out is that the training of operating heads in their duties and responsibilities as rating and reviewing officials is limited to one four-hour session annually, which leads to the belief that the evaluation of performance is an annual affair instead of being viewed as a continuing process by the supervisors.

With respect to Reduction in Force:

In connection with any curtailment of staff or abolishment of positions, a firm policy, known generally as the Board's Displacement Policy and established by Board Order, requires displacement to be effected by reassignment or demotion, the separation taking place at the lowest grade. That displacement policy embraces seniority, including military service, earned solely on the basis of service with the Board. The Commission's Seventh Regional Office has taken the point of view that the Board's Displacement Policy is not in harmony with the Commission's reduction in force regulations. This disparity is in evidence in the appeal of the Railroad Retirement Board from the decision of the Commission's Seventh Regional Office in the matter of Mr. Oscar Gaskill. This case was argued before the Commission's Board of Appeals and Review on April 17, 1947. To date a decision has not been received.

MR. MOORE: In that case, may I ask you this: Did the Seventh Regional Office find that this was a reduction in force in the Gaskill case? Was it in effect a reduction in force?

A I will have to refer you to Mr. Carney on that, but my recollection was it was a reduction in force. That was one point we ruled on.

MR. MOORE: But the Board maintained it was not a reduction in force, as I understand it?

A That is right.

MR. MOORE: Was it obviously a reduction in your mind? What I am trying to say is this: Why did the Board take the position it was not a reduction?

A The Commissioners said it was not a reduction in force since no one was separated from the Retirement Board, and a definition was given by the Commission when it heard the appeal that the Railroad Retirement Board was correct on that and we were overruled on that.

MR. MOORE: In other words, the Commission in Washington found it was a reduction?

A No. The Commission found there was no reduction but set the Gaskill case on the other basis.

MR. MOORE: On the other basis?

A Yes.

MR. MOORE: Proceed.

A (Continuing) At the time of the inspection I made this conclusion: Since the subject displacement policy in its application is a matter of record in the Seventh Regional Office and in the Commission's Central Office, there is no point to its restatement herein. There was no point in going into a dissertation in the inspection report. The adjudication of the Gaskill case will, of course, be of major significance in connection with the continuity of the Board's present displacement policy, since it had been already covered in several previous records with the Commission in Washington and with the Commission's Seventh Regional Office.

MR. MOORE: In reviewing the subsequent decision of the Commission in the Gaskill case would it be obligatory on the Seventh Regional Office to return to the Railroad Retirement Board to find out if they are following the procedure approved by the Commission?

A It will be during our regular normal course of inspections.

MR. MOORE: Proceed?

A In the area of Reduction in Force, a negative finding was made that the retention preference credits are not a matter of record on any one form or card. In the event of a reduction in force, credits are computed at that time from the various records in employees' personnel folders. The inspector made the observation that that method is conducive towards omission of creditable service, and recommended that all items for consideration in computing retention preference credits be summarized on one form or card, and that such a record be filed by retention preference sequence within each competitive area and level.

In the area of Within-Grade Salary Increases; Periodic and for Superior Accomplishments, the Board does not have a program for awards of within-grade salary advancements for superior accomplishments.

In the area of Temporary Appointments, the finding was made that, with respect to veterans' preference - well, again, I used the matter of the correspondence which you read into the previous testimony from Mr. Moyer, the Chief Examiner of the Commission, to the Secretary of the Board. And, of course, my findings supported that same condition which was discussed between Mr. Moyer and the Secretary of the Board.

MR. MOORE: You have reference to the fact that the Veterans Preference Act superseded some of the provisions.

A That is right.

MR. MOORE: In other words, am I correct in assuming even this long after the passage of the Veterans' Preference Act, that there is still some reluctance on the part of the Board to accord the veterans the preference they require under that Act?

A That condition, Mr. Moore, was not observed at that time. This was brought to light through my checking into records back over some period of time, and in developing the cases up to the point of where it had become a matter between the Commission and the Board.

MR. MOORE: Well, could you answer it yes or no? Is there a reluctance on the part of the Board now?

A To my knowledge, no sir. As a matter of fact, of course, under the ruling of the Commission, it is a mandatory procedure as it relates to the Board now.

Q I am sorry I had to interrupt you. You may proceed.

A That is all right. Of course, unless you have some other special cases?

Q No, proceed.

A Still in the field of the Temporary Appointments: there was one case of a Mr. Roscoe L. Tearney who was appointed under regulations of temporary appointments. On February 10, 1947, he was appointed to Claims Examiner, CAF-5, following termination on February 9, 1947, from the position of clerk, CAF-2, to which he was appointed under those same temporary regulations.

The inspector's conclusion was that this action was admittedly taken as a substitute for promotion, which, in this case, was not permissive in light of the six months requirement.

Q You are referring to the policy known as Pairing?

A No sir.

Q All right. Proceed.

A The inspector made another observation - still in the area of temporary appointments - that while the detailed procedure had been developed in the Personnel Office of the Board for procedures concerning the handling of applications and the maintenance of application files and records and so forth, all in connection with temporary appointments, that similar procedures had not been furnished to the Regional Directors out in the field.

In the area of Investigations, I made the finding that the Personnel Office of the Board did not have a fixed routine or a procedure for verifying the previous employment history or tracing claims of applicants for positions under the temporary regulations.

On the subject of Retirement, the inspection disclosed that the payroll department of the Railroad Retirement Board was some few months behind in its work in the disposition of retirement records of employees whose services had been terminated. By that, I mean the failure to post the employees' records, send them to the Commission in Washington, so that the employees could take advantage of the refund of retirement contributions.

On Veterans' Preference, the inspection developed a number of the conditions that were under discussion today, and also the fact that a large majority of the inequities that had taken place by virtue of employees entering into military service, and their positions being upgraded or other persons promoted in their absence; that the adjustments had been made very largely by the Veterans' Adjustment Committee, and in my report I have findings which would substantiate the persons who were members of that committee, and the services of the training officer, who served as the Executive Secretary, shows that subsequent to its organization the committee was apprised of all vacancies and given authority to by-pass ordinary promotional policies in the matter of selection of veterans.

I have one other cogent paragraph here:

Since the propriety of the Board's Policy concerning the application of veterans' preference to reduction force is a matter under consideration by the Commission's Board of Appeals and Review, no action was indicated.

That, of course, reverts back to the Gaskill case.

Q May I ask you if you heard the testimony here this afternoon that since 1943, there has been no Employees' Counselor at the Railroad Retirement Board?

A Yes.

Q Do you consider that as a part of your inspection, or would you feel that that is of sufficient importance to the Commission to make a finding on it?

A Well, Mr. Moore, basically, our inspections have to be limited to the areas of personnel operations under which the Commission has delegated specific authority to them, the agencies.

Q In other words, you feel that the Commission has no responsibility in that matter?

A I wouldn't say "responsibility" but it has no jurisdiction or anything to enter into the internal affairs under the prerogative of agency management.

The concluding observation made was that the Board seemingly has not delegated authority to the Director of Personnel in conformance with the accepted dictates of administration or staff and line organization.

Q I assume what you said there was that the Board has not given the Director of Personnel sufficient authority? Is that what you said?

A In essence, yes, Mr. Moore. That while the authority lies in the position - I can cite some typical examples that I have given here. This is the best typified by the requirements that promotional actions be submitted to the Board: The Board has established a promotional policy. Its administration falls within an area of personnel operations, and the Board has a well organized Personnel Office. It is suggested that the Board delegate full authority under the Director of Personnel to administer the Board's prescribed policy.

Q Mr. Connor, are you familiar with the letter dated February 5 to the Civil Service Committee from Mr. Harry B. Mitchell, President of the Commission in which he comments in regard to certain information which the Committee submitted regarding a policy of the Railroad Retirement Board?

A Yes, I have a copy of that letter, Mr. Moore.

MR. MOORE: Mr. Chairman, I would like to submit this letter, dated February 5, 1948 in evidence as Exhibit "H", and ask if Mr. Connor will comment with respect to that letter; with regard to the statements in the letter?

A The letter consists of twelve questions that were presented to the Commission for answering, and the Commission has answered each of these questions as outlined, with the exception, I believe, of two questions, at which time the Railroad Retirement Board had not submitted factual information to permit answering.

MR. MOORE: If you will, just cover those questions which the Commission is concerned with itself?

A Yes sir.

Question number 1:

"1. A copy of current Board and Administrative orders, or interpretations, concerning personnel policies and practices of the Board with respect to:

(a) The reemployment of employees of the Board who entered the Armed Forces during World War II."

The Commission points out in this letter that under the Selective Service Training Act, persons who went into the Armed Forces are entitled to be returned - in other words, the Act only calls for them - to be returned to the position which they left or to a position of like seniority, status, and pay. The question involved there is in connection with the Board's interpretation of the word "seniority." That is due to the fact that the Board has this displacement policy of seniority relative to employment with the Board, giving due consideration to employment with the Board first. I think the Commission's answer as outlined in the report is conclusive of the position of the Commission. I don't know whether you want me to read it or not?

MR. MOORE: That won't be necessary.

A Part "b" of this relates to "The employment of veterans, particularly those with disability preference."

The Commission has held, of course, due consideration should be given at all times to veterans, and especially to those entitled to disability preference. In other words, every effort should be made to place an individual in accordance with his disability so that he can perform his position satisfactorily.

Now, as to "c": "The displacement of non-status non-veteran war service employees by status and/or non-status veteran preference employees."

As to answering that, I will ask you to permit me to answer that when I get to questions seven and eight because it is all tied in.

Now, the second question relates to this:

> "2. A copy of all Board publications or memoranda informing preference employees of their rights and privileges with the Board, together with any information or comment the Board may wish to make with respect to group meetings or other forms of oral instruction intended to so inform such preference employees."

The Commission in answering that said, "The policy of the Board in its procedure is in accordance with the Commission policy," and they made a few suggestions in connection with that which, I believe the Board has since followed.

The other questions as pointed out, relate to much of the matters discussed here today and they usually refer to instructions or memorandums presented by the Board. I think, Mr. Moore, that perhaps the Board's interest at the present time will relate to question twelve, the pairing question, which, perhaps, if it is -

MR. MOORE: Will you explain to the Committee what "pairing" is? What the Board has done with respect to the so-called "pairing" and what the Commission's policy is, and what the Seventh Regional Office has done?

A If it will be permissible I would like to ask the Chief of my Examining and Placement Division to go into that question, Mr. Moore, because he has made a study of it.

MR. MOORE: All right.

MR. FRASER: Mr. Tarbox, will you come here?

MR. TARBOX: Yes sir.

SIDNEY TARBOX,

called as a witness by the subcommittee, having been previously sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

EXAMINATION
by
THE COMMITTEE:

MR. MOORE: Will you identify yourself?

MR. TARBOX: I am Sidney Tarbox. 12 South Monroe Street, Hinsdale, Ill. My position with the Seventh Regional Office is as Chief of the Examining and Placement Division.

I believe, Mr. Counsel, that your question relates to an answer of the Board relative to the question of "pairing".

MR. MOORE: The answer of the Commission.

A The answer of the Commission relative to that?

Q Yes, without referring to that, you are familiar with what "pairing" is?

A Yes.

Q Will you explain that in your own words, what the practice of the Board has been?

A Yes.

From the Board's letter to your Committee and the Commission's discussion of that, pairing appears to be a formalized method of detailing employees to positions into which they cannot at the time be reassigned or promoted but for which they are qualified. That is, status employees. Detailing them until such a time as it is possible under the Federal Personnel Regulation to effect such a reassignment or detail.

Q Is that a violation of the Commission's regulation?

A At the present time under the Commission's instruction, dated in late November and received in our office the latter part of December, that would be a violation of the Commission's regulations. Except, insofar as the Commission might be requested in advance for authority to make such detail if it exceeded ninety days. Authority for ninety days is granted, but if it is to go beyond ninety days the Commission must give prior approval.

Q The Railroad Retirement Board, however, has been detailing people for six months?

A That is correct.

Q I wonder if Mr. Connor can give any comments about any inspection that you have on this in the Retirement Board?

MR. CONNOR: Yes. As a result of the receipt of your letter, we are under instructions from our central office to make an investigation of the so-called "pairing" in the Railroad Retirement Board. Such an investigation has been made.

There are a total of seventy-five cases under consideration at the present time. From a preliminary screening it would appear as if thirty of those cases are regular. In other words, I would approve them, or the Railroad Retirement Board has authority to make the detail. Of the remaining forty-five cases we are not in a position at this time to make a final decision. We are studying each case individually in order to determine whether or not the assignment or the conversion of these people to a lower grade, and the reassignment to the duties which they formerly performed at a higher grade was, in fact, a violation not only of the spirit but also was not following the letter of the law.

Now, when such a determination has been made and if it has been found there has been a violation, it will then be incumbent upon me as Regional Director to require the Railroad Retirement Board to take whatever corrective action is deemed necessary.

Q Will you give the Committee an example of this? I think the discussion has been just a little bit technical. Will you give an example?

A Here is an example that I would use: There is an employee employed as a war service or a temporary employee at CAF-7, grade 7. The employee is not qualified; is not within reach on the list of eligibles established for grade 7. However, the employee may be reached and appointed at grade 5. So, the Board proceeds to make an appointment at a grade 5.

However, instead of assigning the individual to the duties of the grade 5 position, they still permit him to carry out the duties of the grade 7 position, holding that the grade 7 position was not open until such a time as the agency is in a position to request or to permit it.

Q Yet he is within reach on the register?

A No. He has already been reached as a 5, Mr. Moore. After he has served six months then the agency might then come back and ask for permission to promote him to grade 7. However, during that entire period of time, the individual continues to perform the grade 7 duties.

Q And he ties up two jobs by doing it?

A It is possible that such a thing might happen. That is what we are looking into at the present time.

Q Yet the Board is depriving other persons of CAF-5 to promote them to CAF-7, who are status, we will say, and, in this connection, are veterans?

A That is under the administrative jurisdiction of the Board to fill the 7 position. However, it should be borne out that the individual is actually being paid at the 5 level.

Q I understand.

Now, you heard the discussions with respect to the establishment or the non-establishment of a committee within the Railroad Retirement Board to look after the interest of the veterans?

A Yes.

Q Aside from the Railroad Retirement Board, what is your knowledge of the rest of the Federal Government with respect to this matter?

A Maintained strictly on a regional basis, because after all, I can speak only on a regional basis, I think it will be found upon review that in most agencies, there is either a committee or an individual whose duties include the handling of complaints and grievances from veterans. In other words, I think it is understood that it is better to have a veteran or a veterans' committee to listen to the complaints or the grievances of veterans, than a non-veteran.

Now, it does not follow that the individual has to be a veteran, but for some unknown reason it is believed that one veteran can talk to another veteran a little better than a non-veteran to a veteran.

MR. MOORE: I don't think it is an "unknown reason."

(laughter)

Q Well then, you feel the Government has, as a whole, recognized the fact that between forty-five and fifty per cent of its employees are veterans, and that they may have problems which cannot be handled by the usual routine as we have known it, but must recognize the moral obligation of handling veterans problems as a separate entity?

A Since the Commission is considering the central personnel agency, and in answer to this question, Mr. Moore, I would say that insofar as our operation is concerned, it would be of a great benefit to us if an agency would have either a committee or an individual whose duties and responsibilities include the handling of complaints or grievances from veterans.

In my opinion, and as you know, if they are not taken care of at the agency, they very quickly land on our door step.

MR. MOORE: All right, Mr. Connor, that is all.

MR. CONNOR: Thank you.

THE CHAIRMAN: Thank you, Mr. Connor.

MR. CONNOR: You are welcome.

MR. JOHNSON: Will we get a copy of that statement that Mr. Connor talked about, the answers to the questions?

MR. MOORE: With the permission of the Committee, when the record has been printed and available to the Committee, we shall see that the Board gets a copy of that.

MR. JOHNSON: Thank you.

MR. LIBONATI: May we have a copy, Mr. Chairman?

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes sir.

MR. MOORE: Mr. Libonati, the Committee would desire to hear from you at this time, if there are any additional statements that you would like to make, or Mr. Burke would like to make?

MR. LIBONATI: I would like to have a few minutes, about seven or eight minutes to be given to me, and about seven or eight minutes to be given to Mr. Burke. I had intended - I was going to put some of these veterans on to refute some of this testimony that has been given, but since we are pressed for time - I did want to have Miss Fischer testify, and I did want to have Mr. Powell to come back here.

MR. MOORE: Excuse me, Mr. Libonati. The Committee has advised that those people may submit supplemental statements and they will be made a part of this record.

THE CHAIRMAN: And, in each case, a copy should be furnished to the other side.

MR. LIBONATI: Yes sir.

I just want to take about five minutes on this matter, and I want to address myself very briefly to the position taken on my letter.

I am not going to get excited about this and get righteously indignant, as one of the witnesses here did. He said that he was surprised these charges should be made.

Of course, we are not living in a country where an individual, when he finds that he has been aggrieved should not be given a remedy; should not be given a hearing. The fact that a letter should be written by a representative of a responsible organization does not meet with the pleasure and approval of the President of this Board. Why wasn't he called? Well, he was just as close to the telephone as the representative of the Legion was. Many of them who are here have demonstrated a deep feeling and affection for the veteran. Now, when they had those questions before them, they certainly could have called us and said, "Do you want to give us any more time?" But such was not the case. And further, they claimed we put ourselves in a position by the second letter that we considered the matter closed; they thought that we were through with our investigation?

Now, on matters of this kind - and this is not a judicial matter, but I want to direct the attention of the committee to the demeanor of the witnesses here. They heard Mr. Burke testify. They heard every one of these Legion representatives testify. And, they heard these Governmental Agency representatives testify.

How many times was Mr. Burke prompted? How many times was Brainerd prompted? They had their story well at hand. But what about these representatives here?

(laughter)

I don't think it is funny, sir. (to Mr. LaMotte)

What about these Governmental Agency representatives? Why, it was a farce. One would testify and get information from the other, and none of them had a continuity in their testimony.

So I say, judge there to where the right lies? Here, this attorney testified as to two cases? Why didn't they have someone come here and testify as to all of those cases? They had knowledge of those infringements upon the rights of the veteran. But no, they had the lawyer take a couple of cases, and they had somebody else take a couple of cases and, so, you have a discordant and disunified statement of facts. Why can't we, from paid representatives, receive a better statement of the cases than we received here? Some of them have not even been discussed. So you carry away with you, unless you look at that record, which will be very difficult to read, not a clear picture. But our picture is clear.

Now, what are the motives here? We have no motives outside of the motive of protecting the veteran. And, we don't say that the veteran is the only one in this country who should be taken care of. But we believe the veteran is a citizen too and we are not asking for any sympathy. But the members of this Board take the position that because the veteran objects, the veteran has a chip on his shoulder. Now, we don't come into this session with that at all.

We feel that we should give you gentlemen, and give the Congress, and give the citizens of the United States, a picture of these inequities and this vicious conduct practiced by this Board. Look at the demeanor of the witnesses, the continuity of their stories, the reasons or causes for this thing, and I am sure you will come to the conclusion, the unalterable conclusion, that the veterans had a complaint here.

We are not going to make any recommendations here because we don't want the Committee to be influenced at all by our judgment in this matter. If we are called by the Board to make a recommendation or asked for a remedy here, we will give it, but we feel you are sitting here in judgment as judges, and we are going to ask you to determine what, if anything, should be done to right these conditions.

We spent our time here today, and you have been very kind, and it has been a long day and a trying day. And, I am not going to belabor you with a statement of refutation of the facts here. I believe that just a cursory statement by Mr. Burke will suffice to bring out some of the differences that we claim - we say exist, in the story of the representatives of the Railroad Retirement Board.

Mr. Burke.

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Burke?

MR. BURKE: Mr. Chairman.

What I would like to do now is just to comment briefly on some of the testimony that has been given this afternoon. For an example, Mr. Carney spoke of the Placement Section in the Personnel Division and, I believe, the qualifications of Mr. Rasmussen. And then, Mr. Johnson mentioned that when the Veterans' Adjustment Committee recommended Mr. Morrissey, that - well - Mr. Morrissey was just "qualified", and that is about all.

If I remember correctly, the letter that Mr. Johnson sent, ended up something like this -- quoting from the way I remember it: "If you have a big placement job to do, Morrissey is the man that can do it."

Now, I think that is a lot more than just merely - "He is qualified."

I am just wondering there -- since they were discussing qualifications -- I wonder if Mr. Rasmussen was qualified for that job?

Now, Mr. Morrissey was recommended on September something or other -- right in the early days of the Committee -- and I think it was about that time that Mr. Rasmussen was promoted. And Departmental Circular 549, Supplement 23, was used at that time -- at least it was used against Mr. Morrissey. He had to fill those requirements. So, it would be interesting to know whether Mr. Rasmussen had to also?

Then, on this matter of personnel records -- I would just bet my last dollar that in our Personnel Department you could not find out how many 10-point veterans we have - how many disabled veterans? I think our records are just that bad. Consequently, if we want to set up training of any kind for veterans, which we have tried in the past -- if it would come under Public Law 16, for example, we wouldn't know what we were talking about.

Then this one-grade promotion - this history business. I am just taking these up because they seem to me to bring out the point here of an attempt to evade this thing, that is, that it wasn't only one grade. Well, I know of hardly any more than one-grade promotions being made under that particular Board Order. And I know of no veterans promoted under the procedure that Mr. Carney said provided for the consideration of veterans any place in the Board - that they could be promoted to any budget unit.

Then Mr. Carney said: "Well, Mr. Block was promoted to a 5" - as if it were a favor to him. Well, on the day that Mr. Block's job of Placement Officer, CAF-4, was changed to a 5, did any one stay at CAF-4? I would like to know that. Did any Placement Officer stay at CAF-4?

Every one got the promotion - that was a new rate for the job!

I understand that Mr. Block has been up to see Mr. Carney several times - in spite of Mr. Carney's statement here that he never heard of the case.

Now, on this April '46 procedure that Mr. Carney brought up. He read there a policy for the adjustment of veterans that was really a darned good policy. In fact, it was very much like what was adopted and was the plan initially, of the veterans adjustment committee. But Mr. Carney did not tell you that five section heads in his department decided upon this policy -- that immediately when the meeting was over he put us under an oath of secrecy, where we were not allowed to talk about it -- we must not mention it! With the result that at least two of us who were veterans, one World War I veteran and myself, told several people that Mr. Carney was pretty good - he was pretty progressive in his thinking on veterans.

Yes, that really was a progressive system in comparison with what the Board had had in the past. But I do not believe Mr. Carney ever took it up with the Board, because when I took it up with the Board two months later, Mr. Carney opposed it!

Now, we had a Board of Examiners for a while, and that was abolished. I do not know if that had anything to do with veterans, but so often when there is any major change in personnel policy and procedure, you dig deeply enough into it, and by golly, veterans preference is at the bottom of it. I would be very much interested in knowing whether the abolishment of this board enabled the Railroad Retirement Board to evade the employment of disabled veterans.

Now, I would like to have permission to call Mr. Sowers.

Mr. Sowers, will you come up here, please?

MR. SOWERS: Yes sir.

JOSEPH SOWERS,

called as a witness by the subcommittee, was examined and testified as follows:

EXAMINATION
by
THE COMMITTEE:

Q Will you state your name?

A Joseph Sowers

MR. BURKE: Would you just tell the Committee your efforts to get a promotion, including the examinations you passed, and so forth.

A I started with the Board as a CAF-2, August '45. I was promoted to a CAF-3 November, 1945.

Later I took the examination for a clerk, CAF-5 and 6. I passed - I was turned down by the Civil Service Commission, first. After appealing, I was told I was eligible for a 5 on the basis of my experience and the written test. And they, in turn, notified the Railroad Retirement Board I was certified for a 5 position.

I never heard anything of it. Then, I took it up with the Personnel Director of the Railroad Retirement Board and they told me I didn't have seniority necessary to rate a 5 job. And, on top of that, there were no 5 jobs open in the Board.

So, after that I talked to the Personnel Department several times about it, and they told me there is nothing they could do about it, because there was no jobs open.

I talked to Mr. Burke about it, and Mr. Barber, an attorney of the Board. They took it up with other members of the Board and Mr. LaMotte. They all held I was not eligible for the 5 job. I mean, there were no 5 jobs open that I could fill.

I am also on the CAF-7 register, and all this avails me nothing. I work as a 3.

MR. BURKE: Mr. Sowers, you have passed the Civil Service examination for a 5 which would qualify you for a Claims Examiner, CAF-5 here?

A Yes.

Q And also a CAF-7?

A That is right.

Q But you are unable to be appointed to a 5?

A That is right.

CONGRESSMAN DAVIS: How long have you been on each of those registers?

A. I have been on the CAF-5 register from August, 1947.

I have been on the CAF-7 register since - oh, I would say, about six months.

MR. BURKE: You are a disabled veteran, are you not?

A Yes sir.

MR. BURKE: That is all, Mr. Sowers.

What I would like to point out here is this: Here is a man who is a ten-point veteran who is an employee of the Railroad Retirement Board. He goes out, and without his ten points, passes a Civil Service examination for Claims Examiner-5 and he can't get one of the jobs.

Now, there are a number of war-service appointees occupying those positions, also under the pairing device, who could only pass the examination at Grade CAF-2, let us say, who were moved back down to Grade 2 for six months and promoted later. But Mr. Sowers, who passes the exam, is an employee of the Board and eligible, is not able to get the job.

I would just like to close here quickly with this one point. On the Veterans Adjustment Committee, I would like it to be known first that in the whole program of the Veterans Adjustment Committee, not one single civilian was displaced from a position or lost one grade. Secondly, just as soon as it would become necessary to displace civilians, namely by displacements in the field where there were no vacancies, the Veterans Adjustment Committee was abolished. Now, the field program for the Veterans Adjustment Committee was abolished after the referral of a Wallace LeClaire who was up in Minnesota somewhere and being referred to the Chicago Region to Grade CAF-7. Now, when he would be CAF-7 he would be adjusted, so he was to be adjusted. But the Board postponed the adjustment until the next spring, when the sickness program developed, so he was "adjusted" then, perhaps eight or nine months later.

Let's see where Wallace LeClaire is today. Here is another one of these little charts that shows comparative promotions. Now, when Wallace LeClaire was inducted December 9, 1942, from the position of CAF-5, the other 5's with him in the region then, and on duty there today, are shown below. Please note that one of them is also a veteran, and there the two veterans are 7, and undoubtedly they have been "adjusted" under the Veterans Adjustment Program, because that was the adjustment grade. Then we have three 8's and one 10 for the four other people. (Chart reproduced on following page)

I believe that is all I have. Thank you very much.

MR. MOORE: Mr. Kennedy?

MR. KENNEDY: Mr. Chairman, I take it you will understand that I am not a lawyer. I am vitally concerned, however, about this committee getting all of the facts which, I know, you will. It would appear to me as though one side in this controversy has at least been to bat twice, and we do have, as a Board, a number of people here today who have been here all day, and it does seem to me that we ought to be given the opportunity to present our side. Please understand me, Congressman, I don't want to burden you with anything more than necessary but I do think we should have an opportunity to present some of these witnesses to refute some of the statements that were made this morning.

We have been subjected to some criticism from this distinguished lawyer for not preparing our case. I think it is only fair to say to this Committee that in our humble judgment, we had no knowledge of this hearing until last Monday.

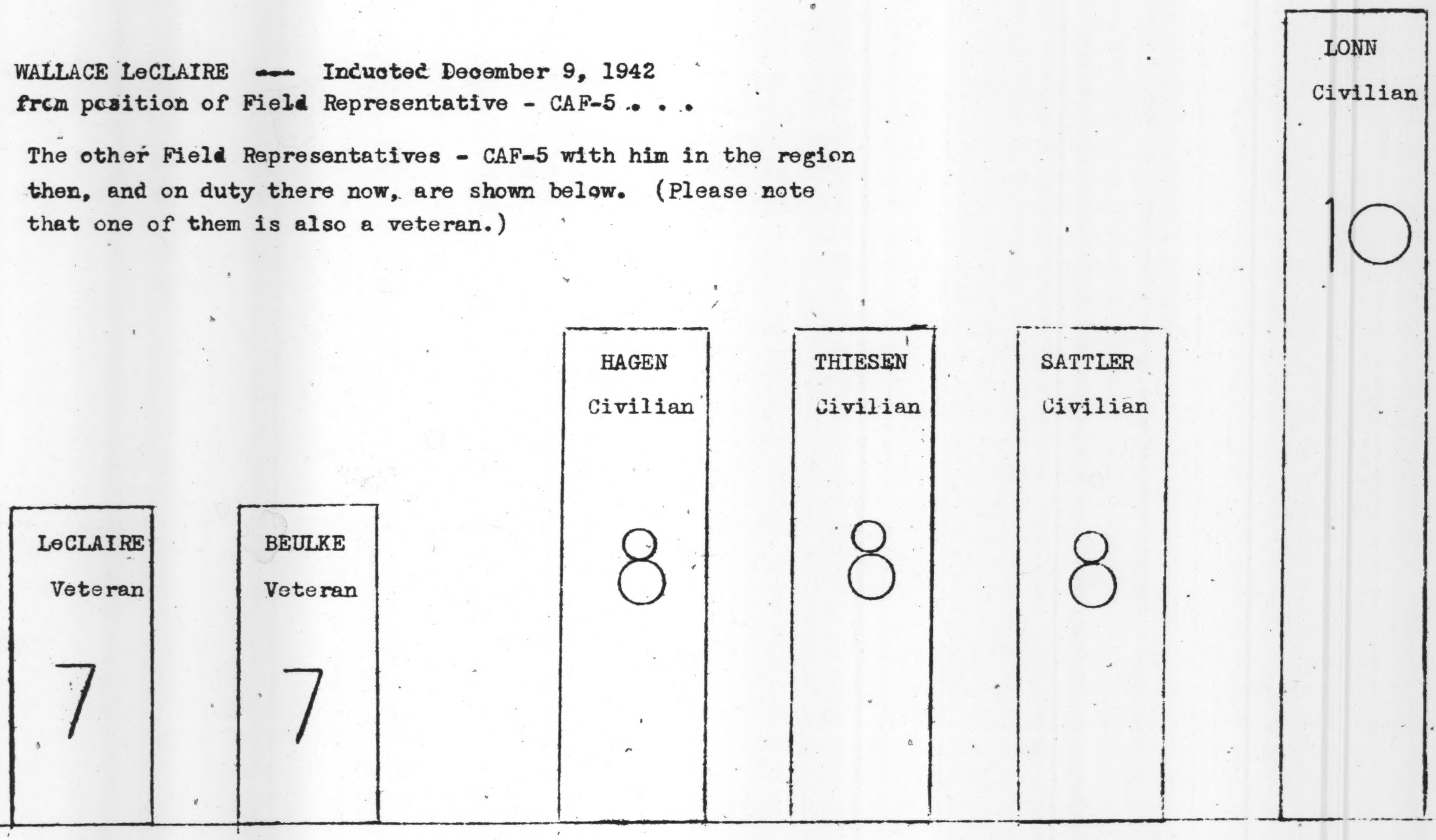
It is evident that the case on the other side has been in preparation for months, which I have no quarrel with, but I do think in fairness we should call the Committee's attention to the fact that we didn't have the opportunity.

Now, whether we did or not, is entirely in your hands, gentlemen, but let me close with this statement again: That, as Chairman of this Board, and speaking for my associates, I will guarantee to this Committee, again, again, and again, that every instance of injustice that can be produced to this Board will be remedied, and remedied promptly.

MR. MOORE: How many more witnesses do you have in mind?

WALLACE LeCLAIRE --- Inducted December 9, 1942
from position of Field Representative - CAF-5 . . . .

The other Field Representatives - CAF-5 with him in the region then, and on duty there now, are shown below. (Please note that one of them is also a veteran.)



THEY WERE ALL CAF-5 ON DECEMBER 9-1942

MR. KENNEDY? Mr. Johnson, will you tell us how many you think should be heard?

MR. JOHNSON: Four or five witnesses.

MR. MOORE: Well, the other side has seven or eight, I believe, and we heard one, and we extended them the privilege of filing a statement and giving the other side a copy. And so, in order to balance this thing off, we will be glad to hear one witness now, and the rest file their statements, and you will give the other side a copy, the same as we have extended to the other side?

MR. KENNEDY: As a matter of fact, I am not insisting upon one witness, but I do think there should be some evidence for the benefit of your Committee.

MR. MOORE: You have the same opportunity to file those statements as the other side.

MR. KENNEDY: If I can impose upon the indulgence of this Committee, if Mr. Johnson has anyone that he wants to produce, it would make me happy.

MR. MOORE: Yes, you could do that, or file the statements like the other side?

MR. KENNEDY: Yes, providing, Congressman, we will be given the opportunity to put into the record anything that we think is proper, and legal, to refute some of the bunk that I heard here this morning?

MR. MOORE: That is right. You both have the same privilege of filing in the record. The only request is that the opposite be given copies.

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Kennedy, in order to get the record straight as to one statement you made as the Chairman of the Board, I am sure you are well aware of the fact that for a long time this committee has been conducting an investigation? I would just like the record to show that a representative of this committee has been up to Chicago and made an investigation of the situation. I didn't want the record to show that there was not any knowledge on the part of the Board that it was not being investigated by the Post Office and Civil Service Committee on this matter.

MR. KENNEDY: It was not my purpose, Mr. Chairman, to say we didn't have knowledge of the investigation, but we didn't have knowledge of this hearing. That was the point I was making.

MR. JOHNSON: Mr. Chairman, we did not have knowledge of any charges that have been presented before the Committee.

THE CHAIRMAN: And the Committee also had no knowledge before this time.

MR. LIBONATI: Mr. Chairman, what about my letter? Didn't that give them knowledge about it?

MR. KENNEDY: Not much.

THE CHAIRMAN: Will you proceed, sir?

MR. JOHNSON: Mr. Carney, will you proceed?

MR. LIBONATI: What is this, in the nature of a rebuttal, or is this new testimony or a new witness, or what?

THE CHAIRMAN: I thought you had a witness?

MR. JOHNSON: This is by the way of a rebuttal.

MR. CARNEY: Mr. Chairman, do we get an opportunity to answer some of the cases that have been filed here?

THE CHAIRMAN: In your statements, you can answer all of them. The only thing you do is give the other side a copy when you file them within ten days. Each side has that privilege.

MR. LIBONATI: That is agreeable with us.

MR. CARNEY: I can't speak for my Counsel, but I think it will be agreeable with us, too, gentlemen.

I think it should be pointed out, Mr. Chairman, that the evidence, or testimony, made by the Regional Director of the Civil Service Region shows that a copy of that report of investigation or inspection was sent to the office. Well, there is no one here - no Board member, the Secretary of the Board or the Chief Executive Officer or myself - have ever seen that report.

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Connor?

MR. CONNOR: Mr. Chairman, Mr. Fraser first advised me that in accordance with the usual procedure, we usually sit down with the head of the agency and give a preliminary explanation of what we found in our investigation. In the case of the Railroad Retirement Board we did not follow that procedure because the Chairman of the Board was not available. Accordingly, the report was prepared, and Mr. Fraser then made arrangements on a date with Mr. Kennedy, and he informs me that he sat down with Mr. Kennedy and went over the inspection report and left a copy with him at that time. Am I right, Mr. Fraser?

MR. FRASER: That is right, and with both other Board members attending the session.

MR. CONNOR: That would be Mr. Luhrsen, and Mr. Squire?

MR. FRASER: That is right.

MR. CONNOR: I don't know if these gentlemen recall that conference or not.

MR. LUHRSEN: I do not.

MR. SQUIRE: I don't. I don't.

THE CHAIRMAN: Will you address the Chair, sir? (to Mr. Squire)

MR. SQUIRE: My name is F. C. Squire.

MR. MOORE: Mr. Kennedy, I would like to know if you feel that you have sufficiently presented all matters, or would like to present further matters and have them inserted in the record without a further hearing?

MR. KENNEDY: I would be perfectly agreeable to waiving any further hearing.

MR. MOORE: Anything else will be inserted in the record?

MR. KENNEDY: Provided we will have an opportunity to put into the record our full information.

THE CHAIRMAN: Both sides shall have ten days to file anything you have on that line.

MR. KENNEDY: That is perfectly agreeable.

THE CHAIRMAN: Both sides.

MR. JOHNSON: It will be agreeable, Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN: Well, to all of those present I want to thank you very much for your kind attention.

I want to compliment all of the witnesses on both sides. I think you all presented a wonderful hearing.

I want to compliment Mr. Connor and his group. I thought it was very outstanding. In fact, everyone was. I assure you that this subcommittee in its report to the full committee will be as fair as it is humanly possible to be.

My colleague here, the gentleman from Georgia, Mr. Davis, was a Supreme Court Judge before for some thirteen years, and is accustomed to such procedure. I have been in public life for a long time, and I am certain that our Counsel, as you observed today, is very capable and effective. When we boil this testimony down and go over and present it to our Committee, I am sure that you will all have had a fair hearing.

We will now stand adjourned. Thank you all very much.

MR. JOHNSON: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

MR. LIBONATI: Thank you, sir.

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RAILROAD RETIREMENT BOARD POST NO. 856
THE AMERICAN LEGION
MAY 17, 1948

SPECIAL

SPECIAL

"REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, IN CONNECTION WITH AN INVESTIGATION OF CERTAIN PERSONNEL PRACTICES OF THE RAILROAD RETIREMENT BOARD.

"Pursuant to authority contained in H. Res. 176, approved June 5, 1947, a subcommittee of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service of the House of Representatives composed of Congressman Homer R. Jones, Chairman, and Congressman James C. Davis, was appointed to conduct an investigation of the Railroad Retirement Board to determine to what extent the Board was violating the Veterans' Preference Act and rules and regulations of the Civil Service Commission relating to the employment of veterans.

"The Committee initiated its investigation on December 8, 1947. As a result of this preliminary investigation hearings were held in Chicago, Illinois, on March 5, 1948. On the basis of the investigation and hearings the Committee submits its conclusions and recommendations:

"(1) Personnel policies, procedures and practices of the Railroad Retirement Board do not appear to afford adequate protection to veterans employed by the Board. The Committee believes that the Railroad Retirement Board should re-examine its policies, and after conferring with officials of the Civil Service Commission set up a policy which will be a positive assurance to veterans employed by the Board that their civil service rights will be protected and that veterans will be given proper consideration for promotions.

"(2) Certain personnel policies and procedures of the Board have been found by the Civil Service Commission to be in violation of Civil Service Rules and Regulations particularly with respect to veterans' preference, reduction in force and temporary appointments. The Board has been furnished the report of the Civil Service Commission with respect to these matters. The Committee feels that the Board should adopt the recommendations of the Civil Service Commission and implement such action by appropriate regulations.

"(3) In the opinion of the Committee the Veterans' Adjustment Committee of the Railroad Retirement Board, which was abolished in November 1946, should be re-created with a majority of the members selected from employees of the Board who are veterans. Also, it is the Committee's opinion that such Committee of the Board should effectively and vigorously maintain a policy of aid to veterans employed by the Board.

"(4) The Committee found that the position of Employees' Counsellor has been vacant since 1943, but is gratified to learn that subsequent to the hearings conducted by the subcommittee the Board has created a position of Veterans' Counsellor and has appointed a veteran of World War II to such position. The Committee hopes that the incumbent will offer full cooperation to those veterans employed by the Board who seek advice and information and believes that such a policy will do much to remedy the poor morale among veterans which was found to exist.

"(5) Although the evidence presented to the Committee indicates a willingness on the part of the Board members to carry out their responsibilities to veterans employed by the Board, it was found that the Board had delegated such responsibilities to subordinates who had not carried out their duties as effectively as possible. The Committee believes that as a result of the investigation and hearings the Board members will adopt a more affirmative attitude with respect to initiating corrective action where necessary to protect the Civil Service rights of veterans and make certain that a fair share of opportunities for promotion are given to veterans employed by the Board.

(over)

(Report of Congressional Committee - continued)

"(6) The Executive Director and the Personnel Director of the Railroad Retirement Board should actively seek advice and information from the 7th Civil Service Regional Office with respect to their obligations and duties toward veterans instead of resisting recommendations which are made by the Civil Service Commission with respect to these matters.

"(7) In accordance with a recommendation contained in the inspection report submitted to the Railroad Retirement Board by the Civil Service Commission, the Board should either vest the Personnel Director with sufficient authority to deal with personnel matters, particularly those affecting veterans, or should employ a personnel director in whom the Board members have confidence, so that such duties and responsibilities may be effectively administered.

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"On the basis of the foregoing the Committee instructs the Chairman to furnish a copy of this report fo the Railroad Retirement Board and to the Civil Service Commission with the request that the recommendations of the Committee be put into effect."

* *

COMRADES:

This is an important document in the history of our Post. Let us continue to work together that we may fulfill our obligation as Legionnaires to "consecrate and sanctify our comradeship by our devotion to mutual helpfulness."

By your Liaison Committee:

Melvin E. Fickle Member	A. Russell Brainerd Member	Francis D. Burke Chairman

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

SUBJECT FILE

Committee to End "Jim Crow" in The Armed Services
Miscellaneous items

1947–48

CONSCRIPTION NEWS

1013 - 18th Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Number 124 November 20, 1947

U.M.T. groups launch new campaign - Huge military budget a cause of inflation - Negro leader asks U.M.T. advocates' stand on race - Educators oppose U.M.T., says Hutchins - Philadelphia Republicans discuss U.M.T. - N.Y. Times continues bias for U.M.T. - C.I.O. strongly opposes U.M.T. - Other groups oppose - Iowa Poll shows trend against U.M.T. - Forum audience against conscription -

U.M.T. GROUPS LAUNCH NEW CAMPAIGN

Owen J. Roberts, Chairman of the National Emergency Committee for Universal Training, organized only this past summer to supplement the work of the Citizens' Committee for Universal Training, announced he would head still another organization, the National Security Committee. The new committee, which was an outgrowth of an October 23 and 24 meeting in Washington, is to attempt to win greater financial and other support for U.M.T. than the other two committees had been able to do.

Roberts and other speakers at the meeting stressed the importance of getting "key people" behind their campaign and said their strategy was to "work on" key officers in the various church, educational, labor, and other organizations that are on record against U.M.T. They planned also to reach the "grass roots" by setting up committees all across the country and by cooperation with American Legion Posts.

General Eisenhower also issued a statement on U.M.T. which appeared in the press of October 22, 1947. On October 29 the V.F.W. National Commander announced the new V.F.W. campaign for U.M.T. On October 24 the Washington Evening Star stated that Secretary Forrestal would direct an "intensified fight for military training."

Meanwhile, the Hearst Press had launched a campaign which includes daily articles or editorials for U.M.T., cartoons, picturing the Capitol in Washington surrounded by ruins from bombing (all because Congress hadn't passed U.M.T.) and front page scare stories that the U. S. needs U.M.T. to combat Communism.

The New York Times of October 28, in reporting on Navy Day activities, described speeches by a General and an Admiral against disarmament. The Times said, "General Cates insisted that 'disarmament has not worked in the past' and urged that this lesson not be forgotten as after World War I."

Secretary Forrestal on October 21 called for U.M.T., stating that it was too early to try disarmament. Former Secretary of War Patterson again spoke for U.M.T., according to the New York Times of November 1.

Even a cursory examination of the increased frequency of pro-conscription statements by military spokesmen and the prominence given to such statements by most of the press makes it apparent that a new campaign for U.M.T. has begun which may lead to action in the House of Representatives during the Special Session.

HUGE MILITARY BUDGET A CAUSE OF INFLATION, SAYS ECCLES

The October 2, 1947 New York Times reported that the President of the Navy League had taken Marriner Eccles, Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, to task for his comment that military expenditures were one of the chief causes of inflation. The Times reported that Eccles "suggested again that it might be better to reduce expenditures on military forces or 'other purposes that might be eliminated or deferred' in order to provide aid to the 'starving and destitute Western European democracies.'"

NEGRO LEADER ASKS U.M.T. ADVOCATES' STAND ON RACE

Captain Grant Reynolds, New York State Commissioner of Correction and a well-known Negro leader, asked President Truman, Governor Dewey, Secretary Forrestal and General Eisenhower their stand on the question of whether Negroes are to be segregated under a U.M.T. law. He asserted that "all who have declared themselves in favor of universal military training must now declare their position with respect to democracy within the Army." He asked whether Negroes would "be faced with segregation and discrimination as a matter of national policy." (New York edition, Pittsburgh Courier, October 18, 1947)

EDUCATORS OPPOSE U.M.T., SAYS HUTCHINS

The November 2, 1947 New York Times reported that Robert Hutchins, Chancellor of the University of Chicago, had declared, "U.M.T. is extremely unpopular among educators." He added:

"The fact that the president of Massachusetts Institute of Technology is chairman of a committee advising the White House on U.M.T. makes no difference. The educators who support U.M.T. are a very small minority.

"The U.M.T. campaign will be a dismal failure unless a great war hysteria is created in the country when Congress reconvenes," he asserted. "I say that because in speaking before groups all over the country, I have found public sentiment overwhelmingly against U.M.T. I found that to be so despite certain polls that claim the program is popular. I am convinced that the questions put by these polls on this issue are not framed in such a way as to reveal what the public actually thinks about U.M.T."

PHILADELPHIA REPUBLICANS DISCUSS U.M.T.

Jay Cooke, one of the organizers of the Citizens' Committee for Universal Military Training, and Republican City Chairman of Philadelphia, presided at a meeting of the Philadelphia Republican Finance Committee in the Union League Club October 1, 1947 in which U.M.T. was discussed. Among those present were: Senator Edward Martin; Congressman Richard Simpson; Congressman Samuel K. McConnell, Jr.; Congressman Hardie Scott; Congressman Paul B. Dague; Congressman Robert N. McGarvey; Congressman Franklin H. Lichtenwalter; Congressman George W. Sarbacher, Jr; Congressman James Gallagher; and Congressman E. Wallace Chadwick.

Apparently speaking for the entire group, Rep. Sarbacher said he completely favored U.M.T. because the volunteer program for recruits for the armed forces had failed.

NEW YORK TIMES CONTINUES BIAS FOR U.M.T.

The New York Times continued to let its editorial policy affect its news by ommitting all reference to the C.I.O.'s stand against U.M.T. at its Boston Convention in mid-October, by placing Senator Taft's important statement in Cheyenne, Wyoming against U.M.T., on page 28 of the October 2 issue, and by placing Chancellor Hutchins' statment against U.M.T. on page 18 of the November 2 issue. In contrast with this, Secretary Forrestal's plea for U.M.T. was put on the front page of the October 21 issue, General Eisenhower's statement on page 6 on October 22.

TAFT ASSAILS U.M.T. AS SUPERFICIAL

Senator Robert A. Taft, re-stating his opposition to universal compulsory military training, asserted, "In the end, I think it would encourage war rather than discourage it." Stating that the nation needed organized reserves, but not "ten million half-trained men of military age," he continued: "For defense we need as reserves a much less number of technically trained men. I believe they could be secured on a voluntary paid basis through a National Guard organization more closely coordinated than heretofore with the Department of National Defense."

"We should explore every possibility of providing such an expert technical reserve by the best possible means and not plunge into a huge bureaucratic organization required for universal military training by the Army. The expense of that organization alone might lead to the skimping of vital appropriations for the regular Army and Navy, for research, and for intelligence service. In my opinion it would not as well serve the purposes of our foreign policy as the organization which I outlined." (New York Times, October 2, 1947)

"Universal compulsory military training would train about 1,000,000 boys a year at an expense of two or three billion dollars. The training of most of them would be superficial. Nor would we have need for ten million half-trained men of military age, much of their training out of date, unless we were again forced to invade Europe or Asia with mass armies.

"It would take two years to get the new and up-to-date equipment necessary for such an expedition, which would give time to train effectively, by the most modern methods applicable to the war conditions then existing, men who would actually compose such an expeditionary force."

C.I.O. STRONGLY OPPOSES U.M.T.

Following is the resolution against peacetime military conscription adopted by the Ninth National CIO Convention, Boston, Massachusetts, October 13-17, 1947:

"Ever since the termination of hostilities in World War II and in the face of the insistence of the American people on a return of our young men and women to peace-time occupations and gainful employment, there has been a concerted effort dominated largely by persons of a military background and thought to continue into peace time the military controls and warlike attitudes of the preceding years. This drive carries serious dangers for our own democracy at home and for the maintenance of world peace.

"Our nation has an obligation to assure sufficient forces to discharge our duties and obligations under the armistices and peace treaties, and under the Charter of the United Nations. We have the all-pervading obligation to assure our national security through the maintenance of a world at peace. The drive toward maintenance of an expanded military establishment can serve only to provoke international armament competition, to pervert the thinking of our youth and our people as a whole, and to impede international cooperation and joint action through the United Nations. Moreover, in an era of atomic energy it affords no assurance of actual protection against attack. Our basic assurance along those lines can come only through international acceptance of the principles of the United Nations.

"Our legitimate military needs can be fully met by voluntary enlistment and by elimination of obstacles which have prevented full success of the methods of voluntary recruitment. Such obstacles include the caste system in the services, the low pay scale of enlisted men, and discrimination practiced with respect to enlisted men; now, therefore, be it

"RESOLVED, That this convention express its objection to peace-time military conscription. It reaffirms its recognition of the urgency of establishing full cooperation and understanding among all the nations, to the end that world peace may be assured through full and open cooperation in the United Nations."

OTHER GROUPS OPPOSE U.M.T.

Within the past few months a number of national and state organizations have gone on record against U.M.T. Among them are: New Jersey Baptist Convention, October 29; American Civil Liberties Union, September, 1947; General Assembly, Universalist Church of America, September, 1947; South Dakota Farmers Union, October, 1947; Iowa Farmers Union, September, 1947; the State Granges of North Carolina (October), Illinois (September), Nebraska (October), and the Clean Life League of America in October, 1947.

IOWA POLL SHOWS TREND AGAINST U.M.T.

The most recent poll on U.M.T. was taken by the Iowa Poll and published in the Des Moines Register of October 19, 1947. The Poll results reveal that support for compulsory training has dropped since April and that "Most Iowans who have young men between 17 and 21 years old in their families disapprove of universal military training. The following are the results on two of the questions asked:

"Do you think Congress should pass a law requiring every able-bodied young man between the ages of 17 and 21 to take a year of army or naval training, excepting those who have already served in the armed forces?"

	Yes, should pass law	No, should not pass law	No opinion
February, 1944.	70%	25%	5%
January, 1946	57	39	4
March, 1946	63	31	6
January, 1947	54	41	5
April, 1947	69	26	5
TODAY	55	35	10

"Suppose all nations agreed to stop drafting men for peacetime armies and navies and depended upon volunteers only. Do you think there would then be less chance of future war?"

	Total	Men	Women
Yes.	42%	46%	37%
No	26	27	26
No difference..	24	24	25
No opinion . .	8	3	12

FORUM AUDIENCE AGAINST CONSCRIPTION

A Huntington County, Indiana Forum on U.M.T., sponsored by the Ministerial Association, was held on October 1, 1947. Notices appeared in newspapers throughout the county and the public was urged to attend. On the program were Rep. Forest Harness as chairman of the discussion, Lt. Col. Milt D. Campbell from American Legion National Headquarters, and Dr. Alonzo F. Myers, Co-Chairman of the National Council Against Conscription.

Before and after the meeting a poll was taken showing how the people present felt about the adoption of U.M.T. The results of the poll follow:

"Should the United States adopt Universal Military Training?"

Opinion at conclusion of forum

	Yes	No	Undecided
Totals	62	367	23
Veterans	16	33	5
Farmers	0	54	2
Teachers and Professors	4	58	3
Students	12	47	1
Laborers	4	13	2
Businessmen	8	31	0
Ministers	1	23	2
Women	24	147	11

Shifts of opinion

Yes to Undecided	8
Yes to No	11
No to Undecided	4
No to Yes	4
Undecided to Yes	9
Undecided to No	38

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Issued by the National Council Against Conscription

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Extract from House Report 1881 - - - - 80th Congress, 2d Session

SELECTIVE SERVICE ACT OF 1948

MINORITY VIEWS

TO ACCOMPANY

H. R. 6401

MAY 7, 1948

(Not printed at Government expense)

UNITED STATES
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MINORITY VIEWS

PEACETIME MILITARY CONSCRIPTION

A majority of the committee has approved H. R. 6401, the Selective Service Act of 1948. This bill, authorizing an increase of 600,000 (almost 50 percent) in the strength of the armed services, provides for compulsory military service for 2 years for men between the ages of 19 and 26. At the termination of this 2 years' service, all able-bodied men are transferred to Reserve components of the armed forces until the age of 35. And so we have the essentials of the European system of military preparedness; 2 years of military active duty followed by service in the active Reserve.

The system will permit an armed force of 2,000,000 men which the committee has been repeatedly assured is the absolute minimum consistent with the safety of the United States. At the same time we develop a backlog of trained reserves which are equally indispensable.

For reasons discussed below, we of the minority have rejected the reasoning of the Armed Services Committee majority insofar as either the necessity or the desirability of peacetime compulsory military training is concerned. We do not believe that a sound and adequate defense system requires the police-state methods of compulsion; on the contrary we are convinced, by the record of testimony and other evidence from authoritative sources presented to the committee, that voluntary methods of recruitment can yield perfectly satisfactory results. We feel that our objections to the conscription program in no way compromise our recognition that America must remain strong and well defended. The individual voting records of the minority members on all matters of national defense, such as the 70-group air force program, and the enlistment incentive programs are conclusive evidence of our position. Our basic difference with the majority is on the question of the appropriateness of the means of guaranteeing American security as presented in this bill. We cannot concur that there has been a necessity demonstrated for the imposition of a system of compulsory military training.

The cost of the program

The cost of the program provided by the bill appears as two substantial items. One amount of $2,149,000,000 would be expended for the training equipment and the initial machinery setting the program in operation. In addition, an estimated $3,900,000,000 for reequipping the 25 divisions of the Army will be required in fiscal 1949. These items are in addition to the $11,000,000,000 budget appropriation, the 3.4 billion dollar supplementary appropriation and the $822,000,000 Air Corps appropriation. Thus, the total military budget for 1949 is seen to be more than $21,000,000,000.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF H. R. 6401

It is the belief of the signers of the minority report that the passage of the selective service bill of 1948 would be one of the most tragic errors which could be committed by the Congress. Let us look at the implications of this bill from the perspective of an enlightened American citizen. We believe that this radical departure in American history—the imposition of peacetime military conscription and the expanded military program of which it is a part—will be interpreted by all nations of the world to mean that this country expects war. And so the fateful game of threat and counterthreat, bluff and counterbluff continues. The bill provides another lap in the spiraling armaments race which will bring the world crashing down on our heads.

This is a program for war. It is based on the hopeless assumption that the world is irrevocably divided into two power blocs, and that consequently we must abandon all semblances of peaceful relations with the other half of the planet. Less than 3 years after the completion of the most devastating of all wars, this program gives support to the charge that the United States has rejected the notion of world cooperation in favor of the long outmoded fallacy that military preparedness, advisable as it may be, can guarantee peace. The United States must not turn its back on cooperation and the United Nations as a means of insuring peace.

Though the intentions of the gentlemen making up the majority of the Armed Services Committee are unquestionably sincerely patriotic, the rest of the world will believe that the United States has taken another long step down the road to conflict. Now there will be differences of opinion when the news of the bill's passage reaches the European capitals: The professional aristocratic exiles may rub their hands in anticipation of the eagerly awaited struggle; while other political fringes may look with fear on the possibility of Russian defeat. We are concerned primarily with the great majority of well-meaning men everywhere who are in neither of these extremes. And for this great overwhelming majority we think the feeling evoked by the haunting specter of world war III is one of horror that men who have unlocked the secrets of atomic power would unleash this awful power on their fellow men. Yet we are forced to recognize that our own country is promoting distrust and unrest in the world when we announce our intention to spend over 20 billions of dollars in 1949 for military preparedness.

Are we to believe that the military disposal of $20,000,000,000 of American resources annually is the most efficient way to deal with the European and Asiatic economic crises which have produced the real strength of the Communists? Economic and political change, accelerated by the effects of two devastating world wars, has produced the current discontent in Europe. Military threats will not meet basic European economic needs. Europe will be forced to divert its resources, including our aid, from genuine recovery channels into new war preparation. Though we are intent upon protecting and preserving our Nation against every contingency, we must not add fuel to the present world discontent—we must not allow the world to think that a third world conflict is inevitable.

MILITARIZATION OF OUR COUNTRY

Control over production

Once a system of peacetime conscription has been fastened on the country, the military authorities will exercise ever-growing influence on the productive processes of the economy. This will be brought about through the requirements of the services for the products of industry. The military requirements for the output of basic industries will be the most important single factor in the planning of production in such industries. The experience of the last war has demonstrated that it will be extremely difficult for industry to plan its production owing to changing military requirements. In many entire industries the rapid expansion required will create many problems for the economy. In turn, the almost complete dependence on military expenditure of many industries will increase their efforts to maintain and increase military appropriations. In other industries the dependence will be less direct but over a wide sector of the American business world the planning and carrying out of production will be subject to direct interference by the armed services. The goods of war will always carry an overriding priority and this bill gives the President power to request and require of specific plants the manufacture of materials which it is possible for them to produce.

It was repeatedly testified that the manpower strength of the services as outlined in this bill is a minimum. For this reason and because of our rapidly expanding technology with resulting obsolescence, we can expect that future military requirements may be considerably greater than the level of preparedness authorized in this bill. Consequently, we anticipate a growing interference in production as a result of this peacetime military system.

Control over political institutions

It is our belief that we would be remiss in our duty to the common people of this country if we did not point out the grave effects of the system of conscription on our political institutions. We must emphasize again that this is a permanent system. A companion bill in the Senate on selective service carries the additional provision of universal military training as a permanent peacetime policy. Let no one be deceived into the belief that this proposal for peacetime conscription is intended to be a temporary measure merely because the bill contains an expiration date. On the contrary, the record of the hearings before the Armed Services Committees of both Houses of Congress is replete with forthright statements from authorized spokesmen of the National Military Establishment that this program is designed to remain in effect indefinitely until universal military training is adopted as the permanent law of the land. We must then anticipate the growing importance of the military bureaucracy in political affairs.

We do not shirk our obligation to expose what we consider to be the effect of this new pressure group on the processes of American democracy. Any increase requested in the appropriations for the Military Establishment, any extension of the term of service, any proposal to increase the scope and numbers of the vast military hierarchy, will have the support of a Nation-wide organization. It would be a long step away from democracy to create a Nation-wide bureaucracy, financed from public funds, and under the domination of the Military Establishment, which through its influence in elections could decide the limits of its own activities. There is, we believe, no more sinister indication for the complete submergence of American political and economic democracy than the permanent system of military training provided by this bill.

The effect on the training of youth

A system which for two of their most impressionable years forcibly places our young men under military discipline and training can only have the most profoundly detrimental effects on our educational system. Under the system the youths of 18 or 19 years are indoctrinated in the fine art of killing people. They are taught not to make independent decisions but to obey and to let others do their thinking for them. The great majority of educators are opposed to this regimentation on the ground that it is destructive of the spirit of free inquiry which is the foundation of all education in a democracy. It is not to be expected that a generation of men trained in the art of war will develop the thought habits that are necessary for the preservation of peace. As a result of this early education in the art of war and the methods of logistics, militarism may be expected to infiltrate into every phase of American life.

The youth in the military training camps will be subject to the nondemocratic influences of the armed services. There is no promise to introduce a genuine democratization into the military system. The class distinctions between Reserves and the Regular Army and Navy persist, and despite long-standing dissatisfaction, the caste system still characterizes the relations between officers and enlisted men. Nor has any material change been made in the undemocratic system of court martial. The training system of the armed services has not been a democratizing force and compulsory military training in peacetime cannot be expected to provide American youth with a working example of democratic practices.

The effect on the American way of life

Passage of H. R. 6401 providing for a compulsory draft of our young men will fundamentally, and we believe harmfully, alter our long-cherished ways of living. In the American home are centered the hopes and aspirations of fathers, mothers, and children; there is the sacrifice that has spelled much of our great achievement as a people; there is the love and understanding that binds us together in millions of families having common aspirations, common hopes, common beliefs. Anything which will undermine such a cultural force, such a religious strength, such a source of national patriotism, is not to be legislated lightly into existence.

Yet this compulsory draft bill proposes to invade the family and disrupt its character It will take their sons away from the home in the most formative and impressionable years, removing them from the steadying hand of a father and the abiding faith and love of a mother. It will interrupt, and in many cases permanently prevent, the college educations of thousands of our young people. It will deny to many needy families gainful returns from employment of their younger members.

If there were war, or the threat of imminent war, no member of this minority, and no patriotic father or mother in this great Nation of ours would refuse to make the sacrifice of their sons, as they have done in the past. But even in this period of international tension no evidence has been produced by the military authorities, by the State Department, or by any responsible witness, that would warrant a peacetime draft which will so drastically affect all American families. We would be well advised to seek out, and try out over the next several months, those measures included in our recommendations which will provide the armed services with the complement of recruits which they require, which will insure us an adequate defense force equipped with the most modern weapons and using the most modern techniques. We are certain, and the record of voluntary enlistments in the Air Force and the Navy bears us out, that the needed recruits for this modern, democratic armed force can be secured through voluntary means which will not destroy one of the most precious of our great institutions—the American home.

The stultification of our defense system

A military establishment based on permanent universal military service will become firmly convinced of the perfection of its methods and techniques. It would resist change and rest on past standards of performance.

Universal military training was an essential element of the Maginot Line mentality in France. The French General Staff believed that its conscript army was invincible behind a fixed line of fortifications and their reliance on outmoded methods of training and warfare was a major factor in the French defeat.

It was no accident that the free democracies of the West—Great Britain and the United States—without a long peacetime period of conscription and well-developed military bureaucracy, were able to assemble a more powerful striking force than the Axis Powers. World War II was a war of modern machines, and the "unprepared" western democracies demonstrated a clear superiority in this type of warfare, where military tradition had not proscribed the use of the most modern weapons and methods. We are fully aware of the value of preparedness, but the high rate of obsolescence that flows from the rapid advances in technology added to the above-described tendencies toward conservatism, will work to defeat the purpose for which the system is established. It is far better to maintain a highly alert research and development program, an up-to-the-minute aircraft program, and an efficient intelligence service. The day is long since past when a war can be won with mass armies and obsolete weapons.

Control over our free enterprise system

No play on words by some witnesses for the bill can conceal the fact that the increased expenditure for our Military Establishment will bring about the imposition of controls over wide sectors of our economy. We are living in an economy of full employment of productive resources and manpower. Several basic materials are in short supply and hold back production in important industries, both of producers goods and consumer goods. We have had to authorize by legislation the allocation of steel to several important producer goods industries. Our shipments of this commodity under the European recovery program have scarcely begun.

Yet now we are confronted with the additional demands not only of the European recovery program but of the expanded aircraft program, the equipment program for the Army and the lend-lease defense materials program for the western European countries. The Secretary of Defense emphasized that the expansion of the armed services involved in the House bill was a minimum.

The majority has avoided a consideration of the important effects of this measure on the American economy. The shortages of materials now exist and vast new requirements will be superimposed under the terms of this bill and other programs. We believe that the undertaking in this bill and the huge purchasing programs required thereunder, together with the European recovery program, not to speak of the proposed lend-lease program, render the imposition of additional controls almost inevitable.

The additional billions of expenditure made necessary by the terms of this bill will prove, in our judgment, to be the deciding factor in the return to a controlled economy. If the facts on the material requirements of this program are considered, we believe that strict controls in the uses of such important materials as steel, lumber, oil, coal, aluminum, copper, lead, zinc, and manganese will be required in the near future. There is no way of concealing these prospective shortages when, by the simple process of addition and the use of the techniques acquired during the war, the total requirements for the different programs are prepared.

In our opinion, the adoption of this program will lead to a situation where price and wage controls may become necessary. Our full-employment economy without the European recovery program had already generated such inflationary tendencies as to cause the President to repeat his request for price and credit controls in addition to materials controls. The addition of the conscription program will increase the pressure on the prices of raw materials and the competition for workers in military industries will force wages up with another boost to the inflationary spiral. The existing shortages of labor, joined with the necessity of securing workers for the new industries vital to the installation of the peacetime military system, indicates that controls over manpower may be necessary. Thus, in one measure, Congress is being asked to lay the foundation of a controlled economy.

Other basic effects of the new program

We believe that it is a matter of common knowledge that the new program will bring about an increase in material requirements to be provided by our existing full-employment economy. We used our soil, mineral, and forest resources wastefully during the war. We were faced with a grave peril and could not undertake to use the stock of resources carefully. Instead of taking steps to replenish the war depletions, this bill would institute a program of expenditure with implications for future years that means an added permanent burden on our resources.

The effect on the standard of living of the average American is one of the more serious results to be expected from the diversion of materials to the huge military program. There will be less lumber for housing and fewer automobiles because of the reduced supplies of steel available for civilian uses. Even the rationing of gasoline may well be necessary. Food shortages will be intensified and such commonplace goods as textiles will again be short of civilian requirements. Because of shortages of materials such as copper, lumber, and nails, much-needed construction again will have to be deferred. We will have fewer new school buildings, fewer new hospitals, less of the necessities. We are at a stage where there is no slack in the use of our resources, including both men and materials, and the imposition of a permanent military program can only be effected by switching our resources from the production of necessary civilian goods.

These effects of the program are not fully understood by the people. We believe it important to declare for the record that an undertaking of this magnitude, now admitted by its sponsors to be a minimum, can have the serious effect of undermining the standard of living of all of the people and leading to the necessity of a permanently controlled economy. The evils that the system has been designed to guard against are not so apparent as the hardship which its imposition is going to bring to every American family.

Furthermore, we are greatly concerned because of the departure from the traditional way of American life involved in this bill. We are now a free people. Our country has become great because of its free market economy within a competitive system. We retained that freedom by fighting the recent world conflict. Because of our desire to do business in our traditional way we cast off our wartime controls. Without these controls we have reached an unprecedented period of prosperity. Now it is proposed that we vote new burdens for our industries. We cannot conceal the ugly fact that the stability of our economic life will be seriously imperiled by these new requirements. We believe that the American people should be informed of the fundamental changes that must come about as this program begins to withdraw goods and services from the economy.

A SENSIBLE ALTERNATIVE TO PERMANENT PEACETIME CONSCRIPTION

We have briefly indicated some of the major reasons why we cannot concur with the majority's favorable report on H. R. 6401.

In our judgment, the United States should not begin a permanent peacetime conscription policy. No spokesman of the national defense establishment has suggested to our committee that we are today facing a crisis comparable to the 1940 situation when the draft was instituted for the only time in our peacetime history.

The considerable degree of hysteria prevalent today is in large measure due to the propaganda efforts of the armed services themselves. As pointed out by the Harness committee report, Secretary Royall admitted that the Army was spending large amounts of taxpayers' money to obtain a permanent system of conscription. The proponents of conscription imply that the United States is helpless and unprepared. On the contrary, the inescapable facts are quite different. We have the greatest Navy in the peacetime history of the world; we have a splendid Air Force; we have the leading position in the field of ultramodern weapons of destruction, the atomic bomb. bacteriological warfare and other developments almost too terrible to contemplate. And, finally, our industrial position is incomparably superior to any possible combination of rivals. It is with this knowledge of our present military position that we approach the current bill to impose the unprecedented program of conscription upon our Nation in peacetime.

Encourage the volunteer program

The immediate excuse for the measure boils down to the alleged inability of the Army to secure voluntary enlistments for the Ground Forces. Both Air Corps and Navy spokesmen have admitted that voluntary methods will be sufficient to their needs. The committee records show that the Army has deliberately refrained from making all-out efforts to utilize voluntary recruitment methods. Just as little interest has been shown in supporting the Reserve establishments as long as the Army feels that universal conscription is obtainable, so the Army has been unwilling to pursue energetically the problem of making Army service more desirable to the average potential soldier.

The revision of the court-martial system in accord with the Doolittle report, the improvement of relations between officers and enlisted men, provision of adequate housing for married enlisted personnel, shorter term enlistments, and more realistic general classification test requirements, are all feasible measures which we believe would substantially improve recruiting.

Support the active Reserves and the National Guard

A final keystone in our defense system is the active Reserve force. To date the record of the Army in refusing to build up either the Organized Reserves or the National Guard borders on a national scandal. The testimony before our committee established clearly that the Army has followed a policy of deliberately ignoring the Reserves as a means of exerting pressure to get universal military training.

General Evans, the executive director of the Reserve Officers Association, told the Armed Services Committee that the Army had done "very little" to help the Reserves, had done "nothing" to furnish equipment, and did not contact or "put in units" the members of the Reserve. General Evans said:

> I am not talking about procurement. All I am urging and begging and what I have been doing for 3 years is to have somebody do something with what we have now.

General Evans agreed that—

> there would be no need for a draft, UMT, or anything else if the Army had done its duty and supported the guard and the Reserves, having made a sincere, earnest, and determined effort to build them up. * * *

In the Senate hearings, General Evans said:

> There is an apparent policy which exists in the Pentagon today which says we will do very little with the Reserve program until the National Guard program is 100 percent organized. It cannot be 100 percent organized in the manner in which it is supposed to be, completely, until the passage of universal military training.

General Reckord of the National Guard told our House committee that General Marshall in 1944 directed him, as Chairman of the Joint General Staff Committee, to set up the National Guard and the Reserves "based on the fact that Congress would give us UMT."

General Evans backed this up by saying he had heard the statement made that the Army leaders—

> felt that they need not build up either the Organized Reserves or the National Guard because they were going to get UMT or the draft.

And, in fact, the present measure may mean that our entire National Guard program may be seriously impaired. Maj. Gen. E. A. Walsh, president of the National Guard Association, advised us as follows in a telegram dated May 3, 1948:

> The enactment of H. R. 6401 as now drafted will mean the complete dissolution of the National Guard of the United States by June 1950. The security of the Nation cannot be assured by destroying its reserves. If there is a possibility of war the measures proposed are utterly inadequate. If there is no possibility of war then the measures proposed are excessive.

The Army has acted as if it is the policy-making body of the Nation. In effect, it has said that Congress must accept a conscription program before the Army will organize, train, and equip the Reserves. Congress cannot permit itself to become the rubber stamp of a willful group of officers who want to Prussianize this Nation, and who are prepared to sabotage our defenses in the process.

IN CONCLUSION

We have taken all steps necessary to provide the United States with an adequate defense against any enemy. The most modern weapons, the greatest Air Force and Navy in the world, the possession of the newest and most effective atomic bombs, and a modernized ground and service force backed by the productive resources and manpower of the United States are a formidable defense.

The men needed to complete our Ground Forces can be secured, just as those of the Navy and Air Force are being kept at peak requirements, through voluntary enlistments Backed by a Reserve force, and a National Guard brought to full strength, the Army will be of such size and quality as to meet all our defense requirements. Ample evidence is available, and much of it is summarized in this minority report, to prove that no compulsory peacetime draft is needed to build up the Army to required strength.

Our fellow Americans, we must keep this Nation strong. We are strong, and our defenses are being made wholly adequate to meet any eventuality. But we must also keep this Nation free—for it is in this freedom that our greatest strength lies. This Nation must ever remain a land of free people and free enterprise. It is because of this freedom that we have successfully repelled every attack.

It is significant that every major nation in history which has had peacetime conscription inevitably has been led into war and eventually to defeat and utter ruin.

We do not believe that we are warranted in taking such a fatal course through the passage of H. R. 6401. America is populated by many peoples, most of whom came to the New World to escape the tyranny of the Old—to escape this very Prussianism which it is now proposed to fasten upon these United States for all time. Millions of Americans have fought and died to avoid just such slavery as it is now proposed that we legislate into existence. The compulsory peacetime draft will wreck the institutions upon which America is founded. We are opposed to taking such steps toward our own self-destruction.

DEWEY SHORT.
C. W. BISHOP.
JAMES J. HEFFERNAN.
PHILIP J. PHILBIN.
FRANCK R. HAVENNER.

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1948

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Against
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[PUBLIC LAW 759—80TH CONGRESS]

[CHAPTER 625—2D SESSION]

[S. 2655]

AN ACT

To provide for the common defense by increasing the strength of the armed forces of the United States, including the reserve components thereof, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

TITLE I

SECTION 1. (a) This Act may be cited as the "Selective Service Act of 1948".

(b) The Congress hereby declares that an adequate armed strength must be achieved and maintained to insure the security of this Nation.

(c) The Congress further declares that in a free society the obligations and privileges of serving in the armed forces and the reserve components thereof should be shared generally, in accordance with a system of selection which is fair and just, and which is consistent with the maintenance of an effective national economy.

(d) The Congress further declares, in accordance with our traditional military policy as expressed in the National Defense Act of 1916, as amended, that it is essential that the strength and organization of the National Guard, both Ground and Air, as an integral part of the first line defenses of this Nation, be at all times maintained and assured.

To this end, it is the intent of the Congress that whenever Congress shall determine that units and organizations are needed for the national security in excess of those of the Regular components of the Ground Forces and the Air Forces, and those in active service under this title, the National Guard of the United States, both Ground and Air, or such part thereof as may be necessary, together with such units of the Reserve components as are necessary for a balanced force, shall be ordered to active Federal service and continued therein so long as such necessity exists.

(e) The Congress further declares that adequate provision for national security requires maximum effort in the fields of scientific research and development, and the fullest possible utilization of the Nation's technological, scientific, and other critical manpower resources.

AUTHORIZED PERSONNEL STRENGTHS

SEC. 2. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the authorized active duty personnel strength of the armed forces, exclusive of personnel of the reserve components on active duty for training purposes only, officer candidates, personnel of the armed forces employed in the Selective Service System, and persons paid under the appropriations for the Naval Reserve and the Marine Corps Reserve, is hereby established as follows: (1) Of the Army of the United States, eight hundred thirty-seven thousand plus one hundred ten thousand one-year enlistees; (2) of the Navy, including the Marine Corps, the present authorized statutory strength of six hundred sixty-six thousand, eight hundred and eighty-two, plus thirty-six thousand one-year enlistees; and (3) of the Air Force of the United States, five hundred two thousand plus fifteen thousand one-year enlistees. The strength herein established for each of the armed forces shall mean the daily average number of persons on active duty therein during the fiscal year.

REGISTRATION

SEC. 3. Except as otherwise provided in this title, it shall be the duty of every male citizen of the United States, and every other male person residing in the United States, who, on the day or days fixed for the first or any subsequent registration, is between the ages of eighteen and twenty-six, to present himself for and submit to registration at such time or times and place or places, and in such manner, as shall be determined by proclamation of the President and by rules and regulations prescribed hereunder.

TRAINING AND SERVICE

SEC. 4. (a) Except as otherwise provided in this title, every male citizen of the United States, and every other male person residing in the United States, who is between the ages of nineteen and twenty-six, at the time fixed for his registration, or who attains the age of nineteen after having been required to register pursuant to section 3 of this title, shall be liable for training and service in the armed forces of the United States. Any citizen of a foreign country, who is not deferrable or exempt from training and service under the provisions of this title (other than this subsection), shall be relieved from liability for training and service under this title if, prior to his induction into the armed forces, he has made application to be relieved from such liability in the manner prescribed by and in accordance with rules and regulations prescribed by the President; but any person who makes such application shall thereafter be debarred from becoming a citizen of the United States. The President is authorized from time to time, whether or not a state of war exists, to select and induct into the armed forces of the United States for training and service in the manner provided in this title such number of persons as may be required to provide and maintain the personnel strengths (other than one-year enlistee personnel strengths) of the respective armed forces authorized by section 2 of this title.

No person shall be inducted for training and service under this title unless and until he is acceptable to the armed forces for such training and service and his physical and mental fitness for such training and service has been satisfactorily determined under standards prescribed by the Secretary of Defense.

No persons shall be inducted for such training and service until adequate provision shall have been made for such shelter, sanitary facilities, water supplies, heating and lighting arrangements, medical care, and hospital accommodations, for such persons, as may be determined by the Secretary of Defense to be essential to public and personal health.

The persons inducted into the armed forces for training and service under this title shall be assigned to stations or units of such forces. Persons inducted into the land forces of the United States pursuant to this title shall be deemed to be members of the Army of the United States; persons inducted into the naval forces of the United States pursuant to this title shall be deemed to be members of the United States Navy or the United States Marine Corps, as appropriate; and persons inducted into the air forces of the United States pursuant to this title shall be deemed to be members of the Air Force of the United States.

No person, without his consent, shall be inducted for training and service under this title, except as otherwise provided herein, after he has attained the twenty-sixth anniversary of the day of his birth.

(b) Each person inducted under the provisions of subsection (a) shall serve in the armed forces for a period of twenty-one consecutive months, unless sooner discharged in accordance with standards and procedures prescribed by the Secretary of Defense.

(c) (1) Under the provisions of applicable laws and regulations any person between the ages of nineteen and twenty-six shall be offered an opportunity to enlist in the Regular Army for a period of service equal to that prescribed in subsection (b) of this section.

(2) Any enlisted member of any reserve component of the Armed Forces may, during the effective period of this Act, apply for a period of service equal to that prescribed in subsection (b) of this section and his application shall be accepted: *Provided*, That his services can be effectively utilized and that his physical and mental fitness for such service meet the standards prescribed by the head of department concerned: *And provided further*, That active service performed pursuant to this section shall not prejudice his status as such member of such reserve component.

(3) The passing requirement for the General Classification Test shall be fixed at seventy points.

(d) (1) Each person who hereafter is inducted, enlisted, or appointed (except a person enlisted under subsection (g) of this section) and serves for a period of less than three years in one of the armed forces and meets the qualifications for enlistment or appointment in a reserve component of the armed force in which he serves, shall be transferred to a reserve component of such armed force, and until the expiration of a period of five years after such transfer, or until he is discharged from such reserve component, whichever occurs first, shall be deemed to be a member of such reserve component and shall be subject to such additional training and service as may now or hereafter be prescribed by law for such reserve component: *Provided*, That any such person who completes at least twenty-one months of service in the armed forces and who thereafter serves satisfactorily (1) on active duty in the armed forces under a voluntary extension for a period of at least one year, which extension is hereby authorized, or (2) in an organized unit of any reserve component of any of the armed forces for a period of at least thirty-six consecutive months, shall, except in time of war or national emergency declared by the

Congress, be relieved from any further liability under this subsection to serve in any reserve component of the armed forces of the United States, but nothing in this subsection shall be construed to prevent any such person, while in a reserve component of such forces, from being ordered or called to active duty in such forces.

(2) Each person who hereafter is enlisted under the provisions of subsection (g) of this section and who meets the qualifications for enlistment or appointment in a reserve component of the armed forces shall, upon discharge from such enlistment under honorable conditions, be transferred to a reserve component of the armed forces of the United States and shall serve therein for a period of six years or until sooner discharged. Each such person shall, so long as he is a member of such reserve component, be liable to be ordered to active duty, but except in time of war or national emergency declared by the Congress no such person shall be ordered to active duty, without his consent and except as hereinafter provided, for more than one month in any year. In case the Secretary of the Army, the Secretary of the Navy, or the Secretary of the Air Force determines that enlistment, enrollment, or appointment in, or assignment to, an organized unit of a reserve component or an officers' training program of the armed force in which he served is available to, and can without undue hardship be filled by, any such person, it shall be the duty of such person to enlist, enroll, or accept appointment in, or accept assignment to, such organized unit or officers' training program and to serve satisfactorily therein for a period of four years. Any such person who fails or refuses to perform such duty may be ordered to active duty, without his consent, for an additional period of not more than twelve consecutive months. Any such person who enlists or accepts appointment in any such organized unit and serves satisfactorily therein for a period of four years shall, except in time of war or national emergency declared by the Congress, be relieved from any further liability under this subsection to serve in any reserve component of the armed forces of the United States, but nothing in this subsection shall be construed to prevent any such person, while in a reserve component of such forces, from being ordered or called to active duty in such forces. The Secretary of Defense is authorized to prescribe regulations governing the transfer of such persons within and between reserve components of the armed forces and determining, for the purpose of the requirements of the foregoing provisions of this paragraph, the credit to be allowed any person so transferring for his previous service in one or more reserve components.

(e) With respect to the persons inducted for training and service under this title there shall be paid, allowed, and extended the same pay, allowances, pensions, disability and death compensation, and other benefits as are provided by law in the case of other enlisted men of like grades and length of service of that component of the armed forces to which they are assigned. Section 3 of the Act of July 25, 1947 (Public Law 239, Eightieth Congress), is hereby amended by deleting therefrom the following: "Act of March 7, 1942 (56 Stat. 143–148, ch. 166), as amended". The Act of March 7, 1942 (56 Stat. 143–148), as amended, is hereby made applicable to persons inducted into the armed forces pursuant to this title.

(f) Nothing contained in this or any other Act shall be construed as forbidding the payment of compensation by any person, firm, or corporation to persons inducted into the armed forces of the United States for training and service under this title, or to members of reserve components of such forces now or hereafter on any type of active duty, who, prior to their induction or order to active duty, were receiving compensation from such person, firm, or corporation.

(g) Subject to the authorized one-year enlistee active duty personnel strengths established by section 2 of this title for the respective armed forces, the Secretaries of the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force are authorized and directed to accept enlistments for periods of one year in the Army of the United States, the United States Navy or the United States Marine Corps, and the Air Force of the United States, respectively, from among qualified male persons between the ages of eighteen and nineteen.

(h) No person who is enlisted in the Army of the United States under the provisions of subsection (g) shall be permanently assigned to duty at any place outside of the continental limits of the United States; and no person who is enlisted under the provisions of such subsection in the United States Navy, the United States Marine Corps, or the Air Force of the United States shall be assigned to duty at any naval or air force installation which is located on land outside of the continental limits of the United States.

SELECTION

SEC. 5. (a) The selection of persons for training and service under section 4 shall be made in an impartial manner, under such rules and regulations as the President may prescribe, from the persons who are liable for such training and service and who at the time of selection are registered and classified, but not deferred or exempted: *Provided*, That in the selection of persons for training and service under this title, and in the interpretation and execution of the provisions of this title, there shall be no discrimination against any person on account of race or color: *Provided further*, That in the classification of registrants within the jurisdiction of any local board, the registrants of any particular registration may be classified, in the manner prescribed by and in accordance with rules and regulations prescribed by the President, before, together with, or after the registrants of any prior registration or registrations; and in the selection for induction of persons within the jurisdiction of any local board and within any particular classification, persons who were registered at any particular registration may be selected, in the manner prescribed by and in accordance with rules and regulations prescribed by the President, before, together with, or after persons who were registered at any prior registration or registrations.

(b) Quotas of men to be inducted for training and service under this title shall be determined for each State, Territory, possession, and the District of Columbia, and for subdivisions thereof, on the basis of the actual number of men in the several States, Territories, possessions, and the District of Columbia, and the subdivisions thereof, who are liable for such training and service but who are not deferred after classification, except that credits shall be given in fixing such quotas for residents of such subdivisions who are in the armed forces of the United States on the date fixed for determining such quotas. After such quotas are fixed, credits shall be given in filling such quotas for residents of such subdivisions who subsequently become members of such forces. Until the actual numbers necessary for determining the quotas are known, the quotas may be based on estimates, and subsequent adjustments therein shall be made when such actual numbers are known. All computations under this subsection shall be made in accordance with such rules and regulations as the President may prescribe.

DEFERMENT AND EXEMPTIONS

SEC. 6. (a) Commissioned officers, warrant officers, pay clerks, enlisted men, and aviation cadets of the Regular Army, the Navy, the Air Force, the Marine Corps, the Coast Guard, the Coast and Geodetic Survey, and the Public Health Service; cadets, United States Military Academy; midshipmen, United States Navy; cadets, United States Coast Guard Academy; members of the reserve components of the armed forces, the Coast Guard, and the Public Health Service, while on active duty; and foreign diplomatic representatives, technical attachés of foreign embassies and legations, consuls general, consuls, vice consuls, and other consular agents of foreign countries who are not citizens of the United States, and members of their families, and persons in other categories to be specified by the President, residing in the United States, and who have not declared their intention to become citizens of the United States, shall not be required to be registered under section 3 and shall be relieved from liability for training and service under section 4 (b).

(b) (1) No person who served honorably on active duty between September 16, 1940, and the date of enactment of this title for a period of twelve months or more, or between December 7, 1941, and September 2, 1945, for a period in excess of ninety days, in the Army, the Air Force, the Navy, the Marine Corps, the Coast Guard, the Public Health Service, or the armed forces of any country allied with the United States in World War II prior to September 2, 1945, shall be liable for induction for training and service under this title, except after a declaration of war or national emergency made by the Congress subsequent to the date of enactment of this title.

(2) No person who served honorably on active duty between September 16, 1940, and the date of enactment of this title for a period of ninety days or more but less than twelve months in the Army, the Air Force, the Navy, the Marine Corps, the Coast Guard, the Public Health Service, or the armed forces of any country allied with the United States in World War II prior to September 2, 1945, shall be liable for induction for training and service under this title, except after a declaration of war or national emergency made by the Congress subsequent to the date of enactment of this title, if—

(A) the local board determines that he is regularly enlisted or commissioned in any organized unit of a reserve component of the armed force (or the Coast Guard) in which he served, provided such unit is reasonably accessible to such person without unduly interrupting his normal pursuits and activities (including attendance at a college or university in which he is regularly enrolled), or in a reserve component (other than in an organized unit) of such armed force or the Coast Guard in any case in which enlistment or commission in an organized unit of a reserve component of such armed force or the Coast Guard is not available to him; or

(B) the local board determines that enlistment or commission in a reserve component of such armed force or the Coast Guard is not available to him or that he has voluntarily enlisted or accepted appointment in an organized unit of a reserve component of an armed force other than the armed force in which he served or in the Coast Guard.

Nothing in this paragraph shall be deemed to be applicable to any person to whom paragraph (1) of this subsection is applicable.

(3) No person who after the date of enactment of this title is honorably discharged upon the completion of a period of three years or more of active duty in the Army, the Air Force, the Navy, the Marine Corps, the Coast Guard, or the Public Health Service, shall be liable for induction for training and service under this title, except after a declaration of war or national emergency made by the Congress subsequent to the date of enactment of this title.

(4) No person who is honorably discharged upon the completion of an enlistment pursuant to section 4 (c) or section 4 (g) shall be liable for induction for training and service under this title, except after a declaration of war or national emergency made by the Congress subsequent to the date of enactment of this title.

(5) For the purposes of computation of the periods of active duty referred to in paragraphs (1), (2), or (3) of this subsection, no credit shall be allowed for—

(A) periods of active duty training performed as a member of a reserve component pursuant to an order or call to active duty solely for training purposes;

(B) periods of active duty in which the service consisted solely of training under the Army specialized training program, the Army Air Force college training program, or any similar program under the jurisdiction of the Navy, Marine Corps, or Coast Guard;

(C) periods of active duty as a cadet at the United States Military Academy or United States Coast Guard Academy, or as a midshipman at the United States Naval Academy, or in a preparatory school after nomination as a principal, alternate, or candidate for admission to any of such academies; or

(D) periods of active duty in any of the armed forces while being processed for entry into or separation from any educational program or institution referred to in paragraphs (B) or (C).

(c) (1) Persons who, on the effective date of this title, were members of organized units of the federally recognized National Guard, the federally recognized Air National Guard, the Officers' Reserve Corps, the Regular Army Reserve, the Air Force Reserve, the Enlisted Reserve Corps, the Naval Reserve, the Marine Corps Reserve, the Coast Guard Reserve, or the Public Health Service Reserve, shall, so long as they continue to be such members and satisfactorily participate in scheduled drills and training periods as prescribed by the Secretary of Defense, be exempt from training and service by induction under the provisions of this title, but shall not be exempt from registration unless on active duty.

(2) (A) In any case in which the Governor of any State determines and issues a proclamation to the effect that the authorized strength of

any organized unit of the National Guard of his State cannot be maintained by the enlistment or appointment of persons referred to in subsection 6 (b) (2) or persons who are not liable for training and service under this title, any person who prior to attaining the age of eighteen years and six months enlists or accepts appointment in any such organized unit shall be deferred from training and service under this title so long as he continues to serve satisfactorily as a member of such organized unit.

(B) Except as provided in subsection (b) or clause (A) of this paragraph, no person who shall become a member of a reserve component after the effective date of this title shall thereby be exempt from registration or training and service by induction under the provisions of this title.

(d) (1) Any person who, on the effective date of this title, is enrolled in the advanced course, senior division, Reserve Officers' Training Corps or the Air Reserve Officers' Training Corps, or is a member of the Naval Reserve Officers' Training Corps and has entered upon the junior or senior year, or is a midshipman, United States Naval Reserve, shall be deferred from induction for training and service under this title until the completion or termination of the course of instruction and so long as he continues in a regular or reserve status upon being commissioned, but shall not be exempt from registration.

(2) Within such number as may be prescribed by the Secretary of Defense any person who, (A) on or after the effective date of this title, is selected for enrollment or continuance in the senior division, Reserve Officers' Training Corps, or the Air Reserve Officers' Training Corps, or the Naval Reserve Officers' Training Corps, or who, on or after the effective date of this title, is appointed a midshipman, United States Naval Reserve, and (B) agrees, in writing, to accept a commission if tendered and to serve, subject to call by the Secretary of the Army, the Secretary of the Air Force, or the Secretary of the Navy, respectively, not less than two years on active duty after receipt of a commission, shall be deferred from induction for training and service under this title until after completion or termination of the course of instruction and so long as he continues in a regular or reserve status upon being commissioned, but shall not be exempt from registration.

(e) Fully qualified and accepted aviation cadet applicants of the Army, Navy, or Air Force who have signed an agreement of service shall, in such numbers as may be designated by the Secretary of Defense, be deferred, during the period covered by the agreement but not to exceed four months, from induction for training and service under this title but shall not be exempt from registration.

(f) The Vice President of the United States; the governors of the several States, Territories, and possessions, and all other officials chosen by the voters of the entire State, Territory, or possession; members of the legislative bodies of the United States and of the several States, Territories, and possessions; judges of the courts of record of the United States and of the several States, Territories, possessions, and the District of Columbia shall, while holding such offices, be deferred from training and service under this title in the armed forces of the United States.

(g) Regular or duly ordained ministers of religion, as defined in this title, and students preparing for the ministry under the direction of recognized churches or religious organizations, who are satisfactorily pursuing full-time courses of instruction in recognized theological or divinity schools, or who are satisfactorily pursuing full-time courses of instruction leading to their entrance into recognized theological or divinity schools in which they have been preenrolled, shall be exempt from training and service (but not from registration) under this title.

(h) The President is authorized, under such rules and regulations as he may prescribe, to provide for the deferment from training and service under this title in the armed forces of the United States of any or all categories of persons whose employment in industry, agriculture, or other occupations or employment, or whose continued service in an office (other than an office described in subsection (f)) under the United States or any State, Territory, or possession, or the District of Columbia, or whose activity in study, research, or medical, scientific, or other endeavors is found to be necessary to the maintenance of the national health, safety, or interest: *Provided*, That no person within any such category shall be deferred except upon the basis of his individual status. The President is also authorized, under such rules and regulations as he may prescribe, to provide for the deferment from training and service under this title in the armed forces of the United States (1) of any or all categories of persons in a status with respect to persons dependent upon them for support which renders their deferment advisable, and (2) of any or all categories of those persons found to be physically, mentally, or morally deficient or defective. For the purpose of determining whether or not the deferment of any person is advisable, because of his status with respect to persons dependent upon him for support, any payments of allowances which are payable by the United States to the dependents of persons serving in the armed forces of the United States shall be taken into consideration, but the fact that such payments of allowances are payable shall not be deemed conclusively to remove the grounds for deferment when the dependency is based upon financial considerations and shall not be deemed to remove the ground for deferment when the dependency is based upon other than financial considerations and cannot be eliminated by financial assistance to the dependents. The President is also authorized, under such rules and regulations as he may prescribe, to provide for the deferment from training and service under this title in the armed forces of the United States of any or all categories of persons who have wives or children, or wives and children, with whom they maintain a bona fide family relationship in their homes. No deferment from such training and service shall be made in the case of any individual except upon the basis of the status of such individual. There shall be posted in a conspicuous place at the office of each local board a list setting forth the names and classifications of those persons who have been classified by such local board.

(i) (1) Any person who, while satisfactorily pursuing a full-time course of instruction at a high school or similar institution of learning, is ordered to report for induction under this title prior to his graduation from such school or institution, shall, upon the facts being presented to the local board, have his induction under this title postponed (A) until the time of his graduation therefrom, or (B) until he attains the twentieth anniversary of his birth, or (C) until he ceases satisfactorily to pursue such course of instruction, whichever is the earliest. The induction of any such person shall not be postponed under this paragraph beyond the date so determined.

(2) Any person who, while satisfactorily pursuing a full-time course of instruction at a college, university, or similar institution of learning, is ordered to report for induction under this title, shall, upon the facts being presented to the local board, have his induction under this title postponed (A) until the end of such academic year or (B) until he ceases satisfactorily to pursue such course of instruction, whichever is the earlier. Nothing in this paragraph shall be deemed to preclude the President from providing, by regulations prescribed under subsection (h) of this section, for the deferment from training and service of any category or categories of students for such periods of time as he may deem appropriate.

(j) Nothing contained in this title shall be construed to require any person to be subject to combatant training and service in the armed forces of the United States who, by reason of religious training and belief, is conscientiously opposed to participation in war in any form. Religious training and belief in this connection means an individual's belief in a relation to a Supreme Being involving duties superior to those arising from any human relation, but does not include essentially political, sociological, or philosophical views or a merely personal moral code. Any person claiming exemption from combatant training and service because of such conscientious objections whose claim is sustained by the local board shall, if he is inducted into the armed forces under this title, be assigned to noncombatant service as defined by the President, or shall, if he is found to be conscientiously opposed to participation in such noncombatant service, be deferred. Any person claiming exemption from combatant training and service because of such conscientious objections shall, if such claim is not sustained by the local board, be entitled to an appeal to the appropriate appeal board. Upon the filing of such appeal, the appeal board shall refer any such claim to the Department of Justice for inquiry and hearing. The Department of Justice, after appropriate inquiry, shall hold a hearing with respect to the character and good faith of the objections of the person concerned, and such person shall be notified of the time and place of such hearing. The Department of Justice shall, after such hearing, if the objections are found to be sustained, recommend to the appeal board that (1) if the objector is inducted into the armed forces under this title, he shall be assigned to noncombatant service as defined by the President, or (2) if the objector is found to be conscientiously opposed to participation in such noncombatant service, he shall be deferred. If after such hearing the Department of Justice finds that his objections are not sustained, it shall recommend to the appeal board that such objections be not sustained. The appeal board shall, in making its decision, give consideration to, but shall not be bound to follow, the recommendation of the Department of Justice together with the record on appeal from the local board. Each person whose claim for exemption from combatant training and service because of conscientious objections is sustained shall be listed by the local board on a register of conscientious objectors.

(k) No exception from registration, or exemption or deferment from training and service, under this title, shall continue after the cause therefor ceases to exist.

(l) Notwithstanding any other provisions of law, no person between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one shall be discharged from service in the armed forces of the United States while this title is in effect because such person entered such service without the consent of his parent or guardian.

(m) No person shall be relieved from training and service under this title by reason of conviction of a criminal offense, except where the offense of which he has been convicted may be punished by death, or by imprisonment for a term exceeding one year.

(n) In the case of any registrant whose principal place of employment is located outside the appeal board area in which the local board having jurisdiction over the registrant is located, any occupational deferment made under subsection (h) of this section may, within five days after such deferment is made, be submitted for review and decision to the appeal board having jurisdiction over the area in which is located the principal place of employment of the registrant. Such decision of the appeal board shall be final unless modified or changed by the President, and such decision shall be made public.

(o) Where one or more sons or daughters of a family were killed in action or died in line of duty while serving in the armed forces of the United States, or subsequently died as a result of injuries received or disease incurred during such service, the sole surviving son of such family shall not be inducted for service under the terms of this title.

ACTIVE DUTY FOR CERTAIN MEMBERS OF RESERVE COMPONENTS

SEC. 7. Notwithstanding any other provision of law or of this title, the President is hereby authorized to order into the active service of the armed forces of the United States, without their consent and for a period not to exceed twenty-one consecutive months each, members (other than those exempted or deferred from training and service under the provisions of section 6 (c)) of any or all reserve components of the armed forces of the United States who shall have had less than ninety days' continuous active service in the armed forces of the United States, exclusive of periods of active training duty. No member of the National Guard of any State, Territory, or the District of Columbia shall be ordered into the active service of the armed forces of the United States under this section unless the governor of such State or Territory, or the Commanding General of the District of Columbia National Guard in the case of a member of the District of Columbia National Guard, has consented to the ordering into active service of the armed forces of the United States of members of the National Guard of his State, Territory, or District, as the case may be, in accordance with such program or programs as may have been mutually agreed upon. Nothing in this section shall be construed to repeal or abridge any existing law which authorizes the ordering of members of reserve components of the armed forces into active service.

BOUNTIES; SUBSTITUTES; PURCHASES OF RELEASE

SEC. 8. No bounty shall be paid to induce any person to enlist in or be inducted into the armed forces of the United States: *Provided*, That the clothing or enlistment allowances authorized by law shall not be regarded as bounties within the meaning of this section. No person liable for training and service in such forces shall be permitted or allowed to furnish a substitute for such training and service; no substitute as such shall be received, enlisted, enrolled, or inducted into the armed forces of the United States; and no person liable for training and service in such forces under section 4 shall be permitted to escape such training and service or be discharged therefrom prior to the expiration of his period of such training and service by the payment of money or any other valuable thing whatsoever as consideration for his release from such training and service or liability therefor.

SEPARATION FROM SERVICE; REEMPLOYMENT RIGHTS

SEC. 9. (a) Any person inducted into the armed forces under this title for training and service, who, in the judgment of those in authority over him, satisfactorily completes his period of training and service under section 4 (b) shall be entitled to a certificate to that effect upon the completion of such period of training and service, which shall include a record of any special proficiency or merit attained. In addition, each such person who is inducted into the armed forces under this title for training and service shall be given a physical examination at the beginning of such training and service, and upon the completion of his period of training and service under this title, each such person shall be given another physical examination and, upon his written request, shall be given a statement of physical condition by the Secretary concerned: *Provided*, That such statement shall not contain any reference to mental or other conditions which in the judgment of the Secretary concerned would prove injurious to the physical or mental health of the person to whom it pertains.

(b) In the case of any such person who, in order to perform such training and service, has left or leaves a position (other than a temporary position) in the employ of any employer and who (1) receives such certificate, and (2) makes application for reemployment within ninety days after he is relieved from such training and service or from hospitalization continuing after discharge for a period of not more than one year—

(A) if such position was in the employ of the United States Government, its Territories, or possessions, or political subdivisions thereof, or the District of Columbia, such person shall—

(i) if still qualified to perform the duties of such position, be restored to such position or to a position of like seniority, status, and pay; or

(ii) if not qualified to perform the duties of such position by reason of disability sustained during such service but qualified to perform the duties of any other position in the employ of the employer, be restored to such other position the duties of which he is qualified to perform as will provide him like seniority, status, and pay, or the nearest approximation thereof consistent with the circumstances in his case;

(B) if such position was in the employ of a private employer, such person shall—

(i) if still qualified to perform the duties of such position, be restored by such employer or his successor in interest to such position or to a position of like seniority, status, and pay; or

(ii) if not qualified to perform the duties of such position by reason of disability sustained during such service but qualified to perform the duties of any other position in the employ of such employer or his successor in interest, be restored by such employer or his successor in interest to such other position the duties of which he is qualified to perform as will provide him like seniority, status, and pay, or the nearest approximation thereof consistent with the circumstances in his case,

unless the employer's circumstances have so changed as to make it impossible or unreasonable to do so;

(C) if such position was in the employ of any State or political subdivision thereof, it is hereby declared to be the sense of the Congress that such person should—

(i) if still qualified to perform the duties of such position, be restored to such position or to a position of like seniority, status, and pay; or

(ii) if not qualified to perform the duties of such position by reason of disability sustained during such service but qualified to perform the duties of any other position in the employ of the employer, be restored to such other position the duties of which he is qualified to perform as will provide him like seniority, status, and pay, or the nearest approximation thereof consistent with the circumstances in his case.

(c) (1) Any person who is restored to a position in accordance with the provisions of paragraph (A) or (B) of subsection (b) shall be considered as having been on furlough or leave of absence during his period of training and service in the armed forces, shall be so restored without loss of seniority, shall be entitled to participate in insurance or other benefits offered by the employer pursuant to established rules and practices relating to employees on furlough or leave of absence in effect with the employer at the time such person was inducted into such forces, and shall not be discharged from such position without cause within one year after such restoration.

(2) It is hereby declared to be the sense of the Congress that any person who is restored to a position in accordance with the provisions of paragraph (A) or (B) of subsection (b) should be so restored in such manner as to give him such status in his employment as he would have enjoyed if he had continued in such employment continuously from the time of his entering the armed forces until the time of his restoration to such employment.

(d) In case any private employer fails or refuses to comply with the provisions of subsection (b) or subsection (c) (1), the district court of the United States for the district in which such private employer maintains a place of business shall have power, upon the filing of a motion, petition, or other appropriate pleading by the person entitled to the benefits of such provisions, specifically to require such employer to comply with such provisions and to compensate such person for any loss of wages or benefits suffered by reason of such employer's unlawful action: *Provided*, That any such compensation shall be in addition to and shall not be deemed to diminish any of the benefits of such provisions. The court shall order speedy hearing in any such case and shall advance it on the calendar. Upon application to the United States district attorney or comparable official for the district in which such private employer maintains a place of business, by any person claiming to be entitled to the benefits of such provisions, such United States district attorney or official, if reasonably satisfied that the person so applying is entitled to such benefits, shall appear and act as attorney for such person in the amicable adjustment of the claim or in the filing of any motion, petition, or other appropriate pleading and the prosecution thereof specifically to require such employer to comply with such provisions: *Provided*, That no fees or court costs shall be taxed against any person who may apply for such benefits: *Provided further*, That only the employer shall be deemed a necessary party respondent to any such action.

(e) (1) Any person who is entitled to be restored to a position in accordance with the provisions of paragraph (A) of subsection (b) and who was employed, immediately before entering the armed forces, by any agency in the executive branch of the Government or by any Territory or possession, or political subdivision thereof, or by the District of Columbia, shall be so restored by such agency or the successor to its functions, or by such Territory, possession, political subdivision, or the District of Columbia. In any case in which, upon appeal of any person who was employed immediately before entering the armed forces by any agency in the executive branch of the Government or by the District of Columbia, the United States Civil Service Commission finds that—

(A) such agency is no longer in existence and its functions have not been transferred to any other agency; or

(B) for any reason it is not feasible for such person to be restored to employment by such agency or by the District of Columbia,

the Commission shall determine whether or not there is a position in any other agency in the executive branch of the Government or in the government of the District of Columbia for which such person is qualified and which is either vacant or held by a person having a temporary appointment thereto. In any case in which the Commission determines that there is such a position, such person shall be restored to such position by the agency in which such position exists or by the government of the District of Columbia, as the case may be. The Commission is authorized and directed to issue regulations giving full force and effect to the provisions of this section insofar as they relate to persons entitled to be restored to positions in the executive branch of the Government or in the government of the District of Columbia, including persons entitled to be restored under the last sentence of paragraph (2) of this subsection. The agencies in the executive branch of the Government and the government of the District of Columbia shall comply with such rules and regulations and orders issued by the Commission pursuant to this subsection. The Commission is authorized and directed whenever it finds, upon appeal of the person concerned, that any agency in the executive branch of the Government or the government of the District of Columbia has failed or refuses to comply with the provisions of this section, to issue an order specifically requiring such agency or the government of the District of Columbia to comply with such provisions and to compensate such person for any loss of salary or wages suffered by reason of failure to comply with such provisions, less any amounts received by him through other employment, unemployment compensation, or readjustment allowances: *Provided*, That any such compensation ordered to be paid by the Commission shall be in addition to and shall not be deemed to diminish any of the benefits of such provisions, and shall be paid by the head of the agency concerned or by the government of the District of Columbia out of appropriations currently available for salary and expenses of such agency or government, and such appropriations shall be available for such purpose. As used in this paragraph, the term "agency in the executive branch of the Government" means any department, independent establishment, agency, or corporation in the executive branch of the United States Government.

(2) Any person who is entitled to be restored to a position in accordance with the provisions of paragraph (A) of subsection (b) and who was employed, immediately before entering the armed forces, in the legislative branch of the Government, shall be so restored by the officer who appointed him to the position which he held immediately before entering the armed forces. In any case in which it is not possible for any such person to be restored to a position in the legislative branch of the Government and he is otherwise eligible to acquire a status for transfer to a position in the classified (competitive) civil service in accordance with section 2 (b) of the Act of November 26, 1940 (54 Stat. 1212), the United States Civil Service Commission shall, upon appeal of such person, determine whether or not there is a position in the executive branch of the Government for which he is qualified and which is either vacant or held by a person having a temporary appointment thereto. In any case in which the Commission determines that there is such a position such person shall be restored to such position by the agency in which such position exists.

(3) Any person who is entitled to be restored to a position in accordance with the provisions of paragraph (A) of subsection (b) and who was employed, immediately before entering the armed forces, in the judicial branch of the Government, shall be so restored by the officer who appointed him to the position which he held immediately before entering the armed forces.

(f) In any case in which two or more persons who are entitled to be restored to a position under the provisions of this section or of any other law relating to similar reemployment benefits left the same position in order to enter the armed forces, the person who left such position first shall have the prior right to be restored thereto, without prejudice to the reemployment rights of the other person or persons to be restored.

(g) (1) Any person who, subsequent to the date of enactment of this title and while it is in effect, enlists in the armed forces of the United States (other than in a reserve component) or the Coast Guard (other than in a reserve component) for not more than three years shall, if such enlistment is his first enlistment in the armed forces or the Coast Guard subsequent to the date of enactment of this title, be entitled, upon the expiration of his enlistment (including any extension thereof by law but not including any voluntary extension thereof) or upon his discharge under honorable conditions prior to the expiration thereof, to all the reemployment rights and other benefits provided for by this section in the case of inductees.

(2) Any person who, subsequent to the effective date of this title and while it is in effect, enters upon active duty in the armed forces of the United States, the Coast Guard, or the Public Health Service in response to an order or call to active duty shall, upon his relief from active duty under honorable conditions, be entitled to all of the reemployment rights and benefits provided by this section in the case of inductees, if he is relieved from active duty not later than three years after the date of entering upon active duty or as soon after the expiration of such three years as he is able to obtain orders relieving him from active duty.

(h) The Secretary of Labor, through the Bureau of Veterans' Reemployment Rights, shall render aid in the replacement in their former positions of persons who have satisfactorily completed any period of active duty in the armed forces of the United States, the Coast Guard, or the Public Health Service. In rendering such aid, the Secretary shall use the then existing Federal and State agencies engaged in similar or related activities and shall utilize the assistance of volunteers.

(i) Any person inducted into the armed forces for training and service under this title shall, during the period of such service, be permitted to vote in person or by absentee ballot in any general, special, or primary election occurring in the State of which he is a resident, whether he is within or outside such State at the time of such election, if under the laws of such State he is otherwise entitled so to vote in such election; but nothing in this subsection shall be construed to require granting to any such person a leave of absence or furlough for longer than one day in order to permit him to vote in person in any such election. No person inducted into, or enlisted in, the armed forces for training and service under this title shall, during the period of such service, as a condition of voting in any election for President, Vice President, electors for President or Vice President, or for Senator or Member of the House of Representatives, be required to pay any poll tax or other tax or make any other payment to any State or political subdivision thereof.

(j) The Secretaries of Army, Navy, or Air Force shall furnish to the Selective Service System hereafter established a report of separation for each person separated from active duty.

THE SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM; CONSTRUCTION; CIVILIAN EMPLOYEES

SEC. 10. (a) (1) There is hereby established in the executive branch of the Government an agency to be known as the Selective Service System, and a Director of Selective Service who shall be the head thereof.

(2) The Selective Service System shall include a national headquarters, at least one State headquarters in each State, Territory, and possession of the United States, and in the District of Columbia, and the local boards, appeal boards, and other agencies provided for in subsection (b) (3) of this section.

(3) The Director shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. The Director shall receive compensation at the rate of $12,500 per year.

(4) The functions of the Office of Selective Service Records (established by the Act of March 31, 1947) and of the Director of the Office of Selective Service Records are hereby transferred to the Selective Service System and the Director of Selective Service, respectively. The personnel, property, records, and unexpended balances (available or to be made available) of appropriations, allocations, and other funds of the Office of Selective Service Records are hereby transferred to the Selective Service System. The Office of Selective Service Records shall cease to exist upon the taking of effect of the provisions of this title: *Provided*, That, effective upon the termination of this title and notwithstanding such termination in other respects, (A) the said Office of Selective Service Records is hereby reestablished on the same basis and with the same functions as obtained prior to the effective date of this title, (B) said reestablished Office shall be responsible for liquidating any other outstanding affairs of the Selective Service System, and (C) the personnel, property, records, and unexpended balances (available or to be made available) of appropriations, allocations, and other funds of the Selective Service System shall be transferred to such reestablished Office of Selective Service Records.

(b) The President is authorized—

(1) to prescribe the necessary rules and regulations to carry out the provisions of this title;

(2) to appoint, upon recommendation of the respective governor or comparable executive official, a State director of the Selective Service System for each headquarters in each State, Territory, and possession of the United States and for the District of Columbia, who shall represent the governor and be in immediate charge of the State headquarters of the Selective Service System; to employ such number of civilians, and to order to active duty with their consent and to assign to the Selective Service System such officers of the selective-service section of the State headquarters and headquarters detachments and such other officers of the federally recognized National Guard of the United States or other armed forces personnel (including personnel of the reserve components thereof), as may be necessary for the administration of the national and of the several State headquarters of the Selective Service System;

(3) to create and establish within the Selective Service System civilian local boards, civilian appeal boards, and such other civilian agencies, including agencies of appeal, as may be necessary to carry out its functions with respect to the registration, examination, classification, selection, assignment, delivery for induction, and maintenance of records of persons registered under this title, together with such other duties as may be assigned under this title. He shall create and establish one or more local boards in each county or political subdivision corresponding thereto of each State, Territory, and possession of the United States, and in the District of Columbia. Each local board shall consist of three or more members to be appointed by the President from

recommendations made by the respective governors or comparable executive officials: *Provided*, That an intercounty local board consisting of at least one member from each component county or corresponding subdivision may be established for an area not exceeding five counties or political subdivisions corresponding thereto within a State or comparable jurisdiction when the President determines, after considering the public interest involved and the recommendation of the governor or comparable executive official or officials, that the establishment of such local board area will result in a more efficient and economical operation. Any such intercounty local board shall have within its area the same power and jurisdiction as a local board has in its area. No member of any local board shall be a member of the armed forces of the United States, but each member of any local board shall be a civilian who is a citizen of the United States residing in the county or political subdivision corresponding thereto in which such local board has jurisdiction, and each intercounty local board shall have at least one member from each county or political subdivision corresponding thereto included within the intercounty local board area. Such local boards, under rules and regulations prescribed by the President, shall have the power within their respective jurisdictions to hear and determine, subject to the right of appeal to the appeal boards herein authorized, all questions or claims with respect to inclusion for, or exemption or deferment from, training and service under this title, of all individuals within the jurisdiction of such local boards. The decisions of such local board shall be final, except where an appeal is authorized and is taken in accordance with such rules and regulations as the President may prescribe. There shall be at least one appeal board for each State. Appeal boards within the Selective Service System shall be composed of civilians who are citizens of the United States and who are not members of the armed forces. The decision of such appeal boards shall be final in cases before them on appeal unless modified or changed by the President. The President, upon appeal or upon his own motion, shall have power to determine all claims or questions with respect to inclusion for, or exemption or deferment from training and service under this title, and the determination of the President shall be final. No person who is a civilian officer, member, agent, or employee of the Office of Selective Service Records, or the Selective Service System, or of any local board or appeal board or other agency of such Office or System, shall be excepted from registration or deferred or exempted from training and service, as provided for in this title, by reason of his status as such civilian officer, member, agent, or employee;

(4) to appoint, and to fix, in accordance with the Classification Act of 1923, as amended, the compensation of, such officers, agents, and employees as he may deem necessary to carry out the provisions of this title: *Provided*, That the compensation of employees of local boards and appeal boards may be fixed without regard to the Classification Act of 1923, as amended: *Provided further*, That any officer on the active or retired list of the armed forces, or any reserve component thereof with his consent, or any officer or

employee of any department or agency of the United States who may be assigned or detailed to any office or position to carry out the provisions of this title (except to offices or positions on local boards or appeal boards established or created pursuant to section 10 (b) (3)) may serve in and perform the functions of such office or position without loss of or prejudice to his status as such officer in the armed forces or reserve component thereof, or as such officer or employee in any department or agency of the United States;

(5) to utilize the services of any or all departments and any and all officers or agents of the United States, and to accept the services of all officers and agents of the several States, Territories, and possessions, and subdivisions thereof, and the District of Columbia, and of private welfare organizations, in the execution of this title;

(6) to purchase such printing, binding, and blank-book work from public, commercial, or private printing establishments or binderies upon orders placed by the Public Printer or upon waivers issued in accordance with section 12 of the Printing Act approved January 12, 1895, as amended, and to obtain by purchase, loan, or gift such equipment and supplies for the Selective Service System, as he may deem necessary to carry out the provisions of this title, with or without advertising or formal contract;

(7) to prescribe eligibility, rules, and regulations governing the parole for service in the armed forces, or for any other special service established pursuant to this title, of any person convicted of a violation of any of the provisions of this title;

(8) subject to the availability of funds appropriated for such purpose, to procure such space as he may deem necessary to carry out the provisions of this title and Public Law 26, Eightieth Congress, approved March 31, 1947, by lease pursuant to existing statutes, except that the provisions of the Act of June 30, 1932 (47 Stat. 412), as amended by section 15 of the Act of March 3, 1933 (47 Stat. 1517; 40 U. S. C. 278a), shall not apply to any lease entered into under the authority of this title;

(9) subject to the availability of funds appropriated for such purposes, to determine the location of such additional temporary installations as he may deem essential; to utilize and enlarge such existing installations; to construct, install, and equip, and to complete the construction, installation, and equipment of such buildings, structures, utilities, and appurtenances (including the necessary grading and removal, repair or remodeling of existing structures and installations), as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this title; and, in order to accomplish the purpose of this title, to acquire lands, and rights pertaining thereto, or other interests therein, for temporary use thereof, by donation or lease, and to prosecute construction thereon prior to the approval of the title by the Attorney General as required by section 355, Revised Statutes, as amended;

(10) subject to the availability of funds appropriated for such purposes, to utilize, in order to provide and furnish such services as may be deemed necessary or expedient to accomplish the purposes of this title, such personnel of the armed forces and of Reserve components thereof with their consent, and such civilian

personnel, as may be necessary. For the purposes of this title, the provisions of section 14 of the Federal Employees' Pay Act of 1946 (Public Law 390, Seventy-ninth Congress) with respect to the maximum limitations as to the number of civilian employees shall not be applicable to the Department of the Army, the Department of the Navy, or the Department of the Air Force.

(c) The President is authorized to delegate any authority vested in him under this title, and to provide for the subdelegation of any such authority.

(d) In the administration of this title, gifts of supplies, equipment, and voluntary services may be accepted.

(e) The Chief of Finance, United States Army, is authorized to act as the fiscal, disbursing, and accounting agent of the Director in carrying out the provisions of this title.

(f) The Director is authorized to make final settlement of individual claims, for amounts not exceeding $50, for travel and other expenses of uncompensated personnel of the Office of Selective Service Records, or the Selective Service System, incurred while in the performance of official duties, without regard to other provisions of law governing the travel of civilian employees of the Federal Government.

EMERGENCY MEDICAL CARE

Sec. 11. Under such rules and regulations as may be prescribed by the President, funds available to carry out the provisions of this title shall also be available for the payment of actual and reasonable expenses of emergency medical care, including hospitalization, of registrants who suffer illness or injury, and the transportation, and burial, of the remains of registrants who suffer death, while acting under orders issued under the provisions of this title, but such burial expenses shall not exceed $150 in any one case.

PENALTIES

Sec. 12. (a) Any member of the Selective Service System or any other person charged as herein provided with the duty of carrying out any of the provisions of this title, or the rules or regulations made or directions given thereunder, who shall knowingly fail or neglect to perform such duty, and any person charged with such duty, or having and exercising any authority under said title, rules, regulations, or directions who shall knowingly make, or be a party to the making, of any false, improper, or incorrect registration, classification, physical or mental examination, deferment, induction, enrollment, or muster, and any person who shall knowingly make, or be a party to the making of, any false statement or certificate regarding or bearing upon a classification or in support of any request for a particular classification, for service under the provisions of this title, or rules, regulations, or directions made pursuant thereto, or who otherwise evades or refuses registration or service in the armed forces or any of the requirements of this title, or who knowingly counsels, aids, or abets another to refuse or evade registration or service in the armed forces or any of the requirements of this title, or of said rules, regulations, or directions, or who in any manner shall knowingly fail or neglect or refuse to perform any duty required of him under or in the execution of this title, or rules, regulations, or directions made pursuant to this title, or any person or persons who shall knowingly hinder or interfere or attempt to do so in any way, by force or violence or otherwise, with the administration of this title or the rules or regulations made pursuant thereto, or who conspires to commit any one or more of such offenses, shall, upon conviction in any district court of the United States of competent jurisdiction, be punished by imprisonment for not more than five years or a fine of not more than $10,000, or by both such fine and imprisonment, or if subject to military or naval law may be tried by court martial, and, on conviction, shall suffer such punishment as a court martial may direct. No person shall be tried by court martial in any case arising under this title unless such person has been actually inducted for the training and service prescribed under this title or unless he is subject to trial by court martial under laws in force prior to the enactment of this title. Precedence shall be given by courts to the trial of cases arising under this title, and such cases shall, upon request of the Attorney General, be advanced on the docket for immediate hearing.

(b) Any person (1) who knowingly transfers or delivers to another, for the purpose of aiding or abetting the making of any false identification or representation, any registration certificate, alien's certificate of nonresidence, or any other certificate issued pursuant to or prescribed by the provisions of this title, or rules or regulations promulgated hereunder; or (2) who, with intent that it be used for any purpose of false identification or representation, has in his possession any such certificate not duly issued to him; or (3) who forges, alters, or in any manner changes any such certificate or any notation duly and validly inscribed thereon; or (4) who, with intent that it be used for any purpose of false identification or representation, photographs, prints, or in any manner makes or executes any engraving, photograph, print, or impression in the likeness of any such certificate, or any colorable imitation thereof; or (5) who has in his possession any certificate purporting to be a certificate issued pursuant to this title, or rules and regulations promulgated hereunder, which he knows to be falsely made, reproduced, forged, counterfeited, or altered; or (6) who knowingly violates or evades any of the provisions of this title or rules and regulations promulgated pursuant thereto relating to the issuance, transfer, or possession of such certificate, shall, upon conviction, be fined not to exceed $10,000 or be imprisoned for not more than five years, or both. Whenever on trial for a violation of this subsection the defendant is shown to have or to have had possession of any certificate not duly issued to him, such possession shall be deemed sufficient evidence to establish an intent to use such certificate for purposes of false identification or representation, unless the defendant explains such possession to the satisfaction of the jury.

NONAPPLICABILITY OF CERTAIN LAWS

SEC. 13. (a) Nothing in section 109 or 113 of the Criminal Code (U. S. C., title 18, secs. 198 and 203), in section 190 of the Revised Statutes (U. S. C., title 5, sec. 99), in section 19 (e) of the Contract Settlement Act of 1944 (U. S. C., title 41, sec. 119 (e)), or in the second sentence of subsection (a) of section 9 of the Act of August 2, 1939 (53 Stat. 1148), entitled "An Act to prevent pernicious political activities", as amended, shall be deemed to apply to any person because of his appointment under authority of this title or the regulations made pursuant thereto, as an uncompensated official of the Selective Service System, or as an individual to conduct hearings on appeals of persons claiming exemption from combatant or noncombatant training because of conscientious objections.

(b) All functions performed under this title shall be excluded from the operation of the Administrative Procedure Act (60 Stat. 237) except as to the requirements of section 3 of such Act.

(c) In computing the lump-sum payments made to Air Force reserve officers under the provisions of section 2 of the Act of June 16, 1936, as amended (U. S. C., title 10, sec. 300a), and to reserve officers of the Navy or to their beneficiaries under section 12 of the Act of August 4, 1942, as amended (U. S. C., title 34, sec. 850k), no credit shall be allowed for any period of active service performed from the effective date of this title to the date on which this title shall cease to be effective. Each such lump-sum payment shall be prorated for a fractional part of a year of active service in the case of any reserve officer subject to the provisions of either such section, if such reserve officer performs continuous active service for one or more years (inclusive of such service performed during the period in which this title is effective) and such active service includes a fractional part of a year immediately prior to the effective date of this title, or immediately following the date on which this title shall cease to be effective, or both.

CIVIL RELIEF

SEC. 14. Notwithstanding the provisions of section 604 of the Act of October 17, 1940 (54 Stat. 1191), and the provisions of section 4 of the Act of July 25, 1947 (Public Law 239, Eightieth Congress), all of the provisions of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Civil Relief Act of 1940, as amended, including specifically article IV thereof, shall be applicable to all persons in the armed forces of the United States, including all persons inducted into the armed forces pursuant to this title, the Coast Guard, or the Public Health Service, until such time as the Soldiers' and Sailors' Civil Relief Act of 1940, as amended, is repealed or otherwise terminated by subsequent Act of the Congress: *Provided*, That, with respect to persons inducted into the armed forces while this title is in effect, wherever under any section or provision of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Civil Relief Act of 1940, as amended, a proceeding, remedy, privilege, stay, limitation, accounting, or other transaction has been authorized or provided with respect to military service performed while such Act is in force, such section or provision shall be deemed to continue in full force and effect so long as may be necessary to the exercise or enjoyment of such proceeding, remedy, privilege, stay, limitation, accounting, or other transaction.

NOTICE OF TITLE; VOLUNTARY ENLISTMENTS

SEC. 15. (a) Every person shall be deemed to have notice of the requirements of this title upon publication by the President of a proclamation or other public notice fixing a time for any registration under section 3.

(b) It shall be the duty of every registrant to keep his local board informed as to his current address and changes in status as required by such rules and regulations as may be prescribed by the President.

(c) If any provision of this title, or the application thereof to any person or circumstance, is held invalid, the remainder of the title, and the application of such provision to other persons or circumstances, shall not be affected thereby.

(d) Except as provided in section 4 (c) or section 4 (g), nothing contained in this title shall be construed to repeal, amend, or suspend the laws now in force authorizing voluntary enlistment or reenlistment in the armed forces of the United States, including the reserve components thereof, except that no person shall be accepted for enlistment after he has received orders to report for induction and except that, whenever the Congress or the President has declared that the national interest is imperiled, voluntary enlistment or reenlistment in such forces, and their reserve components, may be suspended by the President to such extent as he may deem necessary in the interest of national defense.

DEFINITIONS

SEC. 16. When used in this title—

(a) The term "between the ages of eighteen and twenty-six" shall refer to men who have attained the eighteenth anniversary of the day of their birth and who have not attained the twenty-sixth anniversary of the day of their birth; and other terms designating different age groups shall be construed in a similar manner.

(b) The term "United States", when used in a geographical sense, shall be deemed to mean the several States, the District of Columbia, Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands.

(c) The term "armed forces" shall be deemed to include the Army, the Navy, the Marine Corps, and the Air Force.

(d) The term "district court of the United States" shall be deemed to include the courts of the United States for the Territories and possessions of the United States.

(e) The term "local board" shall be deemed to include an intercounty local board in the case of any registrant who is subject to the jurisdiction of an intercounty local board.

(f) The term "Director" shall be deemed to mean the Director of the Selective Service System.

(g) (1) The term "duly ordained minister of religion" means a person who has been ordained, in accordance with the ceremonial, ritual, or discipline of a church, religious sect, or organization established on the basis of a community of faith and belief, doctrines and practices of a religious character, to preach and to teach the doctrines of such church, sect, or organization and to administer the rites and ceremonies thereof in public worship, and who as his regular and customary vocation preaches and teaches the principles of religion and administers the ordinances of public worship as embodied in the creed or principles of such church, sect, or organization.

(2) The term "regular minister of religion" means one who as his customary vocation preaches and teaches the principles of religion of a church, a religious sect, or organization of which he is a member, without having been formally ordained as a minister of religion, and who is recognized by such church, sect, or organization as a regular minister.

(3) The term "regular or duly ordained minister of religion" does not include a person who irregularly or incidentally preaches and

teaches the principles of religion of a church, religious sect, or organization and does not include any person who may have been duly ordained a minister in accordance with the ceremonial, rite, or discipline of a church, religious sect or organization, but who does not regularly, as a vocation, teach and preach the principles of religion and administer the ordinances of public worship as embodied in the creed or principles of his church, sect, or organization.

(h) The term "organized unit", when used with respect to a reserve component, shall be deemed to mean a unit in which the members thereof are required satisfactorily to participate in scheduled drills and training periods as prescribed by the Secretary of Defense.

(i) The term "reserve components of the armed forces" shall, unless the context otherwise requires, be deemed to include the federally recognized National Guard of the United States, the federally recognized Air National Guard of the United States, the Officers' Reserve Corps, the Regular Army Reserve, the Air Force Reserve, the Enlisted Reserve Corps, the Naval Reserve, and the Marine Corps Reserve, and shall include, in addition to the foregoing, the Coast Guard Reserve and the Public Health Service Reserve when serving with the armed forces.

TERMINATION OF TITLE

SEC. 17. (a) Except as provided in this title, all laws and parts of laws in conflict with the provisions of this title are hereby suspended to the extent of such conflict for the period in which this title shall be in force.

(b) All of the provisions of this title, except the provisions of section 2, the second sentence of section 4 (a), section 4 (b), sections 4 (d), 4 (e), 4 (f), 9, 10 (a) (4), 10 (b) (10), 13 (c), 14, and 17 (b), shall become inoperative and cease to apply on the second anniversary of the date of enactment of this title or on such earlier date as may be specified in a joint resolution of the two Houses of Congress for that purpose, except as to offenses committed prior to such date.

(c) There are hereby authorized to be appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this title.

UTILIZATION OF INDUSTRY

SEC. 18. (a) Whenever the President after consultation with and receiving advice from the National Security Resources Board determines that it is in the interest of the national security for the Government to obtain prompt delivery of any articles or materials the procurement of which has been authorized by the Congress exclusively for the use of the armed forces of the United States, or for the use of the Atomic Energy Commission, he is authorized, through the head of any Government agency, to place with any person operating a plant, mine, or other facility capable of producing such articles or materials an order for such quantity of such articles or materials as the President deems appropriate. Any person with whom an order is placed pursuant to the provisions of this section shall be advised that such order is placed pursuant to the provisions of this section. Under any such program of national procurement, the President shall recognize the valid claim of American small business to participate in such contracts, in such manufactures, and in such distribution of materials, and small business shall be granted a fair share of the orders placed, exclusively for the use of the armed forces or for other Federal agencies now or hereafter designated in this section. For the purposes of this section, a business enterprise shall be determined to be "small business" if (1) its position in the trade or industry of which it is a part is not dominant, (2) the number of its employees does not exceed 500, and (3) it is independently owned and operated.

(b) It shall be the duty of any person with whom an order is placed pursuant to the provisions of subsection (a), (1) to give such order such precedence with respect to all other orders (Government or private) theretofore or thereafter placed with such person as the President may prescribe, and (2) to fill such order within the period of time prescribed by the President or as soon thereafter as possible.

(c) In case any person with whom an order is placed pursuant to the provisions of subsection (a) refuses or fails—

(1) to give such order such precedence with respect to all other orders (Government or private) theretofore or thereafter placed with such person as the President may have prescribed;

(2) to fill such order within the period of time prescribed by the President or as soon thereafter as possible as determined by the President;

(3) to produce the kind or quality of articles or materials ordered; or

(4) to furnish the quantity, kind, and quality of articles or materials ordered at such price as shall be negotiated between such person and the Government agency concerned; or in the event of failure to negotiate a price, to furnish the quantity, kind, and quality of articles or materials ordered at such price as he may subsequently be determined to be entitled to receive under subsection (d);

the President is authorized to take immediate possession of any plant, mine, or other facility of such person and to operate it, through any Government agency, for the production of such articles or materials as may be required by the Government.

(d) Fair and just compensation shall be paid by the United States (1) for any articles or materials furnished pursuant to an order placed under subsection (a), or (2) as rental for any plant, mine, or other facility of which possession is taken under subsection (c).

(e) Nothing contained in this section shall be deemed to render inapplicable to any plant, mine, or facility of which possession is taken pursuant to subsection (c) any State or Federal laws concerning the health, safety, security, or employment standards of employees.

(f) Any person, or any officer of any person as defined in this section, who willfully fails or refuses to carry out any duty imposed upon him by subsection (b) of this section shall be guilty of a felony and, upon conviction thereof, shall be punished by imprisonment for not more than three years, or by a fine of not more than $50,000, or by both such imprisonment and fine.

(g) (1) As used in this section—

(A) The term "person" means any individual, firm, company, association, corporation, or other form of business organization.

(B) The term "Government agency" means any department, agency, independent establishment, or corporation in the Executive branch of the United States Government.

(2) For the purposes of this section, a plant, mine, or other facility shall be deemed capable of producing any articles or materials if it is then producing or furnishing such articles or materials or if the President after consultation with and receiving advice from the National Security Resources Board determines that it can be readily converted to the production or furnishing of such articles or materials.

(h) (1) The President is empowered, through the Secretary of Defense, to require all producers of steel in the United States to make available, to individuals, firms, associations, companies, corporations, or organized manufacturing industries having orders for steel products or steel materials required by the armed forces, such percentages of the steel production of such producers, in equal proportion deemed necessary for the expeditious execution of orders for such products or materials. Compliance with such requirement shall be obligatory on all such producers of steel and such requirement shall take precedence over all orders and contracts theretofore placed with such producers. If any such producer of steel or the responsible head or heads thereof refuses to comply with such requirement, the President, through the Secretary of Defense, is authorized to take immediate possession of the plant or plants of such producer and, through the appropriate branch, bureau, or department of the armed forces, to insure compliance with such requirement. Any such producer of steel or the responsible head or heads thereof refusing to comply with such requirement shall be deemed guilty of a felony and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by imprisonment for not more than three years and a fine not exceeding $50,000.

(2) The President shall report to the Congress on the final day of each six-month period following the date of enactment of this Act the percentage figure, or if such information is not available, the approximate percentage figure, of the total steel production in the United States required to be made available during such period for the execution of orders for steel products and steel materials required by the armed forces, if such percentage figure is in excess of 10 per centum.

SAVING PROVISION

SEC. 19. Nothing in this title shall be deemed to amend any provision of the National Security Act of 1947 (61 Stat. 495).

EFFECTIVE DATE

SEC. 20. This title shall become effective immediately; except that unless the President, or the Congress by concurrent resolution, declares a national emergency after the date of enactment of this Act, no person shall be inducted or ordered into active service without his consent under this title within ninety days after the date of its enactment. The Secretary of the Army, for the Army and the Air Force, and the Secretary of the Navy, for the Navy and Marine Corps, are hereby authorized and directed to initiate and carry forward an intensified voluntary enlistment campaign in an effort to obtain the required personnel strengths.

TITLE II

SEC. 201. The Articles of War (41 Stat. 787 to 811, as amended) are hereby amended as follows:

Article 1 is amended to read as follows:

"(a) The word 'officer' shall be construed to refer to a commissioned officer.

"(b) The word 'soldier' shall be construed as including a noncommissioned officer, a private, or any other enlisted man or woman.

"(c) The word 'company' shall be construed as including a troop, battery, or corresponding unit of the ground or air forces.

"(d) The word 'battalion' shall be construed as including a squadron or corresponding unit of the ground or air forces.

"(e) The word 'cadet' shall be construed to refer to a cadet of the United States Military Academy."

SEC. 202. Article 2, subparagraph (a), is amended to read as follows:

"(a) All officers, warrant officers, and soldiers belonging to the Regular Army of the United States; all volunteers, from the dates of their muster or acceptance into the military service of the United States; and all other persons lawfully called, drafted, or ordered into, or to duty or for training in, the said service, from the dates they are required by the terms of the call, draft, or order to obey the same;"

SEC. 203. Article 4 is amended to read as follows:

"ART. 4. WHO MAY SERVE ON COURTS-MARTIAL.—All officers in the military service of the United States, and officers of the Marine Corps when detached for service with the Army by order of the President, shall be competent to serve on courts-martial for the trial of any persons who may lawfully be brought before such courts for trial.

"All warrant officers in the active military service of the United States and warrant officers in the active military service of the Marine Corps when detached for service with the Army by order of the President, shall be competent to serve on general and special courts martial for the trial of warrant officers and enlisted persons, and persons in this category, shall be detailed for such service when deemed proper by the appointing authority.

"Enlisted persons in the active military service of the United States or in the active military service of the Marine Corps when detached for service with the Army by order of the President, shall be competent to serve on general and special courts martial for the trial of enlisted persons when requested in writing by the accused at any time prior to the convening of the court. When so requested, no enlisted person shall, without his consent, be tried by a court the membership of which does not include enlisted persons to the number of at least one third of the total membership of the court.

"When appointing courts-martial the appointing authority shall detail as members thereof those officers of the command and when eligible those enlisted persons of the command who, in his opinion, are best qualified for the duty by reason of age, training, experience, and judicial temperament; and officers and enlisted persons having less than two years' service shall not, if it can be avoided without manifest injury to the service, be appointed as members of courts-martial in excess of minority membership thereof. No person shall be eligible to sit as a member of a general or special court-martial when he is the accuser or a witness for the prosecution."

SEC. 204. Article 5 is amended to read as follows:

"ART. 5. GENERAL COURTS-MARTIAL.—General courts-martial may consist of any number of members not less than five."

SEC. 205. Article 6 is amended to read as follows:

"ART. 6. SPECIAL COURTS-MARTIAL.—Special courts-martial may consist of any number of members not less than three."

SEC. 206. Article 8 is amended to read as follows:

"ART. 8. GENERAL COURTS-MARTIAL.—The President of the United States, the commanding officer of a Territorial department, the Superintendent of the Military Academy, the commanding officer of an Army group, an Army, an Army corps, a division, a separate brigade, or corresponding unit of the Ground or Air Forces, or any command to which a member of the Judge Advocate General's Department is assigned as staff judge advocate, as prescribed in article 47, and, when empowered by the President, the commanding officer of any district or of any force or body of troops may appoint general courts-martial; but when any such commander is the accuser or the prosecutor of the person or persons to be tried, the court shall be appointed by superior competent authority, and may in any case be appointed by superior authority when by the latter deemed desirable.

"The authority appointing a general court-martial shall detail as one of the members thereof a law member who shall be an officer of the Judge Advocate General's Department or an officer who is a member of the bar of a Federal court or of the highest court of a State of the United States and certified by the Judge Advocate General to be qualified for such detail: *Provided*, That no general court-martial shall receive evidence or vote upon its findings or sentence in the absence of the law member regularly detailed. The law member, in addition to his duties as a member, shall perform the duties prescribed in article 31 hereof and such other duties as the President may by regulations prescribe."

SEC. 207. Article 9 is amended to read as follows:

"ART. 9. SPECIAL COURTS-MARTIAL.—The commanding officer of a district, garrison, fort, camp, station, or other place where troops are on duty, and the commanding officer of an Army group, an Army, an Army corps, a division, brigade, regiment, detached battalion, or corresponding unit of Ground or Air Forces, and the commanding officer of any other detached command or group of detached units placed under a single commander for this purpose may appoint special courts-martial; but when any such commanding officer is the accuser or the prosecutor of the person or persons to be tried, the court shall be appointed by superior authority, and may in any case be appointed by superior authority when by the latter deemed desirable."

SEC. 208. Article 11 is amended to read as follows:

"ART. 11. APPOINTMENT OF TRIAL JUDGE ADVOCATES AND COUNSEL.—For each general or special court-martial the authority appointing the court shall appoint a trial judge advocate and a defense counsel, and one or more assistant trial judge advocates and one or more assistant defense counsel when necessary: *Provided*, That the trial judge advocate and defense counsel of each general court-martial shall, if available, be members of the Judge Advocate General's Department or officers who are members of the bar of a Federal court or of the highest court of a State of the United States: *Provided further*, That in all cases in which the officer appointed as trial judge advocate shall be a member of the Judge Advocate General's Department, or an officer who is a member of the bar of a Federal court or of the highest court of a State, the officer appointed as defense counsel shall likewise be a member of the Judge Advocate General's Department or an officer who is a member of the bar of a Federal court or of the highest court of a State of the United States: *Provided further*, That when the accused is represented by counsel of his own selection and does not desire the presence of the regularly appointed defense counsel or assistant defense counsel, the latter may be excused by the president of the court: *Provided further*, That no person who has acted as member, trial judge advocate, assistant trial judge advocate or investigating officer in any case shall subsequently act in the same case as defense counsel or assistant defense counsel unless expressly requested by the accused: *Provided further*, That no person who has acted as member, defense counsel, assistant defense counsel, or investigating officer in any case shall subsequently act in the same case as a member of the prosecution: *Provided further*, That no person who has acted as member, trial judge advocate, assistant trial judge advocate, defense counsel, assistant defense counsel, or investigating officer in any case shall subsequently act as a staff judge advocate to the reviewing or confirming authority upon the same case."

SEC. 209. Article 12 is amended to read as follows:

"ART. 12. GENERAL COURTS-MARTIAL.—General courts-martial shall have power to try any person subject to military law for any crime or offense made punishable by these articles, and any other person who by the law of war is subject to trial by military tribunals: *Provided*, That general courts-martial shall have power to adjudge any punishment authorized by law or the custom of the service including a bad-conduct discharge."

SEC. 210. Article 13 is amended to read as follows:

"ART. 13. SPECIAL COURTS-MARTIAL.—Special courts-martial shall have power to try any person subject to military law for any crime or offense not capital made punishable by these articles: *Provided*, That the officer competent to appoint a general court-martial for the trial of any particular case may, when in his judgment the interests of the service so require, cause any case to be tried by a special court-martial notwithstanding the limitations upon the jurisdiction of the special court-martial as to offenses herein prescribed.

"Special courts-martial shall not have power to adjudge dishonorable discharge or dismissal, or confinement in excess of six months, nor to adjudge forfeiture of more than two-thirds pay per month for a period of not exceeding six months: *Provided*, That subject to approval of the sentence by an officer exercising general court-martial jurisdiction and subject to appellate review by The Judge Advocate General and appellate agencies in his office, a special court-martial may adjudge a bad-conduct discharge in addition to other authorized punishment: *Provided further*, That a bad-conduct discharge shall not be adjudged by a special court-martial unless a complete record of the proceedings of and testimony taken by the court is taken in the case."

SEC. 211. Article 14 is amended to read as follows:

"Art. 14. Summary Courts-Martial.—Summary courts-martial shall have power to try any person subject to military law, except an officer, a warrant officer, or a cadet, for any crime or offense not capital made punishable by these articles: *Provided*, That noncommissioned officers shall not, if they object thereto, be brought to trial before a summary court-martial without the authority of the officer competent to bring them to trial before a special court-martial: *Provided further*, That the President may, by regulations, except from the jurisdiction of summary courts-martial any class or classes of persons subject to military law.

"Summary courts-martial shall not have power to adjudge confinement in excess of one month, restriction to limits for more than three months, or forfeiture or detention of more than two-thirds of one month's pay."

Sec. 212. Article 16 is amended to read as follows:

"Art. 16. Persons in the Military Service—How Triable.—Officers shall be triable only by general and special courts-martial and in no case shall a person in the military service, when it can be avoided, be tried by persons inferior to him in rank. No enlisted person may sit as a member of a court-martial for the trial of another enlisted person who is assigned to the same company or corresponding military unit.

"No person subject to military law shall be confined with enemy prisoners or any other foreign nationals outside of the continental limits of the United States, nor shall any defendant awaiting trial be made subject to punishment or penalties other than confinement prior to sentence on charges against him."

Sec. 213. Article 22 is amended to read as follows:

"Art. 22. Process to Obtain Witnesses.—Every trial judge advocate of a general or special court-martial and every summary court-martial shall have power to issue the like process to compel witnesses to appear and testify which courts of the United States having criminal jurisdiction may lawfully issue; but such process shall run to any part of the United States, its Territories, and possessions. Witnesses for the defense shall be subpenaed, upon request by the defense counsel, through process issued by the trial judge advocate, in the same manner as witnesses for the prosecution."

Sec. 214. Article 24 is amended to read as follows:

"Art. 24. Compulsory Self-Incrimination Prohibited.—No witness before a military court, commission, court of inquiry, or board, or before any officer conducting an investigation, or before any officer, military or civil, designated to take a deposition to be read in evidence before a military court, commission, court of inquiry, or board, or before an officer conducting an investigation, shall be compelled to incriminate himself or to answer any question the answer to which may tend to incriminate him or to answer any question not material to the issue or when such answer might tend to degrade him.

"The use of coercion or unlawful influence in any manner whatsoever by any person to obtain any statement, admission or confession from any accused person or witness, shall be deemed to be conduct to the prejudice of good order and military discipline, and no such statement, admission, or confession shall be received in evidence by any court-martial. It shall be the duty of any person in obtaining any statement from an accused to advise him that he does not have to make any statement at all regarding the offense of which he is accused or being investigated, and that any statement by the accused may be used as evidence against him in a trial by court-martial."

SEC. 215. Article 25 is amended to read as follows:

"ART. 25. DEPOSITIONS—WHEN ADMISSIBLE.—A duly authenticated deposition taken upon reasonable notice to the opposite party may be read in evidence before any military court or commission in any case not capital, or in any proceeding before a court of inquiry or a military board, if such deposition be taken when the witness resides, is found, or is about to go beyond the State, Territory, or district in which the court, commission, or board is ordered to sit, or beyond the distance of one hundred miles from the place of trial or hearing, or when it appears to the satisfaction of the court, commission, board, or appointing authority that the witness, by reason of age, sickness, bodily infirmity, imprisonment, or other reasonable cause, is unable to, or, in foreign places, because of nonamenability to process, refuses to, appear and testify in person at the place of trial or hearing: *Provided*, That testimony by deposition may be adduced for the defense in capital cases: *Provided further*, That a deposition may be read in evidence in any case in which the death penalty is authorized by law but is not mandatory, whenever the appointing authority shall have directed that the case be treated as not capital, and in such a case a sentence of death may not be adjudged by the court-martial: *And provided further*, That at any time after charges have been signed as provided in article 46, and before the charges have been referred for trial, any authority competent to appoint a court-martial for the trial of such charges may designate officers to represent the prosecution and the defense and may authorize such officers, upon due notice, to take the deposition of any witness, and such deposition may subsequently be received in evidence as in other cases."

SEC. 216. Article 31 is amended to read as follows:

"ART. 31. METHOD OF VOTING.—Voting by members of a general or special court-martial upon questions of challenge, on the findings, and on the sentence shall be by secret written ballot. The junior member of the court shall in each case count the votes, which count shall be checked by the president, who shall forthwith announce the result of the ballot to the members of the court. The law member of a general court-martial or the president of a special court-martial, shall rule in open court upon interlocutory questions, other than challenge, arising during the proceedings: *Provided*, That unless such ruling be made by the law member of a general court-martial, if any member object thereto, the court shall be cleared and closed and the question decided by a majority vote, viva voce, beginning with the junior in rank: *And provided further*, That any such ruling made by the law member of a general court-martial upon any interlocutory question other than a motion for a finding of not guilty, or the question of accused's sanity, shall be final and shall constitute the ruling of the court; but the law member may in any case consult with the court, in closed session, before making a ruling, and may change any ruling made at any time during the trial. It shall be the duty of the law member of a general or the president of a special court-martial before a vote is taken to advise the court that the accused must be presumed to be innocent until his guilt is established by legal and competent evidence beyond a reasonable doubt, and that in the case being considered, if there is a reasonable doubt as to the guilt of the accused, the doubt shall be resolved in the accused's favor and he shall be acquitted; if there is a reasonable doubt as to the degree of guilt, the finding must be in a lower degree as to which there is no such doubt; that the burden of proof to establish the guilt of the accused is upon the Government."

SEC. 217. Article 36 is amended to read as follows:

"ART. 36. DISPOSITION OF RECORDS—SPECIAL AND SUMMARY COURTS-MARTIAL.—After having been acted upon by the officer appointing the court, or by the officer commanding for the time being, the record of each trial by special court-martial and a report of each trial by summary court-martial shall be transmitted to the headquarters of the officer exercising general court-martial jurisdiction over the command, there to be filed in the office of the staff judge advocate: *Provided, however*, That each record of trial by special court-martial in which the sentence, as approved by the appointing authority, includes a bad-conduct discharge, shall, if approved by the officer exercising general court-martial jurisdiction under the provisions of article 47, be forwarded by him to The Judge Advocate General for review as hereinafter in these articles provided. When no longer of use, records of summary courts-martial may be destroyed as provided by law governing destruction of Government records."

SEC. 218. Article 38 is amended to read as follows:

"ART. 38. PRESIDENT MAY PRESCRIBE RULES.—The President may, by regulations, which he may modify from time to time, prescribe the procedure, including modes of proof, in cases before courts-martial, courts of inquiry, military commissions, and other military tribunals, which regulations shall, insofar as he shall deem practicable, apply the principles of law and rules of evidence generally recognized in the trial of criminal cases in the district courts of the United States: *Provided*, That nothing contrary to or inconsistent with these articles shall be so prescribed: *Provided further*, That all rules and regulations made in pursuance of this Article shall be laid before the Congress."

SEC. 219. Article 39 is amended to read as follows:

"ART. 39. AS TO TIME.—Except for desertion or absence without leave committed in time of war, or for mutiny or murder, no person subject to military law shall be liable to be tried or punished by a court-martial for any crime or offense committed more than two years before arraignment of such person: *Provided*, That for desertion in time of peace, rape or for any crime or offense punishable under articles 93 and 94 of this code the period of limitations upon trial and punishment by court-martial shall be three years: *Provided further*, That the period of any absence of the accused from the jurisdiction of the United States, and also any period during which by reason of some manifest impediment the accused shall not have been amenable to military justice, shall be excluded in computing the aforesaid periods of limitation: *Provided further*, That this article shall not have the effect to authorize the trial or punishment for any crime or offense barred by the provisions of existing law: *And provided further*, That in the case of any offense the trial of which in time of war shall be certified by the Secretary of the Department of the Army to be detrimental to the prosecution of the war or inimical to the Nation's security, the period of limitations herein provided for the trial of the said offense shall be extended to the duration of the war and six months thereafter."

Sec. 220. Article 43 is amended to read as follows:

"Art. 43. Death Sentence—When Lawful; Vote on Findings and Sentence.—No person shall, by general court martial, be convicted of an offense for which the death penalty is made mandatory by law, nor sentenced to suffer death, except by the concurrence of all the members of said court martial present at the time the vote is taken, and for an offense in these articles expressly made punishable by death; nor sentenced to life imprisonment, nor to confinement for more than ten years, except by the concurrence of three-fourths of all the members present at the time the vote is taken. Conviction of any offense for which the death sentence is not mandatory and any sentence to confinement not in excess of ten years, whether by general or special court martial, may be determined by a two-thirds vote of those members present at the time the vote is taken. All other questions shall be determined by a majority vote."

Sec. 221. Article 44 is amended to read as follows:

"Art. 44. Officers—Reduction to Ranks.—When a sentence to dismissal may lawfully be adjudged in the case of an officer the sentence may in time of war, under such regulations as the President may prescribe, adjudge in lieu thereof reduction to the grade of private."

Sec. 222. Article 46 is amended to read as follows:

"Art. 46. Charges; Action Upon.—

"a. Signature; oath.—Charges and specifications must be signed by a person subject to military law, and under oath either that he has personal knowledge of, or has investigated, the matters set forth therein and that the same are true in fact, to the best of his knowledge and belief.

"b. Investigation.—No charge will be referred to a general court-martial for trial until after a thorough and impartial investigation thereof shall have been made. This investigation will include inquiries as to the truth of the matter set forth in said charges, form of charges, and what disposition of the case should be made in the interest of justice and discipline. The accused shall be permitted, upon his request, to be represented at such investigation by counsel of his own selection, civil counsel if he so provides, or military if such counsel be reasonably available, otherwise by counsel appointed by the officer exercising general courts martial jurisdiction over the command. At such investigation full opportunity shall be given to the accused to cross-examine witnesses against him if they are available and to present anything he may desire in his own behalf, either in defense or mitigation, and the investigating officer shall examine available witnesses requested by the accused. If the charges are forwarded after such investigation they shall be accompanied by a statement of the substance of the testimony taken on both sides.

"c. Forwarding charges; delays; service of charges.—When a person is held for trial by general court-martial, the commanding officer will, within eight days after the accused is arrested or confined, if practicable, forward the charges to the officer exercising general court-martial jurisdiction and furnish the accused a copy of such charges. If the same be not practicable, he will report to superior authority the reasons for delay. The trial judge advocate will cause to be served upon the accused a copy of the charges upon which trial is to be had, and a failure so to serve such charges will be ground for a continuance unless the trial be had on the charges furnished the accused as hereinbefore provided. In time of peace no person shall, against his objection, be brought to trial before a general court-martial within a period of five days subsequent to the service of charges upon him."

SEC. 223. Article 47 is amended to read as follows:

"ART. 47. ACTION BY CONVENING AUTHORITY.—

"a. ASSIGNMENT OF JUDGE ADVOCATES; CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION.—All members of the Judge Advocate General's Department will be assigned as prescribed by The Judge Advocate General after appropriate consultations with commanders on whose staffs they may serve; and The Judge Advocate General or senior members of his staff will make frequent inspections in the field in supervision of the administration of military justice. Convening authorities will at all times communicate directly with their staff judge advocates in matters relating to the administration of military justice; and the staff judge advocate of any command is authorized to communicate directly with the staff judge advocate of a superior or subordinate command, or with The Judge Advocate General.

"b. REFERENCE FOR TRIAL.—Before directing the trial of any charge by general court-martial the convening authority will refer it to his staff judge advocate for consideration and advice; and no charge will be referred to a general court-martial for trial unless it has been found that a thorough and impartial investigation thereof has been made as prescribed in the preceding article, that such charge is legally sufficient to allege an offense under these articles, and is sustained by evidence indicated in the report of investigation.

"c. ACTION ON RECORD OF TRIAL.—Before acting upon a record of trial by general court-martial or military commission, or a record of trial by special court-martial in which a bad-conduct discharge has been adjudged and approved by the authority appointing the court, the reviewing authority will refer it to his staff judge advocate or to The Judge Advocate General for review and advice; and no sentence shall be approved unless upon conviction established beyond reasonable doubt of an offense made punishable by these articles, and unless the record of trial has been found legally sufficient to support it.

"d. APPROVAL.—No sentence of a court-martial shall be carried into execution until the same shall have been approved by the convening authority: *Provided*, That no sentence of a special court-martial including a bad-conduct discharge shall be carried into execution until in addition to the approval of the convening authority the same shall have been approved by an officer authorized to appoint a general court-martial.

"e. WHO MAY EXERCISE.—Action by the convening authority may be taken by an officer commanding for the time being, by a successor in command, or by any officer exercising general court-martial jurisdiction.

"f. Powers incident to power to approve.—The power to approve the sentence of a court-martial shall include—

"(1) the power to approve or disapprove a finding of guilty and to approve only so much of a finding of guilty of a particular offense as involves a finding of guilty of a lesser included offense;

"(2) the power to approve or disapprove the whole or any part of the sentence; and

"(3) the power to remand a case for rehearing under the provisions of article 52."

Sec. 224. Article 48 is amended to read as follows:

"Art. 48. Confirmation.—In addition to the approval required by article 47, confirmation is required as follows before the sentence of a court-martial may be carried into execution, namely:

"a. By the President with respect to any sentence—

"(1) of death, or

"(2) involving a general officer:

Provided, That when the President has already acted as approving authority, no additional confirmation by him is necessary;

"b. By the Secretary of the Department of the Army with respect to any sentence not requiring approval or confirmation by the President, when The Judge Advocate General does not concur in the action of the Judicial Council;

"c. By the Judicial Council, with the concurrence of The Judge Advocate General, with respect to any sentence—

"(1) when the confirming action of the Judicial Council is not unanimous, or when by direction of The Judge Advocate General his participation in the confirming action is required, or

"(2) involving imprisonment for life, or

"(3) involving the dismissal of an officer other than a general officer, or

"(4) involving the dismissal or suspension of a cadet;

"d. By the Judicial Council with respect to any sentence in a case transmitted to the Judicial Council under the provisions of article 50 for confirming action."

Sec. 225. Article 49 is amended to read as follows:

"Art. 49. Powers Incident To Power To Confirm.—The power to confirm the sentence of a court-martial shall be held to include—

"a. The power to approve, confirm, or disapprove a finding of guilty, and to approve or confirm so much only of a finding of guilty of a particular offense as involves a finding of guilty of a lesser included offense:

"b. The power to confirm, disapprove, vacate, commute, or reduce to legal limits the whole or any part of the sentence;

"c. The power to restore all rights, privileges, and property affected by any finding or sentence disapproved or vacated;

"d. The power to order the sentence to be carried into execution;

"e. The power to remand the case for a rehearing under the provisions of article 52."

Sec. 226. Article 50 is amended to read as follows:

"Art. 50. Appellate Review.—

"a. Board of review; judicial council.—The Judge Advocate General shall constitute, in his office, a Board of Review composed of not less than three officers of the Judge Advocate General's Department.

He shall also constitute, in his office, a Judicial Council composed of three general officers of the Judge Advocate General's Department: *Provided*, That the Judge Advocate General may, under exigent circumstances, detail as members of the Judicial Council, for periods not in excess of sixty days, officers of the Judge Advocate General's Department of grades below that of general officer.

"b. ADDITIONAL BOARDS OF REVIEW AND JUDICIAL COUNCILS.—Whenever necessary, the Judge Advocate General may constitute two or more Boards of Review and Judicial Councils in his office, with equal powers and duties, composed as provided in the first paragraph of this article.

"c. BRANCH OFFICES.—Whenever the President deems such action necessary, he may direct The Judge Advocate General to establish a branch office, under an Assistant Judge Advocate General who shall be a general officer of The Judge Advocate General's Department, with any distant command, and to establish in such branch office one or more Boards of Review and Judicial Councils composed as provided in the first paragraph of this article. Such Assistant Judge Advocate General and such Board of Review and Judicial Council shall be empowered to perform for that command under the general supervision of The Judge Advocate General, the duties which The Judge Advocate General and the Board of Review and Judicial Council in his office would otherwise be required to perform in respect of all cases involving sentences not requiring approval or confirmation by the President: *Provided*, That the power of mitigation and remission shall not be exercised by such Assistant Judge Advocate General or by agencies in his office, but any case in which such action is deemed desirable shall be forwarded to The Judge Advocate General with appropriate recommendations.

"d. ACTION BY BOARD OF REVIEW WHEN APPROVAL BY PRESIDENT OR CONFIRMING ACTION IS REQUIRED.—Before any record of trial in which there has been adjudged a sentence requiring approval or confirmation by the President or confirmation by any other confirming authority is submitted to the President or such other confirming authority, as the case may be, it shall be examined by the Board of Review which shall take action as follows:

"(1) In any case requiring action by the President, the Board of Review shall submit its opinion in writing, through the Judicial Council which shall also submit its opinion in writing, to the Judge Advocate General, who shall, except as herein otherwise provided, transmit the record and the Board's and Council's opinions, with his recommendations, directly to the Secretary of the Department of the Army for the action of the President: *Provided*, That the Judicial Council, with the concurrence of the Judge Advocate General shall have powers in respect to holdings of legal insufficiency equal to the powers vested in the Board of Review by subparagraph (3) of this paragraph.

"(2) In any case requiring confirming action by the Judicial Council with or without the concurrence of the Judge Advocate General, when the Board of Review is of the opinion that the record of trial is legally sufficient to support the sentence it shall submit its opinion in writing to the Judicial Council for appropriate action.

"(3) When the Board of Review is of the opinion that the record of trial in any case requiring confirming action by the President or confirming action by the Judicial Council is legally insufficient to support the findings of guilty and sentence, or the sentence, or that errors of law have been committed injuriously affecting the substantial rights of the accused, it shall submit its holding to the Judge Advocate General and when the Judge Advocate General concurs in such holding, such findings and sentence shall thereby be vacated in accord with such holding and the record shall be transmitted by the Judge Advocate General to the appropriate convening authority for a rehearing or such other action as may be proper.

"(4) In any case requiring confirming action by the President or confirming action by the Judicial Council in which the Board of Review holds the record of trial legally insufficient to support the findings of guilty and sentence, or the sentence, and the Judge Advocate General shall not concur in the holding of the Board of Review, the holding and the record of trial shall be transmitted to the Judicial Council for confirming action or for other appropriate action in a case in which confirmation of the sentence by the President is required under article 48a.

"e. ACTION BY BOARD OF REVIEW IN CASES INVOLVING DISHONORABLE OR BAD-CONDUCT DISCHARGES OR CONFINEMENT IN PENITENTIARY.—No authority shall order the execution of any sentence of a court-martial involving dishonorable discharge not suspended, bad-conduct discharge not suspended, or confinement in a penitentiary unless and until the appellate review required by this article shall have been completed and unless and until any confirming action required shall have been completed. Every record of trial by general or special court-martial involving a sentence to dishonorable discharge or bad-conduct discharge, whether such discharges be suspended or not suspended, and every record of trial by general court-martial involving a sentence to confinement in a penitentiary, other than records of trial examination of which is required by paragraph d of this article, shall be examined by the Board of Review which shall take action as follows:

"(1) In any case in which the Board of Review holds the record of trial legally sufficient to support the findings of guilty and sentence, and confirming action is not by the Judge Advocate General or the Board of Review deemed necessary, the Judge Advocate General shall transmit the holding to the convening authority, and such holding shall be deemed final and conclusive.

"(2) In any case in which the Board of Review holds the record of trial legally sufficient to support the findings of guilty and sentence, but modification of the findings of guilty or the sentence is by the Judge Advocate General or the Board of Review deemed necessary to the ends of justice, the holding and the record of trial shall be transmitted to the Judicial Council for confirming action.

"(3) In any case in which the Board of Review holds the record of trial legally insufficient to support the findings of guilty and sentence, in whole or in part, and the Judge Advocate General concurs in such holding, the findings and sentence shall thereby be vacated in whole or in part in accord with such holding, and the record shall be transmitted by the Judge Advocate General to the convening authority for rehearing or such other action as may be appropriate.

"(4) In any case in which the Board of Review holds the record of trial legally insufficient to support the findings of guilty and sentence, in whole or in part, and the Judge Advocate General shall not concur in the holding of the Board of Review, the holding and the record of trial shall be transmitted to the Judicial Council for confirming action.

"f. APPELLATE ACTION IN OTHER CASES.—Every record of trial by general court-martial the appellate review of which is not otherwise provided for by this article shall be examined in the Office of the Judge Advocate General and if found legally insufficient to support the findings of guilty and sentence, in whole or in part, shall be transmitted to the Board of Review for appropriate action in accord with paragraph e of this article.

"g. WEIGHING EVIDENCE.—In the appellate review of records of trials by courts-martial as provided in these articles the Judge Advocate General and all appellate agencies in his office shall have authority to weigh evidence, judge the credibility of witnesses, and determine controverted questions of fact.

"h. FINALITY OF COURT-MARTIAL JUDGMENTS.—The appellate review of records of trial provided by this article, the confirming action taken pursuant to articles 48 or 49, the proceedings, findings, and sentences of courts-martial as heretofore or hereafter approved, reviewed, or confirmed as required by the Articles of War and all dismissals and discharges heretofore or hereafter carried into execution pursuant to sentences by courts-martial following approval, review, or confirmation as required by the Articles of War, shall be final and conclusive, and orders publishing the proceedings of courts-martial and all action taken pursuant to such proceedings shall be binding upon all departments, courts, agencies, and officers of the United States, subject only to action upon application for a new trial as provided in article 53."

SEC. 227. Article 50½ is rescinded.

SEC. 228. Article 51 is amended to read as follows:

"ART. 51. MITIGATION, REMISSION, AND SUSPENSION OF SENTENCES.—

"a. AT THE TIME ORDERED EXECUTED.—The power of the President, the Secretary of the Department of the Army, and any reviewing authority to order the execution of a sentence of a court-martial shall include the power to mitigate, remit, or suspend the whole or any part thereof, except that a death sentence may not be suspended. The Judge Advocate General shall have the power to mitigate, remit, or suspend the whole or any part of a sentence in any case requiring appellate review under article 50 and not requiring approval or confirmation by the President, but the power to mitigate or remit shall be exercised by the Judge Advocate General under the direction of the Secretary of the Department of the Army. The authority which suspends the execution of a sentence may restore the person under sentence to duty during such suspension; and the death or honorable discharge of a person under suspended sentence shall operate as a complete remission of any unexecuted or unremitted part of such sentence.

"b. SUBSEQUENT TO THE TIME ORDERED EXECUTED.—

"(1) Any unexecuted portion of a sentence other than a sentence of death, including all uncollected forfeitures, adjudged by court-martial may be mitigated, remitted or suspended and any order of suspension may be vacated, in whole or in part, by the military authority competent to appoint, for the command, exclusive of penitentiaries and the United States disciplinary barracks, in which the person under sentence may be, a court of the kind that imposed the sentence, and the same power may be exercised by superior military authority or by the Judge Advocate General under the direction of the Secretary of the Department of the Army: *Provided*, That no sentence approved or confirmed by the President shall be mitigated, remitted, or suspended by any authority inferior to the President: *And provided further*, That no order of suspension of a sentence to dishonorable discharge or bad conduct discharge shall be vacated unless and until confirming or appellate action on the sentence has been completed as required by articles 48 and 50.

"(2) The power to suspend a sentence shall include the power to restore the person affected to duty during such suspension.

"(3) The power to mitigate, remit or suspend the sentence or any part thereof in the case of a person confined in the United States disciplinary barracks or in a penitentiary shall be exercised by the Secretary of the Department of the Army or by the Judge Advocate General under the direction of the Secretary of the Department of the Army."

SEC. 229. Article 52 is amended to read as follows:

"ART. 52. REHEARINGS.—When any reviewing or confirming authority disapproves a sentence or when any sentence is vacated by action of the Board of Review or Judicial Council and the Judge Advocate General, the reviewing or confirming authority or the Judge Advocate General may authorize or direct a rehearing. Such rehearing shall take place before a court-martial composed of members not members of the court-martial which first heard the case. Upon such rehearing the accused shall not be tried for any offense of which he was found not guilty by the first court-martial, and no sentence in excess of or more severe than the original sentence shall be enforced unless the sentence be based upon a finding of guilty of an offense not considered upon the merits in the original proceeding."

SEC. 230. Article 53 is amended to read as follows:

"ART. 53. PETITION FOR NEW TRIAL.—Under such regulations as the President may prescribe, the Judge Advocate General is authorized, upon application of an accused person, and upon good cause shown, in his discretion to grant a new trial, or to vacate a sentence, restore rights, privileges, and property affected by such sentence, and substitute for a dismissal, dishonorable discharge, or bad conduct discharge previously executed a form of discharge authorized for administrative issuance, in any court-martial case in which application is made within one year after final disposition of the case upon initial appellate review: *Provided*, That with regard to cases involving offenses committed during World War II, the application for a new trial may be made within one year after termination of the war, or after its final disposition upon initial appellate review as herein provided, whichever is the later: *Provided*, That only one such application for a new trial may be entertained with regard to any one case: *And provided further*, That all action by the Judge Advocate General pursuant to this article, and all proceedings, findings, and sentences on new trials under this article, as approved, reviewed, or confirmed under articles 47, 48, 49, and 50, and all dismissals and discharges carried into execution pursuant to sentences adjudged on new trials and approved, reviewed, or confirmed, shall be final and conclusive and orders publishing the action of the Judge Advocate General or the proceedings on new trial and all action taken pursuant to such proceedings, shall be binding upon all departments, courts, agencies, and officers of the United States."

SEC. 231. Article 70 is amended to read as follows:

"ART. 70. CHARGES; ACTION UPON, UNNECESSARY DELAY.—When any person subject to military law is placed in arrest or confinement immediate steps will be taken to try the person accused or to dismiss the charge and release him. Any officer who is responsible for unnecessary delay in investigating or carrying the case to a final conclusion shall be punished as a court-martial may direct."

SEC. 232. Article 85 is amended to read as follows:

"ART. 85. DRUNK ON DUTY.—Any person subject to military law, who is found drunk on duty, shall be punished as a court-martial may direct."

SEC. 233. Article 88 is amended to read as follows:

"ART. 88. UNLAWFULLY INFLUENCING ACTION OF COURT.—No authority appointing a general, special, or summary court-martial nor any other commanding officer, shall censure, reprimand, or admonish such court, or any member thereof, with respect to the findings or sentence adjudged by the court, or with respect to any other exercise, by such court or any member thereof, of its or his judicial responsibility. No person subject to military law shall attempt to coerce or unlawfully influence the action of a court-martial or any military court or commission, or any member thereof, in reaching the findings or sentence in any case, or the action of an appointing or reviewing or confirming authority with respect to his judicial acts."

SEC. 234. Article 89 is amended to read as follows:

"ART. 89. GOOD ORDER TO BE MAINTAINED AND WRONGS REDRESSED.—All persons subject to military law are to behave themselves orderly in quarters, garrison, camp, and on the march; and any person subject to military law who commits any waste or spoil, or wrongfully destroys any property whatsoever or commits any kind of depredation or riot, shall be punished as a court-martial may direct. Any commanding officer who, upon complaint made to him refuses or omits to see reparation made to the party injured, insofar as the offender's pay shall go toward such reparation, as provided for in article 105, shall be dismissed from the service, or otherwise punished, as a court-martial may direct."

SEC. 235. Article 92 is amended to read as follows:

"ART. 92. MURDER—RAPE.—Any person subject to military law found guilty of murder shall suffer death or imprisonment for life, as a court-martial may direct; but if found guilty of murder not premeditated, he shall be punished as a court-martial may direct. Any person subject to military law who is found guilty of rape shall suffer death or such other punishment as a court-martial may direct: *Provided*, That no person shall be tried by court-martial for murder or rape committeed within the geographical limits of the States of the Union and the District of Columbia in time of peace."

SEC. 236. Article 93 is amended to read as follows:

"ART. 93. VARIOUS CRIMES.—Any person subject to military law who commits manslaughter, mayhem, arson, burglary, housebreaking, robbery, larceny, perjury, forgery, sodomy, assault with intent to commit any felony, assault with intent to do bodily harm with a dangerous weapon, instrument, or other thing, or assault with intent to do bodily harm, shall be punished as a court-martial may direct: *Provided*, That any person subject to military law who commits larceny or embezzlement shall be guilty of larceny within the meaning of this article."

SEC. 237. Article 94 is amended to read as follows:

"ART. 94. FRAUDS AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT.—Any person subject to military law who makes or causes to be made any claim against the United States or any officer thereof, knowing such claim to be false or fraudulent; or

"Who presents or causes to be presented to any person in the civil or military service thereof, for approval or payment, any claim against the United States, or any officer thereof, knowing such claim to be false or fraudulent; or

"Who enters into any agreement or conspiracy to defraud the United States by obtaining, or aiding others to obtain, the allowance or payment of any false or fraudulent claim; or

"Who, for the purpose of obtaining, or aiding others to obtain, the approval, allowance, or payment of any claim against the United States or against any officer thereof, makes or uses, or procures, or advises the making or use of, any writing or other paper knowing the same to contain any false or fraudulent statements; or

"Who, for the purpose of obtaining, or aiding others to obtain, the approval, allowance, or payment of any claim against the United States or any officer thereof, makes or procures, or advises the making of, any oath to any fact or to any writing or other paper knowing such oath to be false; or

"Who, for the purpose of obtaining, or aiding others to obtain, the approval, allowance, or payment of any claim against the United States or any officer thereof, forges or counterfeits, or procures, or advises the forging or counterfeiting of any signature upon any writing or other paper, or uses, or procures, or advises the use of any such signature, knowing the same to be forged or counterfeited; or

"Who, having charge, possession, custody, or control of any money or other property of the United States, furnished or intended for the military service thereof, knowingly delivers, or causes to be delivered, to any person having authority to receive the same, any amount thereof less than that for which he receives a certificate or receipt; or

"Who, being authorized to make or deliver any paper certifying the receipt of any property of the United States furnished or intended for the military service thereof, makes or delivers to any person such writing, without having full knowledge of the truth of the statements therein contained and with intent to defraud the United States; or

"Who steals, embezzles, knowingly and willfully misappropriates, applies to his own use or benefit, or wrongfully or knowingly sells or disposes of any ordnance, arms, equipment, ammunition, clothing, subsistence stores, money, or other property of the United States furnished or intended for the military service thereof: *Provided*, That any person, subject to military law, who commits larceny or embezzlement with respect to property of the United States, furnished or intended for the military service thereof, or with respect to other property within the purview of this article, steals said property within the meaning of this article; or

"Who knowingly purchases or receives in pledge for any obligation or indebtedness from any soldier, officer, or other person who is a part of or employed in said forces or service, any ordnance, arms, equipment, ammunition, clothing, subsistence stores, or other property of the United States, such soldier, officer, or other person not having lawful right to sell or pledge the same; or

"Who enters into any agreement or conspires to commit any of the offenses aforesaid;

"Shall, on conviction thereof, be punished by fine or imprisonment, or by such other punishment as a court martial may adjudge, or by any or all of said penalties. If any person, being guilty of any of the offenses aforesaid or who steals or fails properly to account for any money or other property held in trust by him for enlisted persons or as its official custodian while in the military service of the United States, receives his discharge or is dismissed or otherwise separated from the service, he shall continue to be liable to be arrested and held for trial and sentence by a court martial in the same manner and to the same extent as if he had not been so separated therefrom."

SEC. 238. Article 104 is amended to read as follows:

"ART. 104. DISCIPLINARY POWERS OF COMMANDING OFFICERS.—Under such regulations as the President may prescribe, the commanding officer of any detachment, company, or higher command, may, for minor offenses, impose disciplinary punishments upon persons of his command without the intervention of a court-martial, unless the accused demands trial by court-martial.

"The disciplinary punishments authorized by this article may include admonition or reprimand, or the withholding of privileges, or extra fatigue, or restriction to certain specified limits, or hard labor without confinement or any combination of such punishments for not exceeding one week from the date imposed; but shall not include forfeiture of pay or confinement under guard; except that any officer exercising general court-martial jurisdiction may, under the provisions of this article, also impose upon a warrant officer or officer of his command below the rank of brigadier general a forfeiture of not more than one-half of his pay per month for three months.

"A person punished under authority of this article, who deems his punishment unjust or disproportionate to the offense, may, through the proper channel, appeal to the next superior authority, but may in the meantime be required to undergo the punishment adjudged. The commanding officer who imposes the punishment, his successor in command, and superior authority shall have power to mitigate or remit any unexecuted portion of the punishment. The imposition and enforcement of disciplinary punishment under authority of this article for any act or omission shall not be a bar to trial by court-martial for a serious crime or offense growing out of the same act or omission, and not properly punishable under this article; but the fact that a disciplinary punishment has been enforced may be shown by the accused upon trial, and when so shown shall be considered in determining the measure of punishment to be adjudged in the event of a finding of guilty."

Sec. 239. Article 108 is amended to read as follows:

"Art. 108. Soldiers—Separation From the Service.—No enlisted person, lawfully inducted into the military service of the United States, shall be discharged from said service without a certificate of discharge, and no enlisted person shall be discharged from said service before his term of service has expired, except in the manner prescribed by the Secretary of the Department of the Army, or by sentence of a general or special court-martial."

Sec. 240. Article 110 is amended to read as follows:

"Art. 110. Certain Articles of War To Be Read or Explained.—Articles 1, 2, 24, 28, 29, 54 to 97, inclusive, 104 to 109, inclusive, and 121 shall be read or carefully explained to every soldier at the time of his enlistment or muster in, or within six days thereafter, and shall be read or explained once every six months to the soldiers of every garrison, regiment, or company in the service of the United States. And a complete text of the Articles of War and of the Manual for Courts-Martial shall be made available to any soldier, upon his request, for his personal examination."

Sec. 241. Article 116 is amended to read as follows:

"Art. 116. Powers of Assistant Trial Judge Advocate and of Assistant Defense Counsel.—An assistant trial judge advocate of a general or special court-martial shall be competent to perform any duty devolved by law, regulation, or the custom of the service upon the trial judge advocate of the court. An assistant defense counsel shall be competent likewise to perform any duty devolved by law, regulation, or the custom of the service upon counsel for the accused."

Sec. 242. Article 117 is amended to read as follows:

"Art. 117. Removal of Civil Suits.—When any civil or criminal prosecution is commenced in any court of a State of the United States against any officer, soldier, or other person in the military service of the United States on account of any act done under color of his office or status, or in respect to which he claims any right, title, or authority under any law of the United States respecting the military forces thereof, or under the law of war, such suit or prosecution may at any time before the trial or final hearing thereof be removed for trial into the district court of the United States in the district where the same is pending in the manner prescribed by law, and the cause shall thereupon be entered on the docket of such district court, which shall proceed as if the cause had been originally commenced therein and shall have full power to hear and determine said cause."

Sec. 243. Section 1 of article 121 is amended to read as follows:

"Art. 121. Complaints of Wrongs.—Any officer or soldier who believes himself wronged by his commanding officer, and, upon due application to such commander, is refused redress, may complain to the officer exercising general court-martial jurisdiction over the officer against whom the complaint is made. That officer shall examine into said complaint and take proper measures for redressing the wrong applies to his own use or benefit, or wrongfully or knowingly sells or disposes of any ordnance, arms, equipment, ammunition, clothing, subsistence stores, money, or other property of the United States furnished or intended for the military service thereof: *Provided*, That any person, subject to military law, who commits larceny or embezzlement with respect to property of the United States, furnished or intended for the military service thereof, or with respect to other property within the purview of this article, steals said property within the meaning of this article; or

"Who knowingly purchases or receives in pledge for any obligation or indebtedness from any soldier, officer, or other person who is a part of or employed in said forces or service, any ordnance, arms, equipment, ammunition, clothing, subsistence stores, or other property of the United States, such soldier, officer, or other person not having lawful right to sell or pledge the same; or

"Who enters into any agreement or conspires to commit any of the offenses aforesaid;

"Shall, on conviction thereof, be punished by fine or imprisonment, or by such other punishment as a court martial may adjudge, or by any or all of said penalties. If any person, being guilty of any of the offenses aforesaid or who steals or fails properly to account for any money or other property held in trust by him for enlisted persons or as its official custodian while in the military service of the United States, receives his discharge or is dismissed or otherwise separated from the service, he shall continue to be liable to be arrested and held for trial and sentence by a court martial in the same manner and to the same extent as if he had not been so separated therefrom."

SEC. 238. Article 104 is amended to read as follows:

"ART. 104. DISCIPLINARY POWERS OF COMMANDING OFFICERS.—Under such regulations as the President may prescribe, the commanding officer of any detachment, company, or higher command, may, for minor offenses, impose disciplinary punishments upon persons of his command without the intervention of a court-martial, unless the accused demands trial by court-martial.

"The disciplinary punishments authorized by this article may include admonition or reprimand, or the withholding of privileges, or extra fatigue, or restriction to certain specified limits, or hard labor without confinement or any combination of such punishments for not exceeding one week from the date imposed; but shall not include forfeiture of pay or confinement under guard; except that any officer exercising general court-martial jurisdiction may, under the provisions of this article, also impose upon a warrant officer or officer of his command below the rank of brigadier general a forfeiture of not more than one-half of his pay per month for three months.

"A person punished under authority of this article, who deems his punishment unjust or disproportionate to the offense, may, through the proper channel, appeal to the next superior authority, but may in the meantime be required to undergo the punishment adjudged. The commanding officer who imposes the punishment, his successor in command, and superior authority shall have power to mitigate or remit any unexecuted portion of the punishment. The imposition and enforcement of disciplinary punishment under authority of this article for any act or omission shall not be a bar to trial by court-martial for a serious crime or offense growing out of the same act or omission, and not properly punishable under this article; but the fact that a disciplinary punishment has been enforced may be shown by the accused upon trial, and when so shown shall be considered in determining the measure of punishment to be adjudged in the event of a finding of guilty."

Sec. 239. Article 108 is amended to read as follows:

"Art. 108. Soldiers—Separation From the Service.—No enlisted person, lawfully inducted into the military service of the United States, shall be discharged from said service without a certificate of discharge, and no enlisted person shall be discharged from said service before his term of service has expired, except in the manner prescribed by the Secretary of the Department of the Army, or by sentence of a general or special court-martial."

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"Art. 121. Complaints of Wrongs.—Any officer or soldier who believes himself wronged by his commanding officer, and, upon due application to such commander, is refused redress, may complain to the officer exercising general court-martial jurisdiction over the officer against whom the complaint is made. That officer shall examine into said complaint and take proper measures for redressing the wrong complained of; and he shall, as soon as possible, transmit to the Department of the Army a true statement of such complaint, with the proceedings had thereon."

SEC. 244. This title shall become effective on the first day of the eighth calendar month after approval of this title.

SEC. 245. All offenses committed and all penalties, forfeitures, fines, or liabilities incurred prior to the effective date of this title, under any law embraced in or modified, changed or repealed by this title, may be prosecuted, punished, and enforced in the same manner and with the same effect as if this title had not been passed.

SEC. 246. Section 8 of the National Defense Act, as amended (10 U. S. C. 61), is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 8. JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL'S CORPS.—The Judge Advocate General's Corps shall consist of one Judge Advocate General with the rank of major general, one assistant with the rank of major general, three officers with the rank of brigadier general, and an active list commissioned officer strength to be determined by the Secretary of the Department of the Army, but such strength shall not be less than 1½ per centum of the authorized active list commissioned officer strength of the Armed Services of the National Military Establishment who are subject to the Articles of War, and in addition warrant officers and enlisted men in such numbers as the Secretary of the Department of the Army shall determine."

SEC. 247. Regular Army officers shall be permanently appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, in the Judge Advocate General's Corps in the commissioned officer grades of major general, brigadier general, colonel, lieutenant colonel, major, captain, and first lieutenant. The names of commissioned officers of the Judge Advocate General's Corps below the grade of brigadier general shall be carried on the Judge Advocate's promotion list. The Judge Advocate's promotion list shall be established by entering thereon the names of the officers concerned without change in their order of precedence on the existing promotion list. The authorized numbers in each of the several grades in the Judge Advocate's promotion list shall be prescribed by the Secretary of the Department of the Army, but the numbers thus authorized shall not exceed the following percentages of the total strength authorized for that list: 8 per centum in the grade of colonel; 14 per centum in the grade of lieutenant colonel; 19 per centum in the grade of major; 23 per centum in the grade of captain; and 36 per centum in the grade of first lieutenant: *Provided*, That numbers may be authorized for any grade in lieu of authorization in higher grades: *Provided further*, That this provision shall not operate to require a reduction in permanent grade of any officer now holding permanent appointment.

Officers whose names are carried on the Judge Advocate's promotion list shall be promoted to the several grades as now or hereafter prescribed for promotion of promotion-list officers generally and the authorized numbers in grades below colonel on such list shall be temporarily increased from time to time in order to give effect to the promotion system now or hereafter prescribed by law for promotion-list officers.

Within the authorized strength of the Judge Advocate General's Corps additional officers may be appointed by transfer of qualified officers from other branches of the Army, by appointment of Reserve judge advocates or qualified civilian graduates of accredited law schools. Those originally appointed in the Regular Army in the Judge Advocate General's Corps shall be credited with an amount of service for the purpose of determining grade, position on promotion list, permanent-grade seniority, and eligibility for promotion as now or hereafter prescribed by law.

Sec. 248. The Judge Advocate General shall, in addition to such other duties as may be prescribed by law, be the legal adviser of the Secretary of the Department of the Army and of all officers and agencies of the Department of the Army; and all members of the Judge Advocate General's Corps shall perform their duties under the direction of the Judge Advocate General.

Sec. 249. Notwithstanding any other provisions of law, the Judge Advocate General, the Assistant Judge Advocate General and general officers of the Judge Advocate General's Corps shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, from among officers of the Judge Advocate General's Corps who are recommended for such positions by the Secretary of the Department of the Army. Upon the appointment of an officer to be the Judge Advocate General or Assistant Judge Advocate General with the rank of major general, he shall at the same time if not then holding permanent appointment in such grade be appointed a permanent major general of the Regular Army.

Approved June 24, 1948.

shington Memo

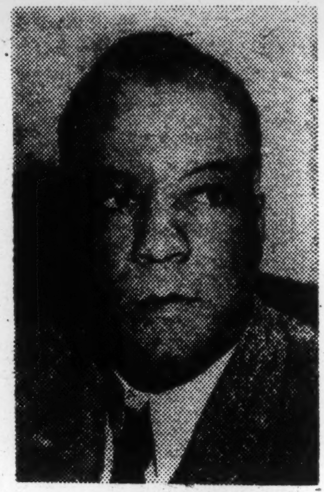
EDITOR: Charles Van Devander
Associates: Oliver Pilat, James A. Wechsler
and William O. Player Jr.

Marines Ordered in 1943 That No Negro Could Outrank Any White in His Outfit

Washington, Jan. 8.

A. **Philip Randolph's unofficial** commission of inquiry which convened here Saturday with Arthur Garfield Hays as counsel, produced some valuable slants on the struggle for racial equality in the armed forces.

One heretofore "confidential document," introduced as evidence, showed the Marine Corps attitude when Negroes were first allowed, under the pressure of war, to serve in that branch. Called "Letter of Instruction 421, on the Subject of Colored Personnel," it was sent out May 14, 1943, by Gen. Thomas Holcomb, Marine Corps commandant now retired, and it included these orders which have since been modified:



RANDOLPH

"While rapid promotion, when deserved, is necessary, it is essential that in no case shall there be colored noncommissioned officers senior to white men in the same unit, and desirable that few, if any, be of the same rank.

"Subject to the above provision, promotion of colored personnel is authorized in the same manner as applicable to all Marines. In cases where, for example, a colored corporal is qualified for promotion to sergeant prior to the time all white corporals in the unit have been replaced by colored ones, recommendations will be made to this headquarters, and if the recommendation is approved, the man will be transferred to a post where his service can be utilized in the higher rank.

"On all change sheets and strength reports, colored personnel will be shown separately.

"All Marines are entitled to the same rights and privileges under Navy regulations. The colored Marines have been carefully trained and indoctrinated. All men must be made to understand it is their duty to guide and assist these men to conduct themselves properly and to set them an example."

* * *

The injustice in shifting a Negro around the globe, to give him an earned promotion, and in preventing qualified Negroes from outranking whites is obvious.

The Marine Corps explanation is that the Holcomb letter of instruction was issued in time of war, when Negro personnel was new and the race issue potentially explosive. The letter was cancelled by Gen. A. A. Vandergrift, commandant in 1946. Subsequently, the Marine Corps followed general Navy policy, which gives lip-service to complete equality and in some cases and in some places smashes precedents of segregation.

At present, there is only one Negro 2nd lieutenant in the Marine Corps. He is John Earl Rudder, of Paducah, Ky., who entered as an enlisted man in 1943 and was sent to Purdue University for further training after the war. He is now stationed at the Officers Training School, Quantico, Va.

There were 14 Negro master sergeants, 26 technical sergeants, 67 staff-sergeants, 153 sergeants and 316 corporals in the Marine Corps as of Sept. 30, 1948.

The percentage of Negroes holding positions of authority is lower than of whites in the Marine Corps, but among whites and Negroes who entered service since 1943, the proportions are fairly equal.

this issue will not be settled overnight, but the
inquiry sponsored by Randolph and
side of the gradual

Com against Truman

RUSSELL AMENDMENT TO DRAFT BILL (REJECTED) in Committee)

Sec. (a) Any person who is now serving or who shall hereafter serve on active duty as an enlisted man in the armed forces of the United States, shall, within 60 days after the date of enactment of this Act (if he is now on active duty) or at the time of his registration or of his entry upon active duty, whichever may be the earlier (if he is not now on active duty), be afforded an opportunity to state in writing over his signature whether he has a preference to serve only in a unit all of the enlisted personnel of which are of his own race. Any such person who expresses such preference shall thereafter be assigned only to units of a type consistent with his preference. The right to express, and the effect of expressing, any preference shall be clearly explained to each person who hereafter serves on active duty as an enlisted man in the armed forces of the United States. For the purposes of this section, all persons who are members of the principal minority race in the United States shall be deemed to be members of one race and all other persons shall be deemed to be members of another race. As used in this section the term "unit" means a group of persons serving in the armed forces who (1) share the same housing, messing or sanitary facilities, or (2) participate jointly in the performance of designated duties.

(b) Any commissioned officer of the armed forces who knowingly and wilfully denies to any person his right to express a preference provided for by subsection (a) or assigns any person to any unit in violation of the provisions of such subsection, shall be guilty of conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentlemen and shall be subject to trial and punishment under the appropriate Articles of War or Articles for the Government of the Navy.

file

Army Jim crow

A few days ago Senators Russell and Maybank proposed an amendment to the Draft Act now being considered in Congress. Their amendment required that on request men already within the Army and those who would be drafted would mandatorily be assigned to military units composed wholly of men of their own race. Those who understand democracy will immediately sense the extreme danger of such an amendment for an Army having units of a supposedly superior race is no more democratic than an Army with units of a supposedly inferior race. Furthermore, such a plan would give training in arms to all white units composed of men with racist views and with a strong sense of race mission. This would amount to congressional sanction of the U.S. Army's adopting a Ku Klux Klan pattern and training men in the adoption and perpetuation of this mentality.

The Russell-Maybank amendment will sound plausible and democratic to some people as simply assuring that white men will not be forced to mingle socially with men of another race. But this is totally a false concept of what is at stake. Soldiers of whatever race are entirely free to associate or not to associate socially or to develop personal friendship with other soldiers of the same or of another race in their units. Abolishing segregation will not abridge the freedom of men to exercise their personal preference, or even prejudices, in their personal associations.

The question at stake in the Russell-Maybank proposal is whether the policy of the U. S. Government in organizing its armed forces is a jimcrow or an anti-jimcrow policy - in other words, a facist or an anti-facist one. Will Congress use the U. S. Army and other military services as a means to sanction and to legalize the concept of a pure Aryan race? We cannot imagine anything which would be more destructive of the morale of the armed forces or would inflict a more fatal blow on the democratic way of life at home and on the prestige of the United States abroad.

Under these circumstances, unless Congress defeats the Russell-Maybank amendment or any similar one, I shall have no alternative but to call upon Negro and freedom-loving whites in the armed services both here and in occupied countries to consider laying down their guns in protest against further participation in a KKK ~~racist~~ military establishment.

quired and which is necessary to it in the administration of statutes. As early as 1796, the House of Representatives requested President Washington to lay before the House a copy of the instructions to ministers of the United States who negotiated a treaty with Great Britain, together with the correspondence and other documents relating to that treaty. In declining to comply with the request, President Washington said:

"* * * as it is essential to the due administration of the Government that the boundaries fixed by the Constitution between the different departments should be preserved, a just regard to the Constitution and to the duty of my office * * * forbids a compliance with your request." (See Richardson, Messages and Papers of the Presidents, v. 1, pp. 194, 196.)

In 1825, the House of Representatives requested President Monroe to transmit certain documents relating to the conduct of the officers of the Navy of the United States on the Pacific Ocean, and of other public agents in South America. In his reply, President Monroe refused to comply with the request, stating that to do so might subject individuals to unjust criticism; that the individuals involved should not be censured without just cause, which could not be ascertained until after a thorough and impartial investigation of their conduct; and that under those circumstances it was thought that communication of the documents would not comport with the public interest nor with what was due to the parties concerned. (See Richardson, Messages and Papers of the Presidents, vol. 2, p. 278.)

In 1833, the Senate requested President Jackson to communicate to that body a copy of a paper purporting to have been read by him to the heads of the executive departments, dated September 18, 1833, relating to the removal of the deposits of the public money from the Bank of the United States. President Jackson declined. See Richardson, Messages and Papers of the Presidents, vol. 3, p. 36.)

In 1835 the Senate passed a resolution requesting President Jackson to communicate copies of the charges, if any, which might have been made to him against the official conduct of Gideon Fitz, late surveyor general south of the State of Tennessee, which caused his removal from office. In reply, President Jackson again declined to comply. (See Richardson, Messages and Papers of the Presidents, vol. 3, pp. 132–133.)

This discretion in the executive branch has been upheld and respected by the judiciary. The courts have repeatedly held that they will not and cannot require the executive to produce such papers when in the opinion of the executive their production is contrary to the public interests. The courts have also held that the question whether the production of the papers would be against the public interest is one for the executive and not for the courts to determine. (*Marbury* v. *Madison* (1 Cranch 137, 169); *Totten* v. *United States* (92 U. S. 105); *Kilbourn* v. *Thompson* (103 U. S. 168, 190); *Vogel* v. *Gruaz* (110 U. S. 311); *In re Quarles and Butler* (158 U. S. 532); *Boske* v. *Comingore* (177 U. S. 459); *In re Huttman* (70 Fed. 699); *In re Lamberton* (124 Fed. 446); *In re Valecia Condensed Milk Co.* (240 Fed. 310); *Elrod* v. *Moss* (278 Fed. 123); *Arnstein* v. *United States* (296 Fed. 946); *Gray* v. *Pentland* (2 Sergeant & Rawle's (Pa.), 23, 28); *Thompson* v. *German Valley R. Co.* (22 N. J. Equity 111); *Worthington* v. *Scribner* (109 Mass. 487); *Appeal of Hartranft* (85 Pa. 433, 445); *2 Burr Trials* (533–536); see also 25 Op. A. G. 326.)

In *Kilbourn* v. *Thompson*, supra, the Court said:

"It is believed to be one of the chief merits of the American system of written constitutional law that all the powers intrusted to government, whether State or National, are divided into the three grand departments—the executive, the legislative, and the judicial. That the functions appropriate to each of these branches of government shall be vested in a separate body of public servants, and that the perfection of the system requires that the lines which separate and divide these departments shall be broadly and clearly defined. It is also essential to the successful working of this system that the persons intrusted with power in any one of these branches shall not be permitted to encroach upon the powers confided to the others, but that each shall by the law of its creation be limited to the exercise of the powers appropriate to its own department and no other."

In *Appeal of Hartranft*, supra, the Court said:

"We had better at the outstart recognize the fact, that the executive department is a coordinate branch of the Government, with power to judge what should or should not be done, within its own department, and what of its own doings and communications should or should not be kept secret, and that with it, in the exercise of these constitutional powers, the courts have no more right to interfere, than has the executive, under like conditions, to interfere with the courts."

The information here involved was collected, and is chiefly valuable, for use by the executive branch of the Government in the execution of the laws. It can be of little, if any, value in connection with the framing of legislation or the performance of any other constitutional duty of the Congress. We do not undertake to investigate strikes as to their justification or the lack of it, but confine investigation to alleged violations of law, including of course violation of statutes designed to suppress subversive activity, and to general intelligence to guide executive policy. Certainly, the evil which would necessarily flow from its untimely publication would far outweigh any possible good.

I am not unmindful of your conditional suggestion that your counsel will keep this information "inviolate until such time as the committee determines its disposition." I have no doubt that this pledge would be kept and that you would weigh every consideration before making any matter public. Unfortunately, however, a policy cannot be made anew because of personal confidence of the Attorney General in the integrity and good faith of a particular committee chairman. We cannot be put in the position of discriminating between committees or of attempting to judge between them, and their individual members, each of whom has access to information once placed in the hands of the committee.

Of course, where the public interest has seemed to justify it, information as to particular situations has been supplied to congressional committees by me and by former Attorneys General. For example, I have taken the position that committees called upon to pass on the confirmation of persons recommended for appointment by the Attorney General would be afforded confidential access to any information that we have—because no candidate's name is submitted without his knowledge and the Department does not intend to submit the name of any person whose entire history will not stand light. By way of further illustration, I may mention that pertinent information would be supplied in impeachment proceedings, usually instituted at the suggestion of the Department and for the good of the administration of justice.

It is for the reasons given that I feel it my duty to decline your request, believing that in them you will find justification for my refusal.

Respectfully,

ROBERT H. JACKSON.

Mr. McMAHON. Mr. President, I appreciate the fact that the Senator from Michigan does not believe that the opinion expressed by Mr. Jackson is in point. However, that can be determined at a later time, and I presume it will be determined in another forum.

I wish to make one thing clear, and then I shall desist: There is no intention on my part to demonstrate any lack of confidence in the investigatory agency of the Department of Justice, namely, the Federal Bureau of Investigation. That is not my intention, and I am sure I made that point more than clear when I spoke on Thursday. I would take the same attitude if it were the Secret Service that was ordered under legislation to do the kind of thing here suggested, or any other investigating agency of the United States Government.

Furthermore, Mr. President—and let this be in the RECORD—if perchance there should be a change in the Executive at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue at any time while I sit as a Member of this body, the position I take today will be exactly the position I shall take then upon any attempt to destroy what I regard as a very essential provision of the Constitution. Let me say to Senators who are present that there is no provision of the Constitution the religious observance of which is better calculated to insure justice and liberty to the people of the United States than the provision that judges shall judge, legislators shall legislate, and executives shall execute.

I say in closing, and with this I shall take my seat, that implicit in the proposal is a statement by the Senate of the United States that with all the money at our command and with all the services of the Senate at our command we feel we are not capable of discharging the duties imposed upon us by the Constitution of the United States. That is the issue, and I prefer to register my vote as one who believes that the Senate can obtain all the information that is either necessary or desirable in passing upon Presidential nominations.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, I appreciate the fact that the able Senator from Connecticut has introduced the opinion of Mr. Justice Jackson in the RECORD. I think it should be in the RECORD. I think we should all be familiar with it. We faced the same issue in the Joint Committee To Investigate the Pearl Harbor Attack. We were unsuccessful at that time in our efforts to obtain records. We find from day to day that releases have been issued by the Government. Records in the possession of the departments have been published, and it is becoming quite common that all the information is not disclosed to the public, nor is it disclosed to the Senate and House. It seems to me that much of the information in the executive branch is withheld in order that it may later be used in the writing of memoirs and similar books. So I think some day soon we should face this issue of the right of Congress to inquire and to ascertain what is taking place, so that we may legislate properly.

I hope we may get this issue into the courts very soon, and that there may be a decision by the Supreme Court upon the issue. Therefore, I think it is well to have the opinion by Mr. Justice Jackson in the RECORD.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** For the information of the Senate, the clerk will read the modified amendment proposed by the Senator from Connecticut to the substitute offered by the Senator from California, as perfected by the latter, to Senate bill 1004.

The **Chief Clerk.** In the perfected substitute amendment of Mr. Knowland, on page 2, line 12, after the word "direct", it is proposed to insert a colon and the following: "*Provided, however*, That nothing herein shall be applicable to any person serving as a member of the Commission, or the General Manager thereof, on the date of enactment of this proviso in the event any such person is subsequently renominated by the President to be a member of the Commission."

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The question is on agreeing to the modified amendment offered by the Senator from Connecticut to the amendment of the Senator from California, as perfected.

The amendment to the amendment was rejected.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The question now recurs upon agreeing to the amendment in the nature of a substitute offered by the Senator from California, as by him perfected.

The amendment as perfected was agreed to.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

The title was amended so as to read: "A bill to amend the Atomic Energy Act of 1946 so as to provide that no person shall take office as a member of the Atomic Energy Commission or as General Manager of such Commission until an investigation with respect to the character, associations, and loyalty of such person shall have been made by the Federal Bureau of Investigation."

EXTENSION OF THE RECLAMATION LAWS TO ARKANSAS

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Calendar 169, the bill (S. 299) to extend the reclamation laws to the State of Arkansas, be made the unfinished business.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The bill will be read by title for the information of the Senate.

The **Chief Clerk.** "A bill to extend the reclamation laws to the State of Arkansas."

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** Is there objection to the request of the Senator from California?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 299) to extend the reclamation laws to the State of Arkansas, which had been reported from the Committee on Public Lands, with an amendment, on page 1, in line 9, following the word "Arkansas" to insert: "*Provided*, That the generation by, and the disposal and marketing of electric energy and power from, any Federal reclamation project in the State of Arkansas shall be administered by the Bureau of Reclamation through, and in accordance with, the Federal reclamation laws," so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted, etc., That the provisions of the act entitled "An act appropriating the receipts from the sale and disposal of public lands in certain States and Territories to the construction of irrigation works for the reclamation of arid lands," approved June 17, 1902, as amended and supplemented, are hereby extended so as to include and apply to the State of Arkansas: *Provided*, That the generation by, and the disposal and marketing of electric energy and power from, any Federal reclamation project in the State of Arkansas shall be administered by the Bureau of Reclamation through, and in accordance with, the Federal reclamation laws.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President——

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The Senator from California has the floor.

Mr. MORSE. I request the floor in my own right.

Mr. KNOWLAND. The bill S. 299, Calendar 169, is now the pending business.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The Senator from Oregon is recognized.

CIVIL RIGHTS AND CIVIL OBEDIENCE

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I have two or three things I want to take care of before I go to another meeting. I want to comment very briefly on a matter that is giving me some little concern, Mr. President. Some days ago at a public hearing conducted by the Armed Services Committee, Mr. Philip Randolph, president of the Sleeping Car Porters Union of this country, testified in regard to legislation being considered by the Armed Services Committee, in respect to military manpower. In the course of Mr. Randolph's testimony he outlined a proposal which in the press has been referred to as a proposal for civil disobedience.

In essence, as the record will show, Mr. President, Mr. Randolph took the position that, even in case of national emergency when it might be necessary to call up even through a draft the able-bodied manpower of this country, in defense of our country, he would follow, and he testified he would recommend that the young men not only of the Negro race but young men generally sharing his views should follow, a course of civil disobedience until the Congress of the United States enacted legislation which would put to an end what he termed to be various types of discrimination in the armed services because of race, color, and creed.

I was somewhat surprised and no little shocked at the position which Mr. Randolph took, because I have a very high regard for him as a very sincere fighter for legitimate civil rights. He is one who, over the years, has pointed out very effectively, not only to the people of his race but to the country generally, the fact that we are not putting into practice in America many of the constitutional guaranties with respect to civil rights.

I think the record is perfectly clear as to the position I have taken on civil-rights issues. In brief, I have taken the position that our constitutional guaranties are the rights of every citizen, regardless of race, color, or creed. I have also taken the position that we have to be realists in the political field, in respect to civil rights, as we have to be realists in every other phase of American politics, and I recognize that we cannot accomplish the full measure of civil rights through legislation overnight, nor can we make progress in this country in a great many fields of social legislation by way of a social avalanche. The test should be the test of progress. Are we moving ahead? Are we really making progress which can be absorbed by the mores of the American people at a given time? I think that is sound, Mr. President. I think it is also sound to insist that the tenets of the Constitution shall be applied to all groups within the country. Certainly, there is a constitutional obligation on the part of all of us, irrespective of race, color, or creed, to defend this country in time of emergency or war, when the security of the Nation is threatened by any foreign power.

That is the position I took in my cross-examination of Mr. Randolph. It was a kindly cross-examination, and I am willing to let the record speak for itself on that score, also. In fact, it was a cross-examination which I submit was in the form of a plea that Mr. Randolph and those who share his views reconsider their position and recognize that, after all, there is a patriotic duty above the social ideal for which Mr. Randolph was pleading in his sincere desire and attempt, I have no doubt, to do what he could to bring to an end a failure on the part of the American people to grant full civil rights to Negroes. This question of civil rights is the responsibility of the people of this country. Even though some would pass the buck to the Congress of the United States, the fact still remains that the people of the United States have not as yet accepted their full civil rights responsibilities under the Constitution. I sought to point out to Mr. Randolph that he and those for whom he speaks have a responsibility in seeing to it that they live up to their constitutional responsibilities, because two wrongs never make a right. I tried to point out in my cross-examination that it is wrong for Mr. Randolph to propose a program of civil disobedience because he objects, as I object, to the failure on the part of the people of the country to live up to their full responsibilities in keeping faith with the civil-rights guaranties of the Constitution.

I did not persuade him. I did not think I could persuade him on that occasion. But I did ask a series of questions which ended with the conclusion for which I had laid a foundation in my cross-examination, namely, that unless he could point to some legal principle of the Constitution which would support his program of civil disobedience, I saw no way of his escaping the application of the law of treason to any such program as he proposed if he should carry it out in times of national emergency.

Because of the next point I want to mention in regard to the subject, Mr. President, I ask to have printed at this point in my remarks edited excerpts from start his fight all over again after the end of that war, which all hope will never come.

INTERESTING SIDE LIGHTS

In addition to the general purposes of the plea and threat, there was an interesting sideline which took place in Washington last week, when Grant Reynolds and Truman Gibson almost became involved in a hand to hand fight over words about the proposal.

Gibson, who is a former civilian aide of the Secretary of War and who strongly favors UMT, declared that the opinion of the delegation was not the same as that of the majority of Negro citizens. This statement was issued at the hearing.

When Reynolds took the stand he told the committee that he was not trying to "barter for democracy," as Gibson had charged, and that he, Reynolds, who was an Army chaplain in the last war, wore a uniform in the last war and did not sit in a swivel chair (as did Gibson in his civilian aide post). It was this statement which caused Gibson to rush to Reynolds after the hearing and threaten to hit him. Gibson told Reynolds that had he said such on the outside, he would have hit him in the mouth and sued him. Commenting on the incident, Reynolds said he would ignore any remark made by such a small person.

AND, SO WHAT?

Meanwhile, individuals and groups throughout the country are discussing the antisegregation against civil disobedience issues.

All want the end of jim crowism in the draft and armed services, but—. You fill in that "but" because there are almost as many answers to that "but" as there are different groups and different individuals.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, so far as the letters and telegrams of criticism are concerned, I know that I am hearing principally from those Negroes who apparently share Mr. Randolph's point of view. I know I am not hearing from what I honestly believe to be the overwhelming majority of the people of the colored race of America, who can be counted upon to fulfill as fully as any white person their patriotic duty in time of national emergency or war. I am satisfied that those of the colored race who are talking in terms of civil disobedience are not representing a great majority of the colored people of America.

However, Mr. President, I am a little puzzled at a couple of critical telephone calls I have received today in regard to an exchange which I have had with the secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Mr. Walter White. On April 1 I received a telegram from Mr. White, and so that the telegram may speak for itself, I ask unanimous consent that it be inserted in the RECORD after I read excerpts from it.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. MORSE. In this telegram Mr. White says:

> You have been a good friend of minority groups and supporter of civil-rights legislation, but it apparently is not possible for you to realize how bitterly Negro Americans feel about Jim Crow in the armed services. The treatment of Negroes in uniform seems to be beyond the understanding of United States Senators, even those as sympathetic as yourself. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People will never cease its fight for the abolition of the vicious and undemocratic discrimination and segregation in the armed services.

Mr. President, I digress to say that I shall not cease, either, in trying to end segregation in the armed services. I digress further to say that I am a member of the board of directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and I am interested in knowing how far Mr. White would go, as secretary of that association, in supporting Mr. Randolph's position, because if he or the other officials of that association are going to support to any degree whatsoever Mr. Randolph's civil-disobedience program, I serve notice now that I shall dissociate myself from the board of directors of that association. I shall wait for Mr. White to make it clearer than he does in this telegram just where he does specifically stand in regard to Mr. Randolph's program.

Returning to the telegram, he says:

> We would have valiant allies if you and some of your colleagues in the Senate could darken their faces and don a uniform for 6 weeks.

I do not have to engage in that type of literalism, Mr. President, to fully appreciate the problem of civil rights in this country. Mr. White is quite mistaken if he thinks I have to be a black man in order to understand the true meanings of the Constitution of the United States. But I suggest that he would strengthen his case if he would be more of a realist about these problems, and recognize the importance of what I said earlier in my remarks as to making progress step by step, but not expecting the impossible. After all, this is a problem which is going to require growth in social attitudes on the part of all the people. I repeat at this point: This is not a problem of Congress alone, as Mr. White knows. This is a problem of proceeding step by step in educating the American people to recognize year by year that we are not going to have complete democracy in America, in the sense that democratic rights are given to all of us under the Constitution, until 140,000,000 of us agree that the Constitution should be observed to its very letter by all of our people.

I know Mr. White's problem, and I wish to pay tribute to the great service he has rendered the Negro people of this country. I pay tribute to the great service the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has rendered, not only to the Negro people but all the people of the country, in making the fight for the sound principles of democracy for which it has contended over the years. But I do want to caution Mr. White and others in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People that they are not going to help attain the goal believers in civil rights hope to reach in due course of time by giving any aid or comfort to a civil disobedience program in this country.

Mr. White must know that such a program will be bound to lead to emotional reactions in this country. Mr. Randolph on the witness stand said that he was sure that it would lead to "terrorism," to use his exact word.

Mob action, Mr. President, in support of civil rights, or in a fight for civil rights, is just as bad and undesirable as mob action which seeks to prevent the enjoyment of civil rights. I do not want Mr. White or Mr. Randolph to forget that. I do not want them to overlook the fact that they do not help us defeat government by mob in this country by themselves giving any support or sympathy to a program which would encourage government by mob.

They must keep clear headed and themselves live above an emotional attitude for which in many of their statements they are so quick to criticize others.

Returning to Mr. White's telegram, I read:

> Our association is not advising Negroes to refuse to defend their country if it is in danger. But those who expect them to be enthusiastic fighters should remember that their memories of mistreatment in the last war are bitter green. Negro veterans returned home to be terrorized in Columbia, Tenn., lynched in Walton County, Ga., denied the ballot in most Southern States, barred from taking GI courses in many schools, and slandered on the floor of the United States Congress. Consequently there is sympathy in many hearts for the Randolph point of view. The remedy is not to threaten treason trials, but to give these loyal citizens the democracy they are expected and asked to defend.
>
> WALTER WHITE,
> *Secretary.*

I was disturbed about that telegram. I am satisfied that Mr. White is right, and he means it when he says:

> Our association is not advising Negroes to refuse to defend their country if it is in danger.

But I should like to have an unequivocal rejection and repudiation of the Randolph program in all its aspects from Mr. White. I replied to that telegram under date of April 6, as follows:

> Mr. WALTER WHITE,
> *National Association for the Advancement of Colored People,*
> *New York, N. Y.:*
>
> Appreciate your wire of April 1. However, I think you should read discussion which Randolph and I had at the hearing before you give any encouragement whatsoever to Randolph's proposal. I think you perform great disservice to those who are making as good a fight as we can for a sound civil rights program if you give any encouragement to Randolph proposal. I agree with those parts of your wire which point out injustices which Negroes have been receiving in this country but I totally disagree with the other implications of your wire which I think give comfort to the Randolph approach to this problem. If you give any such encouragement to Randolph's point of view it will set back several years our fight for civil rights program. Regards.
>
> WAYNE MORSE,
> *United States Senator.*

One more word about this matter, Mr. President, and then I shall proceed to another subject. I want the RECORD to show that I hope that Mr. Randolph, after due reflection and after receiving, as I am sure he must have received by now, many sincere protestations from the people of his race from all over the country in opposition to his suggestion will retract it. I hope he will clarify the situation by making an early announcement that, after careful reflection and reconsideration, he now recommends, not a program of civil disobedience, but a program of full patriotic support on the part of all Negroes to their country in time of national emergency. I hope he will urge them at the same time to use their political strength and their political rights to work in a constitutional way and through a free ballot box for the election of men who will help pass a long overdue civil-rights program in the Congress of the United States.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MORSE. I yield.

Mr. LUCAS. I am not a member of the Committee on Armed Services. I did not attend the hearing when Mr. Randolph testified; but I wish to say to the able Senator from Oregon that he has made a very interesting statement as to what occurred before the committee, and of his conclusions as to what ought to be done. However, I thought perhaps his statement would not be complete unless he mentioned something else which happened before the committee. I now refer to a friend of mine in Chicago, a Negro who testified and took direct issue, according to the press, with the Randolph program of civil disobedience. If the Senator would comment on that question I would appreciate it.

Mr. MORSE. I am glad that the Senator from Illinois has made the point which he has just made. I am happy to say to the Senator from Illinois that Mr. Gibson, a Negro who was another witness before the Armed Services Committee, made one of the finest defenses of the Negro race in regard to civil rights that it has been my pleasure to read. He made it very clear that he did not share in any respect the point of view which Mr. Randolph presented in regard to civil disobedience. As I said earlier in my remarks, I am satisfied that Mr. Gibson's point of view represents the point of view of the overwhelming majority of the colored people of this country. By that I mean 99 and a fraction percent. I think that is how strongly the colored people will support the position taken by Mr. Gibson of Illinois, who testified before the Armed Services Committee, in contrast to the civil-disobedience position taken by Mr. Randolph.

I wish to be perfectly fair to Mr. Randolph. As I said at the committee hearings, and I repeat now, there is no question about Mr. Randolph's complete sincerity; there is no question about the fact that Mr. Randolph is no Communist. The attempt which is being made to charge Mr. Randolph with being a Communist is absolutely wrong, because I know Mr. Randolph well enough to know that he is not a Communist. During the years, he has performed a great service for the union of which he is president, and he has performed a great service over the years, for the colored people of this country. He has been a valiant fighter for civil rights. But on this particular issue, in my judgment, he is dead wrong; and he is now performing, if he presses it, a great disservice to all the causes in support of which he has so effectively performed in the years gone by. That is the only point I wish to make about his position. My confidence in his great intellectual ability and in the sincerity of his motivation is such that I believe that he is big enough to recognize the mistake he is making, and to admit it.

EXHIBIT 1

NEW YORK, N. Y., *April 1, 1948.*

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.:

You have been a good friend of minority groups and a supporter of civil rights legislation, but it apparently is not possible for you to realize how bitterly Negro Americans feel about Jim Crow in the armed services. The treatment of Negroes in uniform seems to be beyond the understanding of United States Senators, even those as sympathetic as yourself. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People will never cease its fight for the abolition of the vicious and undemocratic discrimination and segregation in the armed services. We would have valiant allies if you and some of your colleagues in the Senate could darken their faces and don a uniform for 6 weeks. Our association is not advising Negroes to refuse to defend their country if it is in danger. But those who expect them to be enthusiastic fighters should remember that their memories of mistreatment in the last war are bitter green. Negro veterans returned home to be terrorized in Columbia, Tenn., lynched in Walton County, Ga., denied the ballot in most Southern States, barred from taking GI courses in many schools, and slandered on the floor of the United States Congress. Consequently there is sympathy in many hearts for the Randolph point of view. The remedy is not to threaten treason trials, but to give these loyal citizens the democracy they are expected and asked to defend.

WALTER WHITE,
Secretary.

DETERMINATION OF REASONABLENESS OF DEDUCTIONS FROM GROSS INCOME FOR COMPENSATION FOR PERSONAL SERVICES

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, while I am on my feet I want at this time to offer a bill which seeks to amend the internal revenue laws of the country, so as to put an end to what I consider to be a very arbitrary and capricious practice on the part of the Treasury Department. The bill I now offer relates to the determination of reasonableness of deductions from gross income for compensation for personal services. The bill is as follows:

(a) Publication of Standards for Determining Reasonableness.

Section 23 (a) (1) (A) of the Internal Revenue Code is amended by inserting at the end thereof the following new sentence:

"In determining the reasonableness of salaries or other compensation for personal services, the Commissioners shall apply uniform standards to all corporations in like circumstances, and shall prescribe by regulations approved by the Secretary all criteria which shall be employed in determining the reasonableness of such salaries or other compensation and the weight which shall be assigned to each such criterion."

(b) Effective date. The amendment by this section shall be applicable to taxable years beginning after December 31, 1947.

There being no objection, the bill (S. 2484) to amend the Internal Revenue Code concerning the determination of the reasonableness of compensation for personal services, introduced by Mr. MORSE, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I offer the bill because business concerns have pointed out to me that the Treasury Department is very arbitrarily deducting from tax statements amounts inserted in those statements for salaries, claiming that the salaries allowed their various officers are entirely too large. I recognize that we must guard against income-report padding on the part of corporations, but I submit, Mr. President, that the businessman is entitled to know what criteria the Treasury Department applies in determining whether or not salaries are reasonable. I do not think the Congress can justify leaving that to the whim and caprice of men in the Treasury Department. So once again in regard to this matter I am raising my voice in protest against arbitrary, capricious action on the part of Government administrators.

The Presiding Officer of the Senate at the moment has heard me thus protest many times in the past in connection with other legislation. I am always going to do it, Mr. President, whenever a set of facts is presented to me in support of a finding that some Government official is not properly surrounded with those checks with which I think he ought to be surrounded in order to protect the people as a whole from arbitrary and papricious conduct.

I want to cite, without mentioning the name of the firm, the experience of one firm which is typical of this problem and the like of which gave rise to the bill. On or about June 17, 1947, the Federal Income Tax Department of the Government proposed an additional assessment of taxes against this particular corporation in the amount of, in round figures, $265,000, for the fiscal years ending June 30, 1944, 1945, and 1946. This proposal was subsequently modified to an amount, in round figures, of $217,000. The principal factor involved in this proposal was disallowance of certain proportions of executive salaries which were deemed by the agent making the investigation to be excessive. When the agent was aked for the basis of his finding, for the criteria he applied in determining whether whether or not the salaries in question were reasonable salaries, he was unable to give any measurement whatever in determining his own findings of reasonableness. When we have the Treasury Department applying such an unchecked discretion, one investigator may find that a particular salary is reasonable and another investigator in another part of the country may find, in similar circumstances, that an identical salary is not reasonable. It seems to me that we must always be at work in the Congress checking that type of discretionary abuse. We must do what we can to see to it that our laws are so drafted that the same criteria, the same standards, the same rules of measurement so far as the exercise of discretion is concerned, are applied uniformly throughout the country to all taxpayers. If we

England's draft policy is broader than ours and recognizes "conscientious objectors to military service without regard to religious belief." In England, the Randolphs could probably get total exemption from all service.

Before we condemn Mr. Randolph too severely, we should recall the case of Mark Ethridge, onetime member of President Roosevelt's Fair Employment Practice Committee, during the last war.

FDR, in setting up this committee as a measure designed to help win the war, directed that there should be no discrimination in the employment of workers in war plants because of race, creed, color, or national origins.

In the midst of this effort, Mr. Ethridge objected.

"If," said Mr. Ethridge, "the President's order is designed to stop segregation in war plants, it is futile, if not dangerous, disruptive—a Federal order in the Nazi dictator pattern."

Not only was the Commander in Chief of War compared to Hitler, but Mr. Ethridge declared if that was Mr. Roosevelt's order, the President couldn't enforce it. He said:

"Not even the mechanized armies of the earth, Allied or Axis, could now force the Southern white people to give up the principle of social segregation."

Thus Mr. Ethridge defied the President in time of war. No Senator yelled "Treason."

The best answer to Mr. Ethridge was made by Mr. Randolph, also a member of the committee with Mr. Ethridge, when he said:

"Mr. Ethridge should know that if his statement is true, it is also true that not even all the mechanized armies of the earth, Allies and Axis, could force the colored people to abandon their fight for the destruction of racial discrimination, segregation, and Jim Crow."

It would thus appear that Mr. Randolph's declaration before the Senate Committee last week is a restatement of his position taken 6 years ago.

[From the Pittsburgh Courier of April 10, 1948]

Powell Blasts Army Policy—"Not Frightened by Cry of Treason"

(By Lem Graves, Jr.)

Washington.—Count Congressman Adam C. Powell, Jr., Democrat, of New York, in on the "civil disobedience program" if draft legislation which does not abolish Army Jim Crow is passed by Congress.

In a statement filed with the Senate Armed Services Committee last Friday, 2 days after A. Philip Randolph and Grant Reynolds had announced plans for a boycott of a "Jim Crow Army," the Harlem Congressman militantly supported the idea.

Representative Powell attacked Truman K. Gibson, former civilian aide to the Secretary of War.

Representative Powell did not testify personally. He sent his testimony in the form of a written statement to Chairman Chan Gurney of the Senate committee before which Mr. Randolph and Mr. Reynolds testified in person Wednesday of last week.

Mr. Powell's brief statement said, in part:

"I * * * assure you that the testimony by A. Philip Randolph * * * did most emphatically state the mood of a vast majority of the 15,000,000 Negroes in America. He did not overestimate it. Negroes are sick and tired of the hypocritical pretense at democracy now being evidenced by Congress * * * of the double-dealing and double-talk * * * of both Houses and both parties. * * *

"I want to emphatically assure you that the opposite viewpoint as expressed by Truman Gibson does not even represent the minority opinion. Negro veterans and their families will always remember Gibson as the rubber-stamp Uncle Tom who was used by the War Department to cast aspersions on Negro troops in Italy while those same Negroes were shedding their blood and dying.

"We are not going to be frightened by the cry of 'treason.' We, the Negro people, for over 300 years have been the most loyal element of this democracy. If the finger of treason can be pointed at anyone, it must be pointed at those of you who are traitors to our Constitution and to our Bill of Rights.

"There aren't enough jails to hold the Negro people who will refuse to bear arms in a Jim Crow army."

Representative Powell then said that "60,000 pulpits of the Negro church will thunder * * * against the immoral hypocrisy. I dare you to arrest the 60,000 ministers of God in order to whitewash your un-Americanism."

He pledged to fight universal military training vigorously to amend it so there will be complete nonsegregation.

[From the New York Amsterdam News of April 10, 1948]

Majority Backs Plea, But With a Few If's—Veteran Spokesman Says Old Folks Should Let Youngsters Decide Issue

(By S. W. Garlington)

The entire Nation, both black and white, as well as many interested countries throughout the world, showed concern last week when A. Philip Randolph, as spokesman for the Committee Against Jim Crow in Military Service and Training, sounded the tocsin for civil disobedience for black Americans, by declaring that if the powers to be did not outlaw Jim Crow in all forms of military service, that he and his followers would stage a Nation-wide campaign against the draft, which, in plain language, means that the famous Laborite will urge Negroes to ignore a draft call, unless safeguards against racial discrimination and Jim Crow treatment are provided.

Randolph, along with Grant Reynolds, both of Harlem and executives of the Committee Against Jim Crow, issued the demand and threat on Wednesday, March 31, in Washington during a hearing of the Senate Armed Services Committee. As soon as Randolph delivered his ultimatum, Senator Wayne Morse (Republican, Oregon) warned that if such (the civil disobedience program) were put into operation, that the leaders, along with millions of other Negroes, would possibly face charges of treason. However, Randolph stood his grounds and said that if such be the price of absolute equality, then he and his followers were willing to accept the consequences.

PARTIAL AGREEMENT

Just like Randolph startled the Nation during the Roosevelt era, with his threatened march on Washington, which led to the now defunct Temporary Federal Fair Employment Practice Committee, his move last week was just as startling—with one single exception. During his threatened march, he consulted various leaders and groups on the subject, and secured almost 100-percent approval. But this year he went into his demand almost single-handed. And as such, groups, leaders, and people in the street would back him—but only with reservation.

One of the first groups to come out in partial support of Randolph's position was the NAACP. Walter White, its (NAACP's) executive secretary, stated that his group was wholeheartedly behind Randolph's appeal to end Jim Crow in the armed forces, but added that the NAACP would not advise the Negro to refuse to take up arms if he were needed to defend his country.

Before White completed his comment, he added that the remedy is not to threaten treason trials, but to give these loyal citizens the democracy they are expected and asked to die to defend.

ROTC PLEDGES LOYALTY

Another partial approval came from the presidents of 13 Negro land-grant colleges, who stated last week that graduates of ROTC would be obliged to enter the armed forces—if the Government requested that step. This pledge of loyalty was implied in a discussion of college needs before the Gray committee in the District of Columbia, which is studying civilian components of the armed forces.

When contacted by the Amsterdam News for a comment on Randolph's position and program, Dr. Chaning H. Tobias, director, Phelp-Stokes Fund, was inclined to refuse this reporter's request. Said he:

"I don't think that we'll get anywhere finding out what old people like me think. The youngsters will have to fight. Find out how they feel and you will have your answer."

However, Dr. Tobias did go on record as against all forms of Jim Crow, in the Army and everywhere else. He even went further and said that Senator Morse's threat of treason charges was most unfortunate. In fact, he said, "Senator Morse might have addressed himself to the question of what might have been treasonable in the insistence by reactionary Members of Congress on a Jim Crow armed forces. They might reflect over and over on Willkie's statement: 'The Constitution of the United States does not provide for first- and second-class citizens.'" In brief, Dr. Tobias contends that southerners who insist on racial segregation are just as treasonable as liberals and Negroes who insist on the practice of the ideals of democracy which calls for one type of citizenship—where all men are equal in both theory and practice.

POWELL BACKS RANDOLPH

Representative A. Clayton Powell, from Harlem, in a statement before the Senate Armed Services Committee on Friday, April 2, said in part that "I want to assure you that the testimony given you by Mr. Randolph did most emphatically state the mood of the vast majority of the 15,000,000 Negroes in America. He did not overstate it * * *." Then he concluded by saying that "And you can't ram UMT down the throats of the Negro people. Well, you can't. We won't take it. We refuse to bear arms in an un-American Jim Crow armed services, especially in peacetime. That is the only choice that is forced upon us by our God, our conscience, our Constitution, and our Bill of Rights."

Alan L. Dingle, noted attorney, backed Randolph's whole position—civil disobedience and all—without qualification. "I think," he said, "it's an excellent statement. I heartily concur with his position. I wish it were possible for all Negroes to follow that position and let the world know of the real position the Negro occupies in American life. Furthermore, I believe that much good can be gained by such a program. After all," he concluded, "we must give up something to gain something."

MORE PARTIAL AGREEMENTS

Frank T. Simpson, executive secretary of the Connecticut FEPC Act; D. Oliver Francis, director of the Francis Chemical Laboratory; Mrs. Sadie T. Alexander, member of Mayor O'Dwyer's committee on unity; M. Moran Weston, labor columnist and New York State Civil Liberties chairman of the Elks, and several other Harlemites agreed with Randolph's plea to end jim crow in the armed forces, but had no clear-cut comment on the civil-disobedience program. In brief, the local opinion is that Randolph is right, and that we are willing to do all within our power to secure equality within the framework of our Government, as long as peace is with us, but if war comes the Negro must and will take up arms to defend his country, and then

Jesse O. Thomas (American Red Cross executive): "What you may say in a church mass meeting, under a lather of emotion, is one thing, but what you say to your government or a formal representation of it, is certainly something else.

"I have not had opportunity to read and digest Mr. Randolph's message as yet, but, on first impulse, I would say it isn't the best procedure to make a threat which you cannot carry out."

Beltran Barker (District of Columbia businessman): "Philip Randolph said what a whole lot of people privately think, and, no doubt, would say in bold words, if they were not, first, Americans. By that, I mean good American citizens.

"Mr. Randolph played a 'winning hand' but what if he were returned loser, where will we (colored Americans) be? We will have gained nothing and, besides, risked our stake in the future of this Nation."

Charles C. Coley (District of Columbia businessman): "I definitely share the opinion which Mr. Randolph so well stated. This is a parallel to the conscientious objector; the difference being that the usual protest is based on religious conviction. Here, the objection is on civil considerations."

The Reverend W. H. Jernagin (Mount Carmel Baptist Church pastor): "It is regrettable that Mr. Randolph was so aggravated that he made that statement. As a Christian leader I have always and will continue to advocate granting of full constitutional rights to minority groups, but I believe it can be achieved through lawful and loyal methods."

Dr. E. B. Henderson (public-school official): "I cannot believe Mr. Randolph would advocate Negroes becoming treasonous, despite his testimony. I rather think he sensed the growing resentment of thousands of Negroes toward America's failure to grant its colored citizens the rights that even former enemy aliens have in this country."

[From the Pittsburgh Courier of April 10, 1948]

Segregation in the Armed Services

As the shadows of World War III gather, the demand for peacetime conscription under digestible euphemisms is spurred by numerous Government officials, publishers, and private citizens of influence throughout the land.

Last week the attitude of many American colored citizens on the subject was expressed by A. Philip Randolph, Grant Reynolds, Truman K. Gibson, and Walter White before the Senate Armed Forces Committee which is considering the matter, and in the public prints.

While none of these spokesmen seemed opposed to the idea of peacetime conscription, all of them denounced the evident intention of preponents of the pending legislation to perpetuate the traditional policy of segregation of Negroes in the armed services.

Messrs. Randolph and Reynolds voiced the extremist viewpoint which advises Negro draftees to ignore the conscription law if passed and to refuse military service unless the segregationist policy is abandoned and one of complete integration adopted, while Messrs. Gibson and White, taking a more moderate view, nevertheless insisted that Jim Crow in the armed services be banned.

The Senate committee was warned of the bitterness of American colored people about the persistent policy of military segregation, and it does not seem that this attitude was exaggerated even, by the extremists, although there is little evidence that many colored youths will adopt the drastic course advocated by Randolph and Reynolds.

Negroes are unquestionably bitter about the useless and unnecessary Jim Crow policy which the armed services persist in perpetuating even in the face of a global war of unprecedented intensity and extent, but there is little indication at this time that there is any appreciable support for a policy of civil disobedience in order to defeat it.

The patriotism and sacrifices of the colored citizens in all national emergencies are traditional and well known, and it is extremely unlikely that they will abandon this policy regardless of provocation, no matter how great it may be.

Alone among the various elements constituting the American Nation, the Negro has never produced any traitors and we do not believe he ever will.

Moreover it would be extremely dangerous, and perhaps catastrophic, if the idea became widespread that there was any intention on the part of even a small segment of the colored population to hamper national defense in any way because of refusal of the Government to practice at home what it preaches abroad.

The Pittsburgh Courier was one of the earliest advocates of erasure of the color line in the armed services and will continue to maintain that position, but it is unalterably opposed to the advocacy of any extremist policy which would certainly boomerang against all of our people with unfortunate promptitude.

We want an end to color segregation in the armed services and everywhere else in American life, but we are determinedly set against any policy which would in any way injure this Nation because the majority of its citizens as represented by Congress do not agree with us.

We are for democracy, which means majority rule, and while we hope and work for the adoption of a national policy of complete integration of all of the elements in this country in every field of endeavor without racial or creedal discrimination, we counsel at all times complete cooperation with the adopted policies of the Government which represents that majority.

In a democracy it is necessary to take the bitter with the sweet.

We should battle the issue to the point of decision, and then, if defeated, gracefully accept the decision and cooperate in its implementation. But we should never abandon our fight against discrimination.

[From the Washington Afro-American, April 6, 1948]

Sixty Thousand Ministers Urged To Fight Jim-Crow Army—Representative Powell Backs Randolph, Defies Treason Threat; Scores Testimony By Truman Gibson

WASHINGTON.—Representative ADAM C. POWELL, JR. (Democrat, New York), testifying last Friday before the Senate's Armed Services Committee, fully supported A. Phillip Randolph's civil disobedience threat to keep colored youth out of a Jim-Crow army, and called on 60,000 fellow ministers to preach that doctrine. He declared:

"I want to assure you that the testimony given you by Mr. A. Phillip Randolph on March 3 did most emphatically state the mood of the vast majority of the 15,000,000 colored Americans. He did not overestimate it."

TIRED OF HYPOCRISY

"They are sick and tired of the hypocrical pretense at democracy now being evidenced by our Congress * * * of the double dealing and double talk they are receiving from both Houses and both parties.

"I want to emphatically assure you that the opposite viewpoint as expressed by Truman Gibson does not even represent the minority opinion.

"Colored veterans and their families will always remember Gibson as the rubber-stamp Uncle Tom who was used during the war by the War Department to cast aspersions on colored troops in Italy while those same troops were shedding their blood and dying."

CAN'T BE FRIGHTENED

"We are not going to to be frightened by the cry of 'Treason.' We, the colored people, for over 300 years have been the most loyal element of this democracy.

"If the finger of treason can be pointed at anyone, it must be pointed at those of you who are traitors to our Constitution and to our Bill of Rights."

NOT ENOUGH JAILS

"There aren't enough jails in America to hold the colored people who will refuse to bear arms in a Jim-Crow army.

"If you threaten our leaders, then the 60,000 pulpits of the colored church will thunder through their ministers, against the immoral hypocracy of you, the leaders.

"I dare you to arrest the 60,000 ministers of God in order to whitewash your un-Americanism."

CONGRESS SCORED

"Step by step, this Congress is pushing the colored people's backs against the wall.

"Last March, you refused to accept my amendment and you set up a permanent Nurse Corps for the Armed Services which rigidly excluded colored women. You are now planning to present a bill authorizing a permanent Women's Auxiliary to the Armed Services.

"The bill again rigidly excludes colored people, despite the fact that I appeared before the House Armed Services Committee and presented my amendments, but they were overwhelmingly defeated."

WILL SEEK AMENDMENT

"And now you think you can ram Universal Military Training down the throats of the colored people.

"Well you can't. We won't take it. We refuse to bear arms in un-American Jim-Crow armed services. That choice is forced upon us by our God, our conscience, our Constitution, and the Bill of Rights.

"When UMT comes before the House, I promise you that I will fight vigorously and militantly to amend it so that there will be complete nonsegregation in every phase of our armed services."

[From the Washington Afro-American of April 6, 1948]

Randolph Won't Fight

There were thousands of conscientious objectors in the last war. They refused to don a uniform for various reasons.

Some of them had religious scruples. They belonged to the Church of God or the Quakers; or other sects who abhorred war. Others were simply pacifists.

We put the pacifists in jail and let the Quakers and Church of God members do noncombatant service behind the lines.

If A. Philip Randolph has his way, we will have a third class of objectors in the next war.

It will include persons like Lewis P. Jones, of New York, who in 1942, declined to report for a Jim Crow induction in the armed services.

If his idea catches on, it would materially increase the 1,600 objectors we imprisoned in the first years of the last war.

By April 1943, we had 4,630 conscientious objectors in work camps.

Mr. Randolph, who is head of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, told a Senate Armed Services Committee last week that he would urge colored and white youths to refuse to register for another draft, unless the armed services abandoned the present policy of racial segregation.

Commenting on this utterance, the national office of the NAACP said:

"We are not urging colored people to refuse to defend their country in time of danger, but—there is sympathy in many hearts for the point of view expressed by Mr. Randolph."

the hearings before the Armed Services Committee, setting forth my questions and Mr. Randolph's responses to my questions on the occasion to which I have referred.

There being no objection, the testimony was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Senator Morse. Mr. Randolph, I want to question you a bit on your proposal for civil disobedience. Up until now refusal to serve in the military forces of this country in time of national emergency has been limited as far as one's psychological attitudes are concerned, to conscientious objections to war, the participating in war.

It is based upon the legal theory of freedom of religion in this country, that if one's religious scruples are such that in good conscience he cannot bring himself to participate in war, which involves the taking of human life, our Government has protected him in that religious belief, and we have our so-called exemption on the ground of conscientious objection.

Now, this proposal of yours—I am not one to minimize your testimony—your proposal is not based upon conscientious objection in the sense that the American law has recognized it to date; am I not right about that?

Mr. Randolph. That is correct.

Senator Morse. But your proposal, and put me straight on this, your proposal is really based upon conviction that because your Government has not given you certain social, economic, and race protection from discrimination because of race, color, or creed, you feel that even in a time of national emergency, when your Government and the country itself may be at stake, you are justified in saying to any segment of our populace—whether it is the colored group or, as you say in your statement, the white group with like sympathies—that under those circumstances you would be justified then in saying, "Do not shoulder arms in protection of your country in this national emergency"?

Mr. Randolph. That is a correct statement, Mr. Senator.

I may add that it is my deep conviction that in taking such a position we are doing our country a great service. Our country has come out before the world as the moral leader of democracy, and it is preparing its defense forces and aggressive forces upon the theory that it must do this to protect democracy in the world.

Well, now, I consider that if this country does not develop the democratic process at home and make the democratic process work by giving the very people whom they propose to draft in the Army to fight for them democracy, democracy then is not the type of democracy that ought to be fought for, and, as a matter of fact, the policy of segregation in the armed forces and in other avenues of our life is the greatest single propaganda and political weapon in the hands of Russia and international communism today.

Senator Morse. I understand your position, Mr. Randolph, but for the record I want to direct your attention to certain basic legal principles which I want to say, most kindly are being overlooked in your position. I want to discuss your position from the standpoint of a couple of hypotheticals and relate them to certain legal principles which I think you ought to give very careful consideration to before you follow the course of action which you have indicated.

Let us assume this hypothetical. A country proceeds to attack the United States or commits acts which make it perfectly clear that our choice is only the choice of war. Would you take the position then that unless our Government granted the demands which are set out in your testimony, or most of the demands set out in your testimony, that you would recommend a course of civil disobedience to our Government?

Mr. Randolph. In answer to that question, the Government now has time to change its policy on segregation and discrimination and if the Government does not change its policy on segregation and discrimination in the interests of the very democracy it is fighting for, I would advocate that Negroes take no part in the Army.

Senator Morse. My hypothetical assumes that up to the time of the emergency set forth in my hypothetical, our Government does not follow in any degree whatsoever the course of action that you recommend.

Mr. Randolph. Yes.

Senator Morse. So the facts of the hypothetical then are thrust upon us and I understand your answer to be that under those circumstances even though it was perfectly clear that we would have to fight then to exist as a country, you would still recommend the program of civil disobedience?

Mr. Randolph. Because I would believe that that is in the interest of the soul of our country and I unhesitatingly and very adamantly hold that that is the only way by which we are going to be able to make America wake up and realize that we do not have democracy here as long as one black man is denied all of the rights enjoyed by all the white men in this country.

Senator Morse. Now, facing realistically that hypothetical situation and the assumption that it has come to pass, do you have any doubt then that this Government as presently constituted under the Constitution that governs us would necessarily follow a legal course of action of applying the legal doctrine of treason to that conduct? Would you question with me that that is the doctrine that undoubtedly will be applied at that time under the circumstances of my hypothetical?

Mr. Randolph. I would anticipate Nationwide terrorism against Negroes who refused to participate in the armed forces, but I believe that that is the price we have to pay for democracy that we want. In other words, if there are sacrifices and sufferings, terrorism, concentration camps, whatever they may be, if that is the only way by which Negroes can get their democratic rights, I unhesitatingly say that we have to face it.

Senator Morse. But on the basis of the law as it now exists, going back to my premise that you and I know of no legal exemption from participation in military service in the defense of our country other than that of conscientious objection on religious grounds, not on the grounds in which you place your civil disobedience, that then the doctrine of treason would be applied to those people participating in that disobedience?

Mr. Randolph. Exactly. I would be willing to face that doctrine on the theory and on the grounds that we are serving a higher law than the law which applies the act of treason to us when we are attempting to win democracy in this country and to make the soul of America democratic.

I would contend that we are serving a higher law than that law with its legal technicalities, which would include the group which fights for democracy even in the face of a crisis you would portray. I would contend that they are serving a higher law than that law.

Senator Morse. But you would fully expect that because the law of treason in this country relates to certain specific overt acts on the part of the individual irrespective of what he considers to be his spiritual or moral motivation in justification, that there would not be any other course of action for our Government to follow but indictments for treason?

Mr. Randolph. May I add something there, Mr. Senator?

Senator Morse. First, do you agree with me that that would be certain to follow?

Mr. Randolph. Let me add here in connection with that that we would participate in no overt acts against our Government, no overt acts of any kind. In other words, ours would be one of nonresistance. Ours would be one of noncooperation; ours would be one of nonparticipation in the military forces of the country.

I want you to know that we would be willing to absorb the violence, to absorb the terrorism, to face the music and to take whatever comes and we, as a matter of fact, consider that we are more loyal to our country than the people who perpetrate segregation and discrimination upon Negroes because of color or race.

I want it thoroughly understood that we would certainly not be guilty of any kind of overt act against the country but we would not participate in any military operation as segregated and jimcrow slaves in the Army.

Senator Morse. I think you will agree with me that this is not the time and place for you and me to argue the legal meaning of aiding and abetting the enemy but if you refresh your memory of treason cases, as I have been doing, sitting here this morning, I would only point out to you most kindly that the legal concepts of aiding and abetting are flexible concepts that can be applied to the behavior of individuals which in effect serve the enemy in time of war to the endangerment of the rest of the people of our country.

Furthermore, and I know you are aware of the fact, any such program as you outline would not be a passive program but would be one that would be bound to result in all sorts of overt actions you could not possibly control, but for which you who sponsored it would, as a matter of law, be fixed with the proximate cause of the conduct and, therefore, would be legally responsible for it.

Mr. Randolph. I recognize that fact just as for instance a union may call a strike. The union does not promote the violence but the forces that are opposed to the union may create the violence.

Well now, in this instance we are definitely opposed to violence of any kind; we are definitely opposed to any overt acts that would be construed in the form of violence but, nevertheless, we would relentlessly wage a warfare against the jimcrow, armed forces program and against the Negroes and others participating in that program. That is our position.

Now I do not believe the law up to the present time has been faced with such conditions as to enable it to envisage these principles. In other words, American jurisprudence has never been faced with this kind of a condition and consequently its definition of treason could not possible take in the type and nature of action which we propose in civil disobedience. But however the law may be construed we would be willing to face it on the grounds that our actions would be in obedience and in conformity with the higher law of righteousness than that set forth in the so-called law of treason.

Senator Morse. I appreciate that the case would go to the United States Supreme Court for final decision as to the application of the legal principles I have discussed here this morning. I would say most kindly and most sincerely that I have no doubt in my mind that under the circumstances of my hypothetical there is only one decision that could be handed down and that is that the law of treason would be applicable.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I am through with this line of questioning. I felt it necessary to raise these questions. I know Mr. Randolph and I know the fight he has put up for social justice in support of the principles that he believes to be right. I think he knows me, at least I think he knows that I sincerely believe in fighting for putting into effect in America the civil-rights guaranties of the Constitution which for too long have not been put into effect in their full meaning. I agree that both parties too frequently have been guilty of political professings rather than into political action in support of the principles of Constitutional Rights.

I do want to say with all the sincerity that I possess that I do not think the proposal you offer is the way to establish full civil rights in America.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I say I was shocked at the position taken by Mr. Randolph, because I do not think the philosophy of Gandhi, about which he spoke, can, under our written Constitution, be applied in this country through a program of civil disobedience. Gandhi had no responsibility to a written constitution. Mr. Randolph and his followers do have such a responsibility. Gandhi was not subject to the same legal obligations to which Americans are subject under our Constitution. Mr. Randolph and his followers are subject to those obligations. Save and except the legal doctrine under our Constitution which protects conscientious objectors in the name of freedom of religion and religious belief, I know of no constitutional doctrine which would support anyone in America who is an able-bodied male, in time of war, in refusing to don the uniform of his country in the defense of his country.

Mr. Randolph was very fair to me during my exchange with him, because, as will be seen from the testimony which I have inserted in the Record, he did not seek to defend himself or justify his program on the ground of religious scruples, thus bringing himself within the principle which protects conscientious objectors under our Constitution in time of war. Rather, he put his position very bluntly and frankly—and I commend him for his frankness—on the ground that it would be his advice that men should not proceed to defend our Government in the name of democracy when, in regard to this issue, according to his views on this issue, our Government does not practice democracy.

I cannot accept his point of view. I shall not accept it. I want the Record to show that if his movement should grow in time of national emergency, and persons should follow what I think is his bad advice in regard to a program of civil disobedience, it is my judgment that the law of treason should be applied. I think it is perfectly clear that under such circumstances a course of conduct based upon civil disobedience would constitute aiding and abetting an enemy. I think, further, as I pointed out to Mr. Randolph, such a program could not remain in a passive state. There would be overt acts. He testified he would not recomment on overt act. But the very passiveness of the program itself would constitute, in my judgment, an overt act. Further, in my judgment, his acts of omission would constitute in the legal sense acts of commission, and would constitute conspiracy in aiding and abetting an enemy.

Mr. President, I shall continue to support civil-rights legislation in the Senate of the United States, but I want to say to a great many Negroes in this country who are communicating with me these days by wire and by letter, mostly unfriendly in their nature because of the fact that I have challenged Mr. Randolph's program, that they, because of their course of action, must assume a great deal of responsibility for setting back a legislative program of civil rights.

My experience over the years convinces me that the suggestion that Negroes in this country participate in a civil disobedience program is not helping the cause of civil rights legislation in the Congress of the United States. However, my efforts in the interest of such legislation are not going to be lessened any because I find myself in disagreement with certain people within the Negro race who are following what I consider to be a very unwise and at this time a particularly unfortunate course of action.

Mr. President, I should like to insert in the Record at this point certain newspaper clippings which have been sent to me from the Negro press bearing upon this subject matter.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the matters were ordered to be printed in the Record as follows:

[From the New Amsterdam News of April 10, 1948]

Once Over Lightly

(By Earl Brown)

A. Philip Randolph is no demagog. Therefore, when he recently told the Senate Armed Services Committee that millions of Negroes will refuse to register or serve under the draft or universal military training system, unless racial segregation and discrimination are ended in the Army, it was more than the statement of a publicity-seeking sensationalist.

Randolph is also no Communist. Neither is Commissioner of Corrections Grant Reynolds, who, as president of the Committee Against Jim Crow in Military Service and Training, also spoke before the Senate committee. Randolph is an old-time Socialist, and as such, a bitter enemy of communism. Reynolds is a Republican, who is being supported to run for Congress from the Twenty-second District by Governor Dewey.

It is important to know that Randolph and Reynolds are neither Communists nor crackpots. Randolph's word particularly carries a great deal of weight among the colored people. He is known as a courageous and honest fighter. He, more than any other man, forced the Pullman Co. to recognize the Sleeping Car Porters Union. Reynolds was a captain-chaplain in World War II. Like all other Negroes who were in the armed forces, he saw and no doubt was subjected to the rankest kinds of segregation and discrimination. Naturally, he will remember them until the day he dies.

Even more important than Randolph's and Reynolds' attitude about the draft and UMT, is that of millions of other Negroes. Many of them feel even more bitter about the raw, undemocratic deal they got and are still getting in the armed services than Reynolds and Randolph. They may not be as articulate as these two men, but in their souls they hate the Army, the Navy, and the entire military set-up of the United States. They hate it, because they are made to feel inferior to white soldiers; they are treated like colonials instead of citizens.

The important point for the Senators who serve on the Armed Services Committee to remember about what Randolph and Reynolds said is this: a man, white or black, cannot fight for his country with any heart or courage unless he knows he has the respect of his country. This, the Negroes know they do not have, in spite of some protestations to the contrary by those who want to use the Negro for whatever they can get out of him.

The fact that Randolph and Reynolds voiced the attitude of millions of Negroes about the armed forces should sober the people of this country more than ever before. For the United States is faced with a worldwide revolution with communism and socialism sweeping everything before them. In order to stop the march of the former and in order to get along with the socialistic countries in Europe and elsewhere, America must practice democracy not only in her armed forces but also in her civilian life.

For it is possible that American democracy will lose in the battle against communism because of racial and religious discrimination and segregation.

If colored Americans refuse to shoulder a rifle for their country, they would be guilty of treason under the law. They would also give the native Fascists an excuse to lynch and otherwise terrorize more of them than they are now. But this would not help the United States win in its world-wide fight against communism. On the other hand, it would aid the Communists from Manchuria to England in their determination to gain control of the world.

The challenge is clearly up to the Government and the generals and admirals. The challenge was not made by Randolph and Reynolds, but by democracy itself. For Reynolds and Randolph, though they spoke boldly, did not cause millions of Negroes to hate the Army and the Navy. The Army and Navy did that themselves. The only way they can win the respect and support of the colored citizens is by demonstrating their ability to practice democracy by abolishing Jim Crow and discrimination.

In the meantime, Randolph, in championing civil disobedience or passive resistance relative to the draft and UMT, is taking a leaf out of the late Gandhi's book. Randolph, however, is going a step farther. The Indians were not citizens during Britain's control of India. On the other hand, American Negroes are legally citizens of the United States, and therefore are in a different position than colonials. Indeed, Negroes have a greater responsibility to their country than the Indians had to Britain. By the same token, their country has a greater responsibility to the Negroes. It is time that the United States stopped making a farce out of the citizenship of 15,000,000 colored Americans.

What Leaders Think of Randolph Blast

A. Philip Randolph's assertion during the Senate hearing on military training and selective service here last week that he would urge Negroes not to bear arms in protest against segregation in the armed forces touched off considerable comment from leaders in the District. Here is what some of them had to say:

Congressman William L. Dawson, Democrat, of Illinois: "I positively believe it is my duty at all times to defend my native land. I was among the first volunteers in the First World War and feel it is a patriotic must."

Attorney George E. C. Hayes (District of Columbia Board of Education): "Citizenship, in my opinion, has a twofold consequence, involving benefits and obligations on the part of individuals and the Government.

"I do not believe, however, that the answer is for the Negro to fail to meet the demands of citizenship."

Judge James A. Cobb (Ex-District of Columbia municipal court judge): "I have a very high regard for the character and integrity of Mr. Randolph, and it is a pity that we have such a situation in America—provoking him to make such a declaration."

Com' Against Lim Com

HOUSE . . . . . No. 544

By Mr. Serino of Cambridge, petition of Endicott Peabody for the guarantee of military rights to persons in the militia, land and naval forces of the Commonwealth. Military Affairs and Public Safety.

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts

In the Year One Thousand Nine Hundred and Forty-Nine.

AN ACT PROVIDING FOR THE GUARANTEE OF MILITARY RIGHTS TO PERSONS IN THE MILITIA, THE LAND FORCES AND THE NAVAL FORCES OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:

Chapter 33 of the General Laws is hereby amended to include a new section, to be numbered section 1A, and to read as follows: —

Section 1A. Denial of rights; discrimination; segregation. No person shall be denied the enjoyment of any military right, nor be discriminated in the exercise of any military right, nor be segregated in the militia, the land forces or the naval forces of the Commonwealth, because of religious principles, race, color, ancestry, or national origin.

STATE OF NEW YORK

No. 290 Int. 290

IN SENATE

January 11, 1949

Introduced by Mr. PANKEN—read twice and ordered printed, and when printed to be committed to the Committee on National Defense and Military Affairs

AN ACT

To amend the military law, in relation to declaring the policy of the state with respect to the equality of opportunity and eligibility for enlistment and promotion and assignment to duty in the national guard, the naval militia and the New York guard of all qualified persons without distinction, discrimination or segregation on account of race or color and repealing section thirty-three thereof, relating to a colored regiment of infantry

The People of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows:

Section 1. Section thirty-three of the military law, as added by chapter seven hundred ninety-three of the laws of nineteen hundred thirteen and thus renumbered by chapter six hundred forty-four of the laws of nineteen hundred seventeen, is hereby **repealed.**

§ 2. The military law is hereby amended by inserting therein a new section, to be section one-a, to read as follows:

Explanation — Matter in *italics* is new; matter in brackets [ ] is old law to be omitted.

§ 1-a. Equality of opportunity without distinction, discrimination or segregation on account of race or color. The legislature hereby declares it to be the policy of the state that all persons having the requisite qualifications, training and experience prescribed by or pursuant to law, and otherwise eligible therefor, shall have equal opportunity and equal rights to enlistment, promotion and assignment, promotion and assignment to duty in the national guard, naval militia, the New York guard and all other military organizations now or hereafter created pursuant to law, without distinction, discrimination or segregation on account of race or color; and that no unit shall hereafter be maintained or organized which is limited to persons of a particular race or of a particular color.

§ 3. This act shall take effect immediately.

Com against [illegible]

Please Comment

Reprinted without change of paging from
THE JOURNAL OF NEGRO HISTORY, Vol. XXXIV, No. 1, January 1949

THE NEGRO POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES ARMY, 1775-1945[1]

It is unlikely that anywhere in the labyrinth of the Pentagon Building can there be found any file clearly labeled "Negro Policy of the Army." But every informed general knows that in fact there does exist such an official pattern of behavior. Many common soldiers also know it. And the news is getting around the country and around the world—wherever the United States Army goes.

Accordingly, this paper may be looked upon as a service for the Department of the Army itself in that it could be considered as one step toward gathering and describing the basic documents which outline what the Army has been doing in this regard.

This report is admittedly imperfect. It could have been more exhaustive and accurate had certain offices in the Pentagon opened up the relevant records to duly qualified scholars. General Dwight Eisenhower, when he was Chief of Staff there, was quoted in the *New York Times* of November 19, 1947, as saying "instructions have been issued to the General Staff of the Army to make available to responsible inquirers all information about its activities in World War II." And in a War Department release he said further that "the historical record of the Army's operations as well as the manner in which these were accomplished are public property, and except where the security of the Nation may be jeopardized, the right of the citizens to the full story is unquestioned."[2]

These were splendid statements but when it came to following them through on certain darker phases of the late war, effective "diversions" and "blocks" were encountered—principally in the offices of public information and the Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War.[3]

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[1] An address delivered at the 33rd Annual Meeting of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Washington, D. C., October 29, 1948. The loose term "American Army" is used, for technically the United States Army did not come into existence until it was established by the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution.

[2] November 20, 1948.

It is thus that subordinate functionaries sometimes do great harm to the cause they seek to serve so zealously. For the great fear of the American people, that restrains them from approving universal military training and peacetime mobilization, is that the "military machine," once empowered, will dominate national life, will dictate to all of us, will forget that it, too, is merely one part of our government, and that its doings like those of other agencies, are subject to the scrutiny of the American people, who have created and who support them all. That long, black cloak called "military security" on occasion may be draped about much that is neither military nor security. At times underneath its hem may be detected the gnarled and aged feet of a bird named Jim Crow.[4]

Despite it all and with help from many sources—including some offices and individuals in the Pentagon Building itself—thousands of documents have been examined and hundreds of interviews with officers and enlisted men, Negro and white, have been recorded. So that it is now possible to venture a few generalizations on the basis of these data.[5]

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[3] There were notable exceptions to this practice: for example, in the Negro Interest section of the press, Bureau of Public Relations, Major Homer Roberts, Major Daniel Day and Captain George Norford were particularly gracious and helpful; the Hon. William H. Hastie, after he resigned as Civilian Aide, granted two lengthy interviews and Mr. Truman K. Gibson, Jr., his successor, while in office, made possible several important contacts with other War Department officials.

[4] Officials of the Department of the Navy, without exception, have been cooperative. This in part may be traceable to their conviction that their experience with Negro personnel during World War II shows progress and success.

[5] In the National Archives the most useful documents are: R.G. 94, The Adjutant General's Office; R.G. 98, Army Commands; R.G. 107, Office of the Secretary of War and R.G. 120, American Expeditionary Forces. For World War II the author has been collecting documents and interviews for the past few years.

There are certain considerations that seem to characterize the so-called Negro policy of our Army from the days of the American Revolution all the way down through our most recent World War. Some of these are general; others specific.

By "general" we mean that the Army, to some extent, reflects American society; not perfectly, of course; perhaps not always at its best. But it would be false and unscientific to attempt an analysis of the social function of the American Army without putting it in the context of the concurrent and conflicting forces that make the American social order what it is.

By "specific" we refer to the more strictly Army factors in the equation: that is, the authoritarian nature of its organization; its traditions; the human types and personalities that compose its leadership; its conception of its social role; and its own way of looking at the question of civic equality.

Out of the interaction of such general and specific forces, at times, convergent and at other times, divergent, has emerged a pattern that may have changed here and there over the years but has persisted sufficiently that we may outline its chief features. These are:

1. The overall preference of the Army has been that there should be no Negroes in it at all but since this preference must be qualified by need, Negroes are to be used only when and where they are required by manpower shortages and by public pressures.
2. The overall preference of the Army has been that no Negroes should be in positions of authority in it but if they must be, they shall be limited and shall be over Negro personnel only.
3. The overall preference of the Army has been that its Negro soldiers shall be segregated not only from their non-Negro fellow soldiers but also from non-Negro civilians—especially women—at home and abroad.
4. The Army's overall preference has been that there should be no Negro heroes but if there must be awards granted to Negro soldiers for extraordinary endeavor, these should be for preserving supplies and other military properties, for saving the lives

of Army personnel—especially of white officers—rather than for heroic performance, under fire, against the enemy.

These strictures are understandable when we look a bit deeper and realize that they rest upon two basic assumptions—assumptions that are seldom consciously and deliberately stated as such but that are always implicit in what is expressed and done and are sometimes betrayed explicitly by word as well as deed. They are, first, the Army's version of the stereotype of the Negro that is pretty well formed in the American public mind: that is, that the Negro, generally speaking, is no good as a fighting man; is fearful, unreliable and lacking in the manly virtues of a warrior. Secondly, the apparently contradictory apprehension that the experience of handling firearms and of engaging in battle equips Negroes to achieve equality in America by force —particularly in those sections of the country where their numbers are considerable and their subordination is crude.

Let us now follow out, briefly, the record from the War for Independence through World War II, to see how well these generalizations sustain themselves. In this temporal sequence of undulating wish and necessity, impulse and obligation, we shall expect to find development of this policy; also a few exceptions to it, for, after all, these are indeed mere historical generalizations, not the immutable laws of nature.

On October 8, 1775, at a meeting of General George Washington with his chiefs of staff—Ward, Lee, Putnam, Thomas, Spencer, Heath, Sullivan, Green and Tate—the question came up: "whether it would be advisable to enlist any negroes in the new army or whether there should be a distinction between such as are slaves and those who are free."[6] The vote was against Negro slaves unanimously and against the use of free Negroes by a large majority. On the following twelfth of November General Washington issued an order to this effect. So we see where the "Father of our Country" stood on this question at this time.

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[6] Minutes of the meeting as quoted by George W. Williams, *History of the Negro Race in America*, New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1882, p. 335.

This stand was in line with the position of the Committee of Safety and of the Continental Congress. As a matter of fact, a committee consisting of Benjamin Franklin, Benjamin Harrison and Thomas Lynch conferring with General Washington, the Deputy Governors of Connecticut and Rhode Island and the Committee of the Council of Massachusetts Bay on the general problem of improving the army, had decided that both slave and free Negroes should be "rejected altogether."[7]

And yet, within a few months, General Washington and the Continental Congress were reversing themselves on this issue.

Why the change?

In the first place, Negroes, themselves, some time before the generals and the politicians had come to their decision, had decided that the cause of the American Revolution was their cause and that it was to their interest to join a war of liberation. Accordingly, Negroes were already in the American Army *before* the authorities had voted not to admit them. Washington was thus faced with a *fait accompli;* faced with the question of expelling them. This he was not prepared to do under the circumstances. How could a small, nondescript, ill-trained, ill-armed force of a few colonies, hanging together by a thread scarcely, in rebellion against the greatest world power at that time, presume to exclude *any* volunteers? There would have been a public howl about it from Negroes—and also from others.

Secondly, as the war went on and its distresses became more acute, the need for the strength and loyalty of the common people rose and with it the popularity of the concept of freedom and equality for all.

Thirdly, the British were energetically calling upon all slaves to rise up and slay or desert their masters and join the ranks of those flying the Union Jack. The Lord Dunmore proclamation to this end not only threw a scare into the hearts of slave owners but it brought forth from the American side counter-propaganda, an appeal to the slaves to remain loyal, and a half-hearted promise of freedom to them if they should support the American revolt. In time this promise became full and clear.

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[7] *op. cit.*, p. 335.

Accordingly, General Washington did not expel any Negroes from his army but received them more and more gladly as the war wore on and at the conclusion of hostilities stated publicly that they had served well. The Continental Congress and the public went along with this development though this favorable sentiment was consistently stronger in the North where slavery was dying and Negroes were relatively few in number than it was in the South where the "peculiar institution" was entrenched and the local Negro populations were often greater than the white.[8]

Till the bitter end, a few like Edward Rutledge of South Carolina wanted the Army Negro-free.[9]

The more general view, even in the South, was expressed by James Madison, another one of the founders of our Republic, who said that "no imaginable danger" would come from using Negro soldiers if this was done "with white officers and a majority of white soldiers."[10]

There were no Negro officers in this war, as far as we can tell. Most of the several thousand Negroes who fought did so as individuals scattered throughout the ranks but when their numbers were large enough they were organized into separate units usually. They did a great deal of labor but also shared in the fighting.

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[8] Details may be followed through the pages of the *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789,* edited from the original records in the Library of Congress; Washington, Government Printing Office, 1905-07.

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] Madison to Joseph Jones, November 20, 1780.

Negroes came out of this war with a good record and, as the slave owners had feared, with a stronger claim on freedom and citizenship. These were realized, after a fashion, in the North but not at all in the South.

The War of 1812, which may be thought of as an extension of the War for Independence against England, was exceptional in that the leading general, Andrew Jackson, solicited the support of Negro combat troops for the only important land engagement of the conflict, the Battle of New Orleans. He said to the local men of color the kind of things that are said by any captain of warfare to any group of soldiers whose support he appreciates and desires. This ordinary deed becomes noteworthy in tracing the history of Army policy toward Negro Americans.

The fulsome praise of the famous and oft-quoted appeal "To the Free Colored Inhabitants of Louisiana" also contains these words: "On enrolling yourselves in companies the Major-General commanding will select officers for your government from your white fellow-citizens. Your non-commissioned officers will be appointed from yourself."[11]

The War with Mexico, 1848, saw a minimum of Negro participation. This was not too much of a war from any point of view; moreover, Negroes looked upon it as a thrust for the expansion of the kingdom of slavery and wanted no part in it. Southerners, who had a great say about running this war, also wanted no Negro soldiers in it—but for different reasons. Accordingly, here and there a body servant may have been taken along to the front by "ol' massa" and the hard and dirty work, as usual, was assigned to black arms and backs. But there were virtually no blacks firing shots from the American side though a few runaway slaves were captured or killed, fighting on the side of a country (Mexico) that had granted them a freedom that was denied them in their own land.

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[11] Signed by Andrew Jackson, Major-General Commanding, Headquarters of the Military District, Mobile, September 21, 1814.

Then came the Civil War. When the Southern states seceded from the Union most of their native sons who held important Army commissions went to the Confederacy. This did not mean that Negroes would be welcomed with open arms by the Union Army. Far from it.

It did mean, though, that the most stubbornly anti-Negro group had withdrawn itself from the federal military and that a change in attitude on the part of top Army officialdom was not only possible but likely.

It was a hard fight just the same. As soon as war was declared and Lincoln issued the call for volunteers, Negroes rushed forward. This was the war they had been waiting for, a war for the freeing of their enslaved brothers. They rushed forward to recruiting stations—only to be turned back. They bombarded Congress, the President, the state and municipal governments with petitions. They organized volunteer squads and began drilling and target practice. The police and state authorities promptly put a stop to this. It was a "white man's war," everybody said. It was *not* a war to abolish slavery but to preserve the Union only. Moreover, what black man would dare face a white man in battle? Would not ex-slaves or the descendants of slaves drop their guns when faced by Southern masters?[12]

This sort of reaction so disheartened enthusiastic Negroes that many of them decided to "sit the war out." The majority, led by Frederick Douglass and other abolitionists, kept up the agitation for Negro troops. It took two years of bitter conflict with its defeats and pain to sweep aside the preference, even in the North, for a "white only" war.

Finally, when the gates were opened for black troops, this was not done by the simple gesture of admitting them through the established channels and into the existing ranks; special permission had to be granted by the War

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[12] For example, the New York phase of these difficulties may be found in *First Organization of Colored Troops in the State of New York*, New York: Baker and Godwin, printers, 1864, pp. 24.

Department or Congress to those states that wished to raise volunteer Negro regiments.[13] And as for direct action by the federal authorities, a special Bureau for Colored Troops was set up in the Adjutant General's office to deal with the recruiting, training and disposition of what were officially tagged, not as just some more United States troops, but as "United States Colored Troops."[14] There is also one curious book entitled *U. S. Infantry Tactics . . . for the use of The Colored Troops . . .*[15] The historian may wonder how the tactics for colored and white troops would differ.

Only a few recognizable Negroes during the entire Civil War served in mixed units; the others were in the 163 federal regiments and 2 state regiments. Altogether this made a total of 178,985 men—mainly infantry. The XXV Corps, created on December 3, 1864, discontinued January 8, 1866, remains the largest Negro unit ever activated by the American Army. In addition there were about 250,000 more who served as civilians in various laboring and supply capacities.

Almost all of the officers were white. Perhaps less than a hundred were colored.[16]

Negro soldiers participated in 449 engagements—39 of these were important battles—suffering 36,847 casualties. The Secretary of War, Edwin M. Stanton, said that they did some of the heaviest fighting. The Adjutant General, Lorenzo Thomas, praised them for their fighting qualities with heavy guns [!] as well as for their proficiency in hand-to-hand combat, better known as "close-in" fighting [!]. General B. F. Butler said in his farewell address to the colored soldiers who had served under him:

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[13] The Secretary of War, Edwin M. Stanton, in a letter, January 26, 1863, granted permission to Governor John A. Andrew to raise what became the Massachusetts 54th and 55th regiments; see also enabling acts of Congress, July 17, 1862 and Feb. 24, 1864.

[14] War Department, Adjutant General's Office, General Orders, No. 143, Washington, D. C., May 22, 1863.

[15] Prepared under the direction of the War Department. Washington: Gov't Print. Office, 1863, pp. 370 + 30 plates.

[16] This guess is based largely on the estimate of the Negro historian, Colonel George W. Williams, who was a participant in the Civil War. See his *A History of the Negro Troops in the War of the Rebellion, 1861-65*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1888, pp. 141-144.

> In this army you have been treated as soldiers, not as laborers. You have shown yourselves worthy of the uniform you wear. The best officers of the Union seek to command you. Your bravery has won the admiration of those who would be your masters. Your patriotism, fidelity and courage have illustrated the best qualities of manhood. With the bayonet you have unlocked the iron barred gates of prejudice, and opened new fields of freedom, liberty and equality of right to yourselves and to your race.[17]

Thus, the Negro soldier had entered into the highest reputation he was ever to receive at the hands of the Army and the American nation. For some years afterwards, a Negro veteran of the Civil War—in the North at least—was "somebody."

In 1866 when the Army was re-organized and put on a peacetime basis, six Negro regiments were established by law as a part of the Regular Army. This was not looked upon so much as segregation; rather as a friendly and progressive move, as a recognition and reward for valor, so that henceforth and forever black soldiers would have a place in the American Army. These six units—the 9th and 10th Cavalry and the 38th, 39th, 40th and 41st Infantry—a year or so later were consolidated into four units that have been retained until this day—the 9th and 10th Cavalry, the 24th and 25th Infantry.

This "golden day" for the Negro soldier lasted until about the time of the Spanish-American War. During this period, volunteer Negro enlistments were frequently renewed. White officers vied for the command of Negro troops; they felt that the black stalwarts, who were experts at scouting and Indian fighting, would make them famous. General John J. Pershing got his start with and his nickname "Black Jack" from his Negro troops. It is also during this period that Negroes received their greatest number of first-class military honors. Three even broke through that fortified embattlement of officer and color caste known as "West Point."

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[17] Stanton's statement in the *New York Herald*, June 18, 1864; Lorenzo Thomas to Henry Wilson, May 30, 1864; *Official Records, the War of the Rebellion*, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901, *IV*, p. 567.

During the Spanish-American War there were eight regiments or parts of regiments made up of volunteer *state* troops that were absorbed into the federal army; four additional regiments were raised directly by the War Department itself and four more regiments of the Regular Army —a total of sixteen Negro regiments, whole or part.

There was considerable controversy concerning the recruiting, training and utilization of these outfits. The public discussions were often controversial and intense. Negroes and their friends were able to secure Negro officers in all of the state volunteer units but one—the one from Alabama. The Illinois, Kansas and North Carolina regiments had all Negro officers. The governors who appointed the commissioned officers of the state units, being elective officials, were more or less responsive to public pressure.

In contrast, the four Negro volunteer units that were raised directly by the Army itself had all white officers for the staff and field down to captain. And for the four Regular Army regiments, here again, virtually all of the officers in command were white with a Negro chaplain as a captain here and there. Those in the know whispered that the War Department had placed a ceiling at captain over the head of the Negro officer.[18] The outstanding exception to this rule was the West Point graduate, Charles Young, who apparently could not be stopped before he was made a colonel, though this promotion came later and is a story in itself.

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[18] H. C. Conterice, Adjutant General, on June 8, 1898, telegraphed Henry Demma of New Orleans, Louisiana, that "in the organization of the colored regiments, the War Department has determined that the Captains of Companies shall be white men of military training and experience. ... The Lieutenants in these regiments will be appointed from colored men. ..."

Thus, the federal government was less favorable to Negro officers than were the states. Furthermore, the War Department did not bother to answer the spoken and printed attacks that were made on those Negro trainees who were stationed in the South. Neither did it bother to use any of the Negro volunteer units, which had Negro officers mostly, in action against the enemy. Some were not even sent out of the states; others were assigned to patrol or labor or nursing duty in Cuba and Puerto Rico. Only the four Regular Army units got a chance to fight. They did well, almost everybody said at the time, though the egotistical leader of the "Rough Riders," Teddy Roosevelt, seems to have had a lapse of memory on this score a few years later when he wrote an article about it for a magazine.[19]

During World War I the reputation of the Negro soldier reached its lowest point. This is a dramatic fact, for it was at this time that the achievement of the Negro as a fighting man was better than ever. A cold, objective examination of the facts reveals that in the first World War the actual accomplishment of the Negro soldier in action against the enemy was slightly above the level of the American Army as a whole.[20] And yet his reputation at this time was next to nothing.

Why?

Could it be that the reputation of the Negro soldier is more dependent upon race relations in American society than it is upon what the Negro soldier as such actually does?

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[19] Teddy Roosevelt's charges that appeared in *Scribner's* for April, 1899 were answered in the *New York Age* for April 13, 1899 and in a detailed and carefully written letter dated April 22, 1899 printed in that paper of one of the Negro sergeants of the 10th Cavalry, Presley Holliday.

[20] Detailed support of this generalization will be forthcoming in a full report on this subject of which this paper is a summary; also consult Emmett J. Scott, *The American Negro in the World War*, Washington: the author, 1919 and Chester D. Heywood, *Negro Combat Troops in the World War*, Worcester, Massachusetts: Commonwealth Press, 1928.

Among the relevant factors were:

1. The long peace of Europe from 1870 to 1914 made for the full tide of the expansion of European culture, including white supremacy, all over the world.
2. The rise of the poor white in the South, followed the undoing of Reconstruction; the North turning its attention to money-making, appeared to be content to let the South have its way with the Negro.
3. Southerners, who were out of the Army for the most part during the Civil War and the two decades following it, were flocking to it again, in droves. Most of them were men "on the make," men who in their economic and social poverties were hungry for prestige and status. They were the military counterparts of the yeoman whites who were emerging in politics and who did so much to disfranchise and jim crow Negroes in the South. Their philosophical smoke screen was the "turn the other cheek" rationale provided by Booker T. Washington.
4. On the other hand, the Negro masses were becoming restless and from 1910 on were breaking away from the Southern plantations, streaming into the cities and the North. Also about this time the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was founded to contest publicly and vigorously for Constitutional rights.
5. World War I, for the first time, placed large numbers of American soldiers in contact with white peoples who had *not* learned to regard Negroes as sub-human or as inferiors.

This was, then, a strange war with all manner of contradiction between ideology and practice, between freedom slogans for minorities abroad and severe restrictions on those at home. Some cynical Negroes said that it was a war "to make the world safe for democracy," for everybody else but us.

The wartime draft was notoriously inefficient and unfair. Negroes were put into the Army at a greater rate than whites. When they resented and returned the abuse of Southern policemen and civilians, *they* were reprimanded by the War Department and summarily shipped abroad. General John J. Pershing, who bragged about keeping his American expeditionary Army together as a unit, offered to give away his only two Negro divisions. The British declined to accept the 92nd Division but the French, sorely pressed, took the 93rd with open arms.[21]

At first no provision was made for training Negro officers. After much campaigning, led by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and Negro college students, a training camp for Negro officers was set up at Des Moines. War Department officials revealed their presumption of doubt when they asked the President of Howard University, who happened to be white, if he honestly believed that Negroes had "the brains and the guts" to make good officers.[22] Other responsible persons in public life also got the impression that the War Department expected the camp at Des Moines to fail and thus justify their own conviction. It did not. However, the highest total of Negro officers during the war was 1,408. This was but .7 of 1% of the 200,000-odd commissioned officers of the Army.

The statistics show something of the extent of participation of Negroes in World War I. Though but 10.7% of the nation's population at the time, they provided 13.08% of the nation's drafted forces. About 350,000 Negro soldiers served in the Army during the war. About half of them actually went overseas to France; 40,000 belonged to units that did battle duty. They made up 106 of the 213 labor battalions. This means that Negroes who were 1/10 of the nation were 1/8 of the armed forces, 1/3 of the Army's laborers and 1/30 of the combat strength. Those proportions tell a tale all their own.

Though the record of the black labor battalions was generally thought of as being superior, the Inspector General in his report of 15 September 1918 on the question of discipline, could say "the enlisted men are negroes and have all the vices peculiar to the Ethiopian race."[23]

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[21] Scott, *op. cit.*

[22] For the general story see also Charles H. Williams, *Sidelights on Negro Soldiers, Boston*: B. J. Brimmer Company, 1923.

The chief Negro combat units were the "all-Negro" 92nd and 93rd divisions. These descriptives are misleading. They were not all-Negro because all of their chief officers were white. They were never trained as divisions with all components gathered for maneuvers; and the 93rd Division even in battle, was never assembled. The component regiments of the 93rd were brigaded with the French Army. They have a distinguished record but this does not appear in the archives of the United States Army and insofar as we know has never been requested from the French archives by any of our official record offices.

It would take a book to detail the various devices that were used to achieve the ends sought by the Army on the question of Negro troops or to list the many forms—often quite curious—in which Army policy expressed itself. Perhaps the following few instances may suggest the whole of which they are but a fraction:

1. The vilification of the Negro soldier to the French people—largely oral and unofficial—reached a "low" in the *official* document, August, 1918, entitled "Secret Information Concerning Black Troops" which instructed the French people to segregate themselves from Negroes lest their women be assaulted and raped.
2. General C. C. Ballou, white commander of the 92nd Division, submitted upon request, an end-of-the-war report dated March 14, 1920 on the capacities, abilities and future possibilities of the Negro soldier. General Ballou was thought of as being more favorable toward the use of Negro troops than were most of the high officials of the Army. Yet he had lost the confidence of his men by advising them not to go into public places where they had a legal right to go if they were not wanted there by white patrons. He reminded the Negro troops who served under him that white men had made the 92nd Division possible and if they so decided, could break it. Overseas he himself "broke" or "busted" or "busted down"—as the phrase goes—so many Negro officers—thirty in a swoop, once—that the men gave him

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[23] Colonel H. K. Taylor, Office of the Inspector General, Base Section #5, September 15, 1918.

a vulgar "nickname" suggesting this. General Ballou's confidential report to the War Department was taken to be the considered judgment of a man who held the top position of command directly over Negro troops and who had thus observed them throughout the war. He wrote: "I forgot that the average negro is a rank coward in the dark, and I subsequently realized to the full how worthless this trait renders him in the service of Security and Information."

3. It may be difficult to conceive of it but General Ballou's report was overmatched by the memoirs of General Robert Lee Bullard. To Bullard, born in Alabama in 1861, who never forgot his childhood memories of Reconstruction, Negroes were by nature as well as environment cowards and rapists, hopelessly inferior as fighting men. These were the observations of the Commander of the 2nd Army of the American Expeditionary Forces, the larger unit to which the 92nd Division was attached. These observations were run in serial form for newspapers and later in book form by Doubleday Page and Company in 1925. They had wide circulation and were quoted by many military and civilian leaders as the judgment of a responsible military man who was in a position to know what he was talking about.
4. About this same time, to be exact, October 30, 1925, a document was submitted to the Army's Chief of Staff by the Army War College. This was entitled "The Use of Negro Manpower in War." It was rated as the most thorough study yet made of this subject. The student of research methodology will quickly note that this so-called authoritative report was based largely upon questionnaires. It was, therefore, much more a study of the *opinions* held by white officers of Negro troops than of anything else. No companion study was submitted or made, maybe not even thought about, of the opinions held by Negro troops of their white officers.

In the light of such secret and public documents, which suggest the atmosphere in the War Department at that time, it is not surprising that the Army should conclude, as it did, that the Negro as a fighting man was worthless and that the Negro as an officer was absolutely worthless. This is the general view that prevailed up to World War II.

This plan or plot, for it was never publicly stated, was almost completely successful. There were only five Negro officers of the Regular Army at the beginning of World War II, three of these being chaplains. The status of the 9th and 10th Cavalry and the 24th and 25th Infantry was exposed in the correspondence between the then Chief of Staff, General Douglas MacArthur and Attorney Charles H. Houston of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, after the latter made a visit to the posts where these outfits were stationed in the summer of 1934.[24]

When World War II broke in Europe with Hitler loosing his panzer divisions and his Luftewaffe in terrifying blitzkreig, Negro leaders bestirred themselves to bring about a new Army policy on the Negro question. A. Philip Randolph, Walter White and T. Arnold Hill conferred with the Commander-in-Chief of our armed forces. President Roosevelt had a wide reputation as the champion of the common man; yet when he issued the White House statement of October 9, 1940 that was based on this conference, it was so unacceptable that the three Negro leaders publicly repudiated it. A more detailed and graceful statement was issued by the President a few days later but the basic thought in it was unchanged. It provided that Negroes would be enrolled in the American armed forces on the basis of their 10% population ratio to that of the nation; that they would be used in all branches of the services; that they would receive the same facilities and training as others but that "the policy of the War Department is not to integrate colored and white enlisted personnel in the same regimental organizations. This policy has been proven satisfactory over a long period of years, and to make changes would produce situations destructive to morale and detrimental to the preparation for national defense."[25]

Strangely, the Army felt that it had thus made enormous concessions when it had agreed to use Negroes in all of its services. At the same time, Negro leaders were intensely disappointed in that the racial quota had thus been established and the formula "separate but equal" was explicitly made the policy of the American Army.

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[24] Houston to MacArthur, August 9, 1934; MacArthur to Houston, August 20, 1934; Houston to MacArthur, August 29, 1934.

[25] Quoted in the Negro weekly newspapers of the period; see Florence Murray, *The Negro Handbook*, New York: Malliet and Company, 1942, pp. 63-4.

The story of how this policy was carried out or departed from is too recent to merit re-telling at this time.[26] We may be justified, however, in touching upon a few high points to refresh our memories. The Hamilton Fish Amendment, better known as Section 4-A of the draft act, provided the legal basis for a reasonably fair and efficiently administered Selective Service system that operated within the limits of the racial quota. The advisor on Negro affairs in the national headquarters did a splendid job within the limits of his powers. This is also true of the lone Negro who was on the national advisory committee to Selective Service.

Negro enlisted men were almost uniformly trained separately. In the larger training centers there were Negro sections and special Exchange Posts for Negroes (PX's); though this limitation was modified during the course of the war. The clashes between Negro soldiers and white police and white civilians seemed to be numberless. Facilities and recreation were seldom equal to those for white and wherever possible were located in Negro camps or neighborhoods. The propaganda and force used to prevent Negro soldiers and white civilians from being friendly were notorious.

A clear advancement was made in that Negro and white officer candidates studied and lived together during their training. The number of Negro officers rose to a peak of 7,768—enlisted men, 701,678. It should be noted that there was but one general—a brigadier general who was attached to the Inspector General's office most of the time and therefore not in command of any troops. There were but ten colonels. All told, Negro officers were about 1% of all.

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[26] What follows is a bare summary of sections of the author's uncompleted manuscript on the Negro in World War II.

Neither the 92nd Division nor the 93rd Division was commanded by Negroes (nor had any Negroes in command of their component regiments) and not one of the infantry regiments that were led by Negro colonels was ever permitted *under one of them* to engage in active combat on the front line. The usual practice was to assign such units to guard duty, say of the harbors and subways of New York and Boston, or to patrol duty, after the fighting front had moved forward, as in Hawaii, or to decompose and brigade the unit with other so-called all-Negro outfits that were under the command of white officers. This latter is the story of the 366th Infantry Regiment in Italy which later, was converted from infantry downward to engineer units, building roads in Europe and clearing the marshes of the Pacific. "Conversion down" from combat to "service" units was not unusual.

Within the limits of the Negro policy as announced in October, 1940, the Office of the Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War was established. It did much good but did not get very far with the growing and powerful air force. The head of this arm of the service stated that "Negro pilots cannot be used in our present air corps since this would result in having Negro officers serving over white enlisted men. This would create an impossible social problem." When the showdown came, the Civilian Aide resigned and Tuskegee became the so-called "all-Negro" air field—so-called for there, as elsewhere, the top command was white. However, its graduates—the 99th Fighter Squadron and the 332nd Fighter Group—were, in fact, all-Negro, from top to bottom. They became highly unusual in that *under Negro leadership,* they received for *combat* a presidential citation. On the whole, there were not many first-class hero's medals handed out to Negroes during either of the world wars. The only Negro cavalry division that was activated was quietly shipped abroad, dismantled and used for general labor.

When the Nazi general, Von Runstedt broke through the allies' lines on December 16, 1944, the Americans had to scrape the barrel for replacements. This furnished the occasion; a Negro and a white general supplied the impulse—for the racially mixed infantry units that fought together on the western front during the Spring of 1945. The "experiment" was a sensational success. These Negro soldiers felt that they were wanted and that they were treated as soldiers—not *colored* soldiers. Their white comrades under fire, rated them "tops" as fighters and as human beings. Negroes and liberals inside and outside of the War Department were happy. This demonstration was not enough, however, to convince the so-called "high-brass."

The Army's end-of-war report—the Gillem Report—was temperate and did represent a cautious step forward. Its major premise, however, was that the Negro was not much good as a fighter or military leader. This was the same old story. The new twist was the explanation for all this on the grounds that the Negro was less educated than the white. The Army General Classification Tests were trotted out to prove this. These scores did prove a great deal but they did *not* prove that a Negro with a Ph.D. is, therefore, more courageous than a Negro with a third grade education. They did *not* explain the courage of black illiterate troops in the Civil War and the Spanish-American War nor of African colonial troops from Senegal, Nigeria and Gold Coast or of Chinese troops in World War II—almost all semi-illiterate but who were rated "excellent" by their commanders.

Some large gains and many small gains toward military democracy were made during and after World War II. One gets the impression, in moving about the Pentagon, that some great forward-moving change is imminent. This may or may not be an illusion. The Navy put through a successful turnabout on the Negro question and the "stars didn't fall." The Coast Guard traditionally has operated on the principle of integration. It is said that by and by the Army is bound to come along.

Now optimists say that today more "urbanized" and "socialized" types of personalities have a chance to rise in the Army officialdom—men who at least are aware of the importance of first-class human relations and morale and who appreciate the techniques for achieving collective strength and unity. Social science could render vast assistance in modernizing the man-to-man relations within the American Army, an institution that at the present time does not look too much like a mid-twentieth century product.

As citizens, we may be hopeful that this modernization does take place before it is too late. For it is doubtful that the Army's historic Negro policy could withstand the sustained assault of a long war against a powerful foe who preaches and practices racial equality.

Increasingly, the American people seem to feel that it is about time that the military arm of a democracy looked the part and acted the part. It is about time that all citizens, together, share equally the obligations and the privileges, the duties and the honors of defending our native land.

L. D. REDDICK

Atlanta University

MILITANT PASTOR ASKS RANDOLPH TO STOP CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

AN OPEN LETTER TO A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

By the Rev. J. Raymond Henderson, minister
in the Second Baptist church at Los Angeles
(FOR ANP)

My Esteemed Friend:

Following several weeks of sober reflection, I have decided to write to you regarding your present interest in the Draft.

Ever since the day you and Chandler Owen came and spoke at Virginia Union university at Richmond, Va., during my college days, I have both appreciated your ability and admired your leadership. You may not know it, but I was one of those who first believed in your crusade for Dining and Sleeping Car Porters, and when churches in Harlem were for the most part afraid of you because they thought you were too radical, I delivered pep talks more than once to your group at the old St. Luke's Hall in New York. I have been with you all along in your exertion of pressure for the F.E.P.C. My church, wherever I have been minister, has ever been an open door to you. These things you know.

Lest anyone who does not know the record might think that I am a scared, too conservative preacher, urging Negroes to merely pray and wait on the Lord, let me modestly state that I believe in militancy. In every town and in every church where I have served, my church has always been militant along with me for the full rights of our group. In Atlanta I stayed by the case of Angelo Herndon until he was released from jail. I opened the doors of Wheat Street Church to meetings when not another church in town would do so. I spoke in a Methodist Church in Atlanta in interest of the Scottsboro Boys Defense fund when 50 members of the Ku Klux Klan lined the isles and the back of the church. These things I mention, not to my credit, but merely to emphasize to those who may not know, that my variance of opinion with you now is not due to my disbelief in or disavowal of radicalism.

It is my earnest conviction that your present effort to oppose the Draft and your advice to young Negroes not even to register is ill-advised, easily capable of being interpreted as unpatriotic, will get Negroes in serious trouble who follow you at this point, and will eventually cripple your own usefulness as a great leader among us.

Believe me, you are not alone in feeling the burden of our group. There is wide-spread dissatisfaction among Negroes for being made second class citizens. The white man has sense sufficient to know that Negroes simply can not have a superlative affection for a country that treats them as America does, and then asks them to die for it. Many of us still believe, and I am one of them, that with all of its faults, America is a good land, that our rights are gradually being granted, that full rights must eventually come, but that progress in human relations is exceedingly slow. The only thing that cuts short the process is revolution. I believe all thinking Negroes would oppose the folly of such an idea. I share your impatience in feeling that we want all our rights and we want them now. I share no one's confidence that America will grant these rights now . To do the right thing presumes goodness. America is not good enough at heart to do the right thing. I do not believe that we can force our way through non-cooperation.

There are thousands of Negroes who highly regard your opinions. If these Negroes follow your advice that they flatly refuse to register for the Draft, they will find themselves in contempt of their country, they will doubtlessly end up in jail, be charged with Communism, as well as yourself, and at your door will be laid the blame for trouble in many a Negro home. Our government has made provision for those who have honest religious scruples against war. It recognizes the conscientious objector. I do not believe it will, nor can well afford to pass up lightly the issues created by the refusal to register for the Draft.

Finally, it is my candid opinion that if you persist in your present course you will eventually so antagonize your government that you will be charged with subversive activities and your own liberty taken from you. I know that a brilliant argument can be made for the "jail" as a concomitant of progress.

(Continued on Page 14)

(Continued from Page 13)

In spite of this argument, I am sure you can serve your group more effectively as a free man, fighting always within the law, than from behind prison bars.

As your friend, I strongly urge you to abandon your present course because I believe it will injure our group, and will hamper your own usefulness as a great leader.

Most respectfully your friend,
J. Raymond Henderson.

SAN ANTONIO MEDIC TO HEAD NMA

NEW YORK___(ANP)--The new president of the National Medical association is Dr. C. Austin Whittier, M. D., who has practiced medicine in San Antonio for 29 years.

Dr. Whittier is taking over his new office at the current 53rd annual meeting of the NMA held in New York, Aug. 16-20.

Leading medical men from all over the country are conducting clinics, discussions and demonstrations at the city's leading hospitals and medical centers for the meeting. Among the hospitals cooperating with the NMA are the Bellevue, Columbia division, New York, Harlem, Mt. Sinai, Memorial, Presbyterian and Sydenham hospitals.

Leaders of various clinical discussions will include Dr. Harry Gold, professor of clinical pharmacology, Cornell university medical college; Dr. J. Burns Amberson, professor of medicine, Columbia university; Dr. David P. Barr, physician in chief, New York hospital; Dr. Russell L. Cecil, professor of clinical medicine, Cornell, and Dr. Arthur Fishburn.

Dr. Louis T. Wright, New York; Dr. H. H. Walker, Nashville; Dr. S. W. Smith, Chicago; Walter White, executive secretary, NAACP; and others will hold a round table discussion on the topic of regional medical colleges.

Special guest speaker at the meeting will be Judge Francis E. Rivers of New York.

The new NMA leader, Dr. Whittier, has been very active in the NMA and his branch society. An NMA member for 23 years he has been a member of the house of delegates, a zone director, a member of the executive board for five years, chairman of the commission on medical economics for four years, first vice president, 1944-46, and a member of the board of trustees.

He has contributed original scientific articles to the Journal of the NMA, and presented scientific papers to the medical section of the NMA and the John A. Andrews Clinical society. He has served as president of his local society and chairman of its board of directors.

In San Antonio he is known as both a civic and a medical leader. In 1927 he established the Whittier clinic.

His civil activities include serving as president of the San Antonio branch of the NAACP and president of the Texas state conference of branches. He was active in the successful campaign to break down the white primary in Texas.

He is a Mason and an Elk. Dr. Whittier is a member of the board of trustees of his church, a local Baptist congregation.

SAVANNAH GETS FIRST COLORED CASE WORKER IN CHILD PLACEMENT SERVICES

SAVANNAH, Ga.___(ANP)--Savannah got its first colored case worker for children last week when Miss Pearl Lavender was appointed to work in the Child Placement services, Miss Maude M. Butler, director, announced.

A native of Savannah, Miss Lavender recently earned her master's degree in social work at the Atlanta University School of Social work. She earned her A.B. at South Carolina state college, and graduated from Beach high school here in 1942.

She will work with Negro children up to the age of 16 years.

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"One of America's Great Stores"

A. Philip Randolph.
Pres. Brotherhood of S. C. Porters A.F.L.
217 West 125th St.
New York. N.Y.

"Personal"

WHY DO YOU NIGGERS INSIST UPO[illegible]GING IN "WHERE YOU ARE NOT WANTED!!

TRUMAN BIAS PLAN HELD INEFFECTUAL

'Jim Crow' Committee Urges Cleared Anti-Segregation Ruling for Armed Forces

The Committee Against Jim Crow in Military Training and Services asked yesterday for a clearly stated program by President Truman to eliminate racial segregation "completely" from the armed services. The committee said that "equality of opportunity" reform as advocated by the President would continue racial segregation.

The spokesmen for the committee were A. Philip Randolph, president, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL, and Grant Reynolds, member of the New York State Commission of Correction, at a conference in brotherhood headquarters, 217 West 125th Street. The committee had proposed, previously, an extensive rewording of the national draft legislation to make it a criminal offense to discriminate against a member of the armed forces.

Admitting that steps were being taken by all divisions of the armed forces to deal with the race issue, the spokesmen said that they wanted more than "separate but equal, even though the President himself might think that the doctrine of equal treatment will suffice. The committee wants full equality and no segregation."

Reports Considered Good

Mr. Randolph said that recommendations to end discrimination "and perhaps segregation" in the Air Force which were reported to the President by W. Stuart Symington, Secretary of the Air Force, "Seem to be good," but he said that further comment would be forthcoming when the measures were put into action.

He said that he "understood" that the all-Negro Air Force unit in Lockbourne, Ohio, was to be broken up, but expressed dissatisfaction with other reports that there was "actually no program to break up the all-Negro ground crews, rather, to scatter small all-Negro segments among white units."

Mr. Randolph criticized the Navy and Army for being, he said, "hopelessly bogged down in a tradition of segregation, discrimination and white supremacy."

The spokesmen also criticized the National Guard situation, Mr. Randolph saying that nothing had been accomplished in this state "yet" by anti-segregation legislation that Governor Dewey signed this year. The committee has not completed a study of the National Guard situation in New Jersey and Connecticut.

A public hearing will be held this afternoon by the Commission of Inquiry into the War-Time Treatment of Negro Servicemen at the Community Church Center, 40 East Thirty-fifth Street. Arthur Garfield Hays of the Civil Liberties Union is counsel for the hearing.

Lilienthal to Speak at Harvard

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

CAMBRIDGE, Mass., June 4—David E. Lilienthal, chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, will deliver the oration at the annual literary exercises of the Harvard University Chapter of Phi Beta Kappa June 20, it wa announced today. The subject of Mr. Lilienthal's talk will be "Freedom in a World of Fears." The exercises are to be held in Sanders Theatre on the Harvard campus on the Monday before commencement. The poem will be delivered this year by Karl J. Shapiro of Johns Hopkins University, winner of several prizes for poetry.

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FOR WHITE MEN AND WOMEN EVERYWHERE

For the sake of our **COUNTRY** and the **SOUTH** I plead that you **READ** the following:

In 1944 genuine Democrats made the first serious move to eliminate from the real Democratic Party the alleged Negro-**LOVING**, pink and red **MONGRELS** who **FALSELY** called themselves Democrats—True, we were whipped and humiliated and on election day 1944 real Democrats found themselves with no place to go. **BUT, THE SEED OF OUR STRENGTH HAD BEEN PLANTED!**

Since then the scalawag, carpet-bagger Northern bosses of the New Deal Party kept adding shame and degradation to our lot—**smugly sure** there was no end to what loyal Democrats would endure for party harmony—Late in 1947—after Chairman McGrath of the Democratic National Committee showed **RIDICULE** and **SCORN** for our Constitutional State Rights—**GOVERNOR BEAUFORD JESTER** of Texas sounded the first warning that the **SOUTH** and good Democrats everywhere would not forever give **BLIND OBEDIENCE** to renegade, **FALSE** and Negro Democrats.

The warnings of Governor Jester gained wide public approval in the genuine Democratic newspapers and meeting places of the **SOUTH** and the entire nation—But New Deal spokesmen **SCOFFED** and **POOH-POOHED** the warning of Governor Jester—they laughed at the Texas spark as something they could **STOMP** out with the greatest of ease—they had the usual **CONTEMPT** for **"IN THE BAG"** Southern Democrats.

BUT THE TEXAS SPARK DID NOT DIE and since then **FIRES** have broken out in Mississippi, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Alabama, Florida, Louisiana—**sparks are flying all over the** South—Now, **GOVERNOR FIELDING WRIGHT,** backed by the almost unanimous support of the entire Democracy of Mississippi, has challenged the Democrats of the South and Nation to work with his state to put an end to the delivery of the Democratic Party to the Negroes, the C. I. O., the Pinks and Reds who control and ride herd over these minority groups.

On Thursday, January 29, 1948, senior **U. S. SENATOR JAMES EASTLAND** of Mississippi told a joint session of both houses of the Mississippi legislature that **"THE SOUTH HAD ITS BACK TO THE WALL"**, and that unless we defended the real Democratic Party we would soon be completely governed by a collection of **"MONGRELS."**

Senator Eastland said that, "In good times or in bad, the bone, sinew, the flesh and the constancy of the Democratic Party was found below the Mason and Dixon Line"

Instantly! Democrats asked **"THEN, WHY NOT A DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION BELOW THE MASON AND DIXON LINE??!!"**

Congressional delegations from several Southern states are talking the situation over—**At last!** Political leadership have ears to the ground, waiting for "We the People" to stomp and speak.

If you are tired of the threat of FEPC—sick of the Wallaces, Hannegans, McGraths and Peppers—weary of C. I. O. and the Reds who want to **MARRY** us into the **WILLING ARMS** of the Negro! You can now do something about it before it is too late!

WE MUST HAVE A DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION BELOW THE MASON - DIXON LINE.

Five million white men and women of the South must get a message of approval to the thirteen governors of the Southern States—five million people must sign their name and address to one of these circulars and mail or carry it to their governor, **ASKING FOR A DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION BELOW THE MASON-DIXON LINE.**

Your political leaders are waiting to **HEAR FROM YOU**—if you fail it will not be their fault.
"THE HOPE OF THE NATION RESTS WAY DOWN SOUTH IN DIXIE!"

Cordially, John U. Barr,
P. O. Box 86—New Orleans 6, La.

In Louisiana mail to Gov. Designate Hon. Earl K. Long, Winnfield, La.

Permission is granted to reproduce this or our printer can furnish additional copies at 75c per hundred delivered to you.

THE BLACK SOUTH SPEAKS

To all Intelligent and clear thinking Americans everywhere.

For the sake of the South and these United States, we plead with you to read the following:

The so-called real democratic party, instead of uniting all forces and races to meet the world crisis as it be today, when foreign nations are spreading various "isms" here in our homeland selected leaders of this nation are spreading "isms" equally as vicious and cancerous as those speaded by enemies of this nation, with the same purpose in mind--to stir racial strife, dissention, to weaken the very foundation upon which this nation was founded, J ustice, equality, and the brotherhood of man--all contributors of various races and religion have written a glorious history with their blood, sweat, and tears. During these unsteady times, during the crisis of this era, and during this age of transition when boundaries are being changed, customs being no more what they were yesterday, and human progress bade us to accept the challenge of life as it be rather than what a sadist group wish it to remain. We will continue to see the youth, black and white, intelligent and clear thinking americans accepting the challenge to fight such hypocritical leaders who would demolish the well being and future progress of this nation.

The American Negro, the supporters of the F.E.P.C., The Wallaces, Hannegans, McGraths, and Peppers followers, members of the C.I.O., and all other organizations for which this type of propaganda is directed against must meet this situation head on. It's high time for the right interpretation to be applied, taught, and practiced in these United States.

The American Negro is going to continue to fight on all fronts--religious, economic, political and educational. His goal is complete equality without reservation. As an American he intends to enjoy democracy for which he has given so much. He is determined that he will no longer work for the lowest wages, for which is economic slavery; he is determined that he shall have the right and the use of the ballot which has kept him in political slavery; he is determined that he will emerge from the double interpretation of the Holy Bible in establishing separate churches for serving the same God; he is equally determined that some definite, unified interpretations must and shall be worked out and put into practice that will include all people; that the civil rights of all men must be supreme if we are to continue to live in a democracy. Democracy must become universal from Maine to all points of this continent and beyond.

The hope of this nation rest in Dixie. When the clear thinking men and women realize this and act swiftly to solve this american problem which involves us all, then there shall be no fear as to how long the negro shall withstand the attackers of negroes and their constitutional rights. The Negro and darker races who too comes under such abusion and attacks serves notice to this country and the world, that they will not endure these injustices for long; that they can; they will; they must end; not in the distant future, but NOW!

Harry Joseph Jr. Gilbert Harrison
Joseph Green Roosevelt V. Jackson

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH SUBJECT FILE Committee To End "Jim Crow" in the Armed Services Printed Matter 1948-50

Des Moines Sunday Register AUG. 15, 1948.

THE "NEW REVOLUTION" OVER CIVIL RIGHTS

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EDITOR'S NOTE—Because of the intense interest today all over the United States in what is called the "civil rights issue," a member of The Register's editorial page staff recently made a study of experimental civil rights legislation in four Eastern states—New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, and Massachusetts. His report, after visits to Trenton, Newark, New York, Hartford and Boston, will be told in occasional articles of which this is the first.

—

ALL OF a sudden, civil rights have become an issue big enough to split a great national political party. They used to be the concern chiefly of a few college professors, liberal lawyers, and militant minorities.

In congress, this may be embarrassing to the Republicans, because it set the Northern Democrats free (temporarily, at least) from the inhibiting influence of Southern Democrats. This year, for a change, it is the Democratic platform which is more specific on civil rights.

Competition between the parties for credit in civil rights matters may not remain the shadow-boxing it has usually been.

No Shadow-Boxing Now.

In several Northern states and cities, it has not been shadow-boxing for some time now. There, both major parties have been competing for credit on civil rights issues by actually pioneering new legislation.

The experimental federal Fair Employment Practice commission died in 1946. But four Eastern states now have one to three years' experience with still more comprehensive laws against discrimination in employment.

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Industrial civilization is an "employee society". For most people, the right that counts most of all is the RIGHT TO A DECENT JOB.

This is the most crying need of our most oppressed minority—the Negroes.

It took the threat of a wartime "March on Washington" by A. Philip Randolph of the Sleeping Car Porters union to get an executive order issued giving Negroes a chance at war industry jobs. And despite a clear pledge to make permanent the resulting "Fair Employment Practice Commission" by the Republican platform and by the Democratic candidates in the 1944 presidential election, the FEPC was obviously dying as the war drew to a close.

Riots Were a Symptom.

Meanwhile, in 1943 the Harlem section of New York City suffered 12 hours of rioting (6 killed, hundreds injured, $5,000,000 in damages) following a rumor that a white policeman had shot a Negro soldier. (A good many Negro soldiers were ill-used by white civilian peace officers in the South.)

That set both political parties and all men of good will in New York to searching for something constructive to do in the race relations field.

New Jersey and Connecticut have vast sections which are mere suburbs of New York, so this started wheels turning there, too. But they had incidents of their own.

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There were shooting affrays at army camps. In Trenton, N. J., Negro soldiers tore the cashier's booth at a movie theater out by the roots when they were told "balcony only for colored." A Hartford Negro minister was beaten up on a train in Alabama.

Indignant white people in Connecticut financed a suit against the railway—and then looked around Connecticut and found there were things that needed improving right at home!

Anti-Semitism Too.

In the Dorchester section of Boston, young teen age toughs went around challenging small boys in the Jewish neighborhoods. "Are you Jewish?" they would ask, and then beat up on gallant small fry who did not deny their faith. Proper Bostonians kept the matter out of the papers for years until finally a reporter from a crusading New York newspaper sprung the story. He was expelled from the governor's press conference for it — but the governor later came around, the situation was cleaned up, and constructive programs in human relations started.

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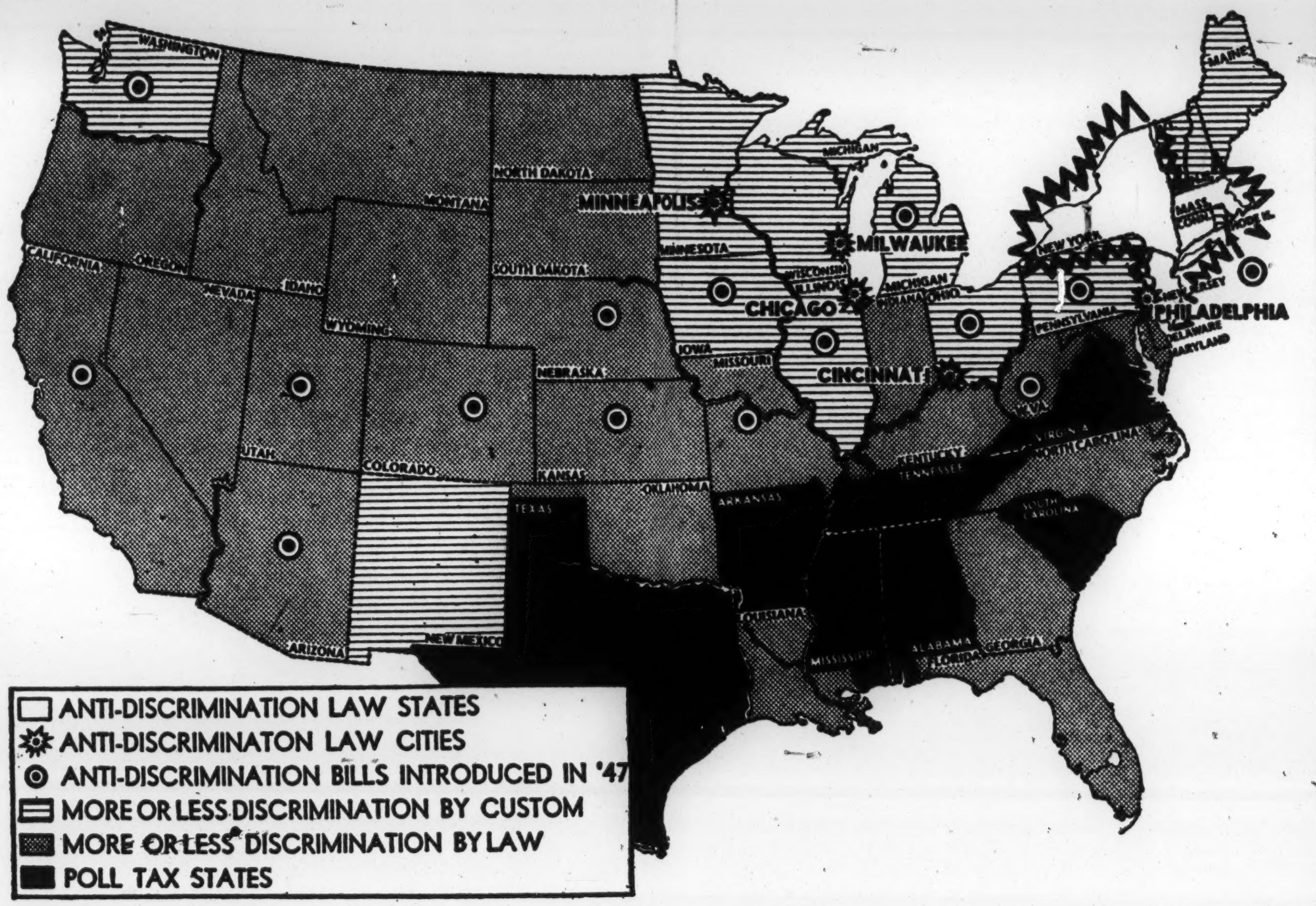
New York passed the first state fair employment practice act—"law against discrimination," it is officially known—in 1945, after prolonged study by two successive commissions and considerable experience with a state law against discrimination in employment in war industries.



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The 1945 law was passed with the full support of Governor Dewey and both Republican and Democratic parties. Some of the chief backers of the principle have never forgiven Dewey for postponing passage from 1944 to 1945. But the delay strengthened the law, and Governor Dewey has supported it since with able appointments, sizable appropriations, and full co-operation from other government departments.

New Jersey passed a law based very closely on the New York law that same spring, and both went into effect July 1, 1945. Massachusetts passed a similar law the next year; Connecticut the year after that.

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The cities of Chicago, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, Cincinnati, and Philadelphia have adopted fair employment laws in the last year or two. In 1947, 25 bills against discrimination in employment (not counting five "toothless" ones) were introduced in 16 state legislatures in Northern states. It ordinarily takes several sessions at best to pass so revolutionary a law, and none of them passed last year.

Public Opinion Counts.

Up until very recently in the South (it's still true in Mississippi) the way to get votes was to thump for white supremacy and bully racial minorities in public.

In the North, it was best to be correct in public, but Southern patterns were spreading as more and more Southern whites and Negroes moved North.

Now there is a strong countermovement for justice to racial minorities in the interest of everybody. The recent wave of anti-discrimination laws and ordinances is only the most conspicuous evidence of this. Most of them are only partly effective, of course.

For the long pull, other things are more important—the popular sentiment that backs laws like these, the public and private research and education that accompany them, and the new habits of working together, on the job and in social action, that they foster.

AUG. 29, 1948.

Anti-Discrimination Law Enforcement

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'Conference, Conciliation and Persuasion' Replacing Litigation.

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EDITOR'S NOTE: This is the second article by a member of The Register's editorial page staff about experimental civil rights legislation in four Eastern states—New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, and Massachusetts.

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In Trenton, N. J., I asked a trade association secretary, who had opposed the bill against racial or religious discrimination in employment, "How is the law working out after three years of actual practice?"

"It doesn't make any difference," he said. "We've got reasonable men in charge of it. They don't enforce it."

The "civil rights laws" passed by 18 Northern states(including Iowa) along about the 1880's are supposed to guarantee equal access to hotels, restaurants, theaters, etc., for "all

The Trenton trade association man was probably wrong, but it is easy to see why. The new laws *are* being enforced, but by a wholly different method than the usual one.

Instead of being enforced by policemen, prosecutor, judge and jury, as criminal law, they are being enforced by "conference, conciliation and persuasion".

These words were drafted by the bipartisan Ives commission in New York (headed by Irving Ives, now United States senator) and written into every one of the four state laws.

THEY ARE THE MOST IMPORTANT WORDS IN THEM.

Supposing Alice Brown applies for a job she sees advertised in the papers, and gets turned down, ostensibly because there are no more vacancies. Supposing the want ad keeps

Feels Ashamed.

He does, and is pleasantly surprised by the non-contentious atmosphere.

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Result: The employer often feels ashamed of himself, doesn't want the unpleasant publicity of fighting the case, and agrees to obey the law in the future. If Alice is really qualified and he still has an opening, he generally gives her a job.

If she has found another job in the meantime, in some cases he gives her back pay from the time of her application to the time of her employment elsewhere. (This is done most often in New York, where the State Division Against Discrimination is largest and proceedings take quite a while.)

Some months later, the state makes

SEPT. 5, 1948.

Results of Anti-Discrimination Laws

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(Editor's Note: This is the third article by a member of The Register's editorial page staff about experimental civil rights legislation in New York, New Jersey, Connecticut and Massachusetts.)

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It is hard to measure the results of the new laws against racial or religious discrimination in employment, in New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts and Connecticut, because several other forces are working in the same direction—education, good times, and public sentiment.

But these forces are at work over much of the country; the laws are just in four states and five additional cities.

A Study of Situation.

In a period of one to three years, the difference is already measurable

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The 25 were cities where the Urban League had adequate staff to find out how many Negroes were employed on Jan. 1, 1948, as white collar workers, technicians, or professional employees, in private enterprises for profit—NOT counting those working only in Negro communities.

Half in Four Cities.

Half of these Negro white-collar-and-up employees were working IN FOUR CITIES ONLY—and the four were in states with anti-discrimination laws for employment. Another third were in Chicago, which has a city anti-discrimination ordinance.

Chicago is a special case, however. Most of the Negro white collar workers there were clerks in mail order concerns at the edge of town, where they do not meet the public. Chicago

Squeezed out of Jobs.

Negroes DO have more education, more property, better health now than they did 20, 40, or 70 years ago.

But they have not yet regained the political power they had briefly in the late 1860's and '70s, when they had far less preparation for it. And there has been a steady drive to squeeze them out of one occupation after another, and to keep the best of the newly developed jobs from them, except when they are catering to their own race alone.

This has been true North and South. In some ways it has been worse in the North, where restrictive unions are stronger and the Negro's need to earn a living is less apparent.

The wartime shortage of labor made a temporary dent in this trend, with the assistance of the federal fair employment practice commission. The state anti-discrimination laws give promise of holding these gains, and

1946. But four Eastern states now have one to three years' experience with still more comprehensive laws against discrimination in employment.

* * *

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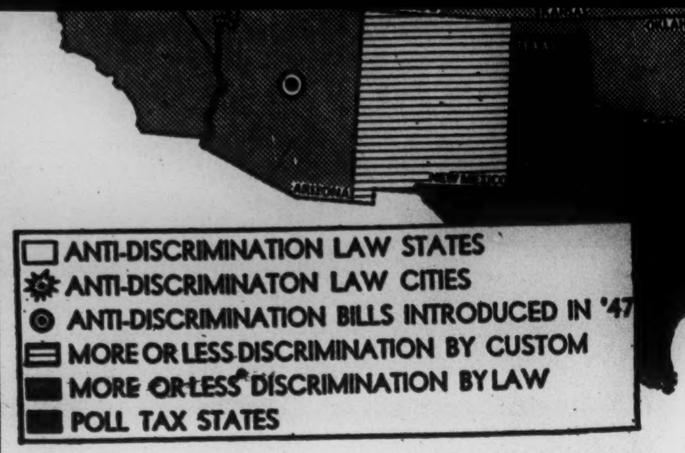
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GEORGIA
☐ ANTI-DISCRIMINATION LAW STATES
✹ ANTI-DISCRIMINATON LAW CITIES
◎ ANTI-DISCRIMINATION BILLS INTRODUCED IN '47
▤ MORE OR LESS DISCRIMINATION BY CUSTOM
■ MORE OR LESS DISCRIMINATION BY LAW
■ POLL TAX STATES

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AUG. 29, 1948.

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The "civil rights laws" passed by 18 Northern states(including Iowa) along about the 1880's are supposed to guarantee equal access to hotels, restaurants, theaters, etc., for "all persons" — i.e. including Negroes. Much of the time these laws are openly violated, and it takes considerable persistence to get a prosecutor to act on the clearest kind of evidence. Winning a case often results in only a trivial penalty and no change in practices.

Different View.

Are these new laws against discrimination in employment, enacted with bi-partisan support in New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, the same sort of deal?

One gets a different view from talking with informed opponents of the laws in the four states, with employers, with the administrators of the law (in both top and lower levels) and with detached observers, both men-in-the-street and experts — and from reading through great piles of reports.

The Trenton trade association man was probably wrong, but it is easy to see why. The new laws *are* being enforced, but by a wholly different method than the usual one.

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THEY ARE THE MOST IMPORTANT WORDS IN THEM.

Supposing Alice Brown applies for a job she sees advertised in the papers, and gets turned down, ostensibly because there are no more vacancies. Supposing the want ad keeps running.

Alice is a Negro. She knows she has the education, experience, and personality expected in a job as stenographer and file clerk, let us say. At once she is suspicious.

Perhaps after some urging by a friend, she files a complaint.

This isn't a law suit or a prosecution, they tell her. It won't take much time and there will not be any publicity about it unless she gives it out herself.

An investigator—maybe a young fellow with experience in personnel work—interviews her, and then checks up on the other side of the story with the firm complained against. He tells his boss that it looks as if she had reason to complain. His boss calls one of the executives of the firm and asks him to come into the state office and talk it over.

Feels Ashamed.

He does, and is pleasantly surprised by the non-contentious atmosphere.

* * *

Result: The employer often feels ashamed of himself, doesn't want the unpleasant publicity of fighting the case, and agrees to obey the law in the future. If Alice is really qualified and he still has an opening, he generally gives her a job.

If she has found another job in the meantime, in some cases he gives her back pay from the time of her application to the time of her employment elsewhere. (This is done most often in New York, where the State Division Against Discrimination is largest and proceedings take quite a while.)

Some months later, the state makes a routine re-check to see if the law is really being obeyed, not just in this one instance, but generally

Policies Examined.

However, supposing it develops that it WASN'T really a clear case of discrimination at all—the jobs HAD all been filled, and the ad had run on from inadvertence.

The state division would nevertheless have made a survey to see if the firm did ever hire, say, any Negroes in office jobs, with constructive suggestions about how to get qualified ones.

Thus in either case, a complaint often leads to an examination of a firm's whole hiring policy, and an attempt is made to get permanent observance of the law, not just punishment if one particular violation is proved.

The result is the beginning of a great social change in these states.

SEPT. 5, 1948.

Results of Anti-Discrimination Laws

* * *

(Editor's Note: This is the third article by a member of The Register's editorial page staff about experimental civil rights legislation in New York, New Jersey, Connecticut and Massachusetts.)

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It is hard to measure the results of the new laws against racial or religious discrimination in employment, in New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts and Connecticut, because several other forces are working in the same direction—education, good times, and public sentiment.

But these forces are at work over much of the country; the laws are just in four states and five additional cities.

A Study of Situation.

In a period of one to three years, the difference is already measurable. LeRoy W. Jeffries, assistant director of the industrial relations department of the National Urban League (Negro social service agency), has a manuscript study of the employment of Negro white collar workers in private industry in 25 selected cities.

* * *

The 25 were cities where the Urban League had adequate staff to find out how many Negroes were employed on Jan. 1, 1948, as white collar workers, technicians, or professional employees, in private enterprises for profit—NOT counting those working only in Negro communities.

Half in Four Cities.

Half of these Negro white-collar-and-up employees were working IN FOUR CITIES ONLY—and the four were in states with anti-discrimination laws for employment. Another third were in Chicago, which has a city anti-discrimination ordinance.

Chicago is a special case, however. Most of the Negro white collar workers there were clerks in mail order concerns at the edge of town, where they do not meet the public. Chicago had only three Negro department store sales persons outside Negro neighborhoods, against New York's 382 and little Hartford's 89!

Omitting Chicago, the four cities in anti-discrimination law states have 77 per cent of the Negro white-collar-and-up workers in all 24 cities.

Squeezed out of Jobs.

Negroes DO have more education, more property, better health now than they did 20, 40, or 70 years ago.

But they have not yet regained the political power they had briefly in the late 1860's and '70s, when they had far less preparation for it. And there has been a steady drive to squeeze them out of one occupation after another, and to keep the best of the newly developed jobs from them, except when they are catering to their own race alone.

This has been true North and South. In some ways it has been worse in the North, where restrictive unions are stronger and the Negro's need to earn a living is less apparent.

The wartime shortage of labor made a temporary dent in this trend, with the assistance of the federal fair employment practice commission. The state anti-discrimination laws give promise of holding these gains, and making vast new ones. They give promise of bridging the long-time gap between American WORDS about equality of opportunity and American DEEDS.

They give promise of making the Negro and other oppressed minorities first-class citizens, for the first time.

SEPT. 19, 1948.

Criticism of Fair Employment Laws

* * *

(Following is the fourth article by a member of The Register's editorial page staff about experimental civil rights legislation in four eastern states.)

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Employers were suspicious of the fair employment bills in all four states — Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey and Connecticut — and openly fought them in two. They feared that any such law might lay them open to endless harassment by disgruntled employees and would-be employees, with hordes of bureaucrats paid to make employers' lives miserable.

This hasn't happened to the degree expected. There are some complaints that turn out to be groundless, of course, and investigating them takes time for both state officials and private employers. But not many.

In the four states with combined populations of 24 million people, some 1,200 complaints are being handled currently in a year, by investigating staffs of fewer than 40—slightly over 100 if you count the educational and research subdivisions and the clerical help. Most employers never see them from one year to another.

Help Wanted Ads Checked.

Some Massachusetts employers were indignant because the Massachusetts fair employment practice commission checks on newspaper help wanted advertisements, to see if the law is being violated openly in print. (It was, widely, at first; but not at all for some months now.)

Some New York employers were indignant at telephone calls from purported job applicants who wound up with: "By the way, in order not to waste your time and my time, I should tell you that I am a Negro. Does that make a difference?" This was not the work of the commission, obviously.

An Annoyance.

Employment agencies in New York were annoyed by private associations of minority groups, who made a telephone check to see how many of them could be prevailed upon to violate the law for strangers, by phoning them pretended discriminatory orders.

* * *

Some of the regulations by which the commissions spell out the law are minor nuisances to employers and employment agencies, moreover. For example, you may not ask an applicant's birthplace, the maiden name of his mother, his religion, or his photograph—*before* hiring. You may ask these questions *after* hiring so long as it is not for the purpose of racial or religious discrimination. These rules have required the revision of thousands of application blanks. The no-photograph rule imposes a severe tax on the memory of employment agencies and large personnel departments, and a handicap on the less accessible applicants.

Professional Criticism.

Criticisms come more readily from the people who feel the new laws are not being enforced fast enough or vigorously enough. Professional spokesmen for organizations of Negro, Jewish, etc., groups often take a stand something like this:

> **"The law is fine. We like it (with perhaps some minor suggestions for making it stronger.) But we feel the administration is weak. How can they go for years without ever finding any wilful violators? Everybody knows there are plenty of them. But they sit there in their offices, or go around making good speeches, and don't take any action until somebody comes in and lays the proof in their lap."**

* * *

Every one of the four state administrations engages in broad surveys of employment practices as well as acting on complaints that come in. They attempt to use persuasion.

It is true that they move slowly and cautiously. They consider that wise policy.

Staffs and commissions in the four states study one anothers' methods. Social scientists and minority group associations study them with critical sympathy.

At least this is as opposite as can be from the crude violence of the shortlived reconstruction laws, following the Civil War.

The Fight for Civil Rights

January 10, 1949 **NEW YORK STAR**

I. F. STONE

Inquiry on Jim Crow in Army

WASHINGTON

I spent Saturday at the Negro YMCA here listening to testimony before a commission of inquiry on Jim Crowism in the armed forces.

The surroundings, like everything else in our local Negro ghetto, were shabby. The walls of the second floor assembly hall in which the commission met were chipped, and the flag in the corner was so old it had only 45 stars.

But my two older children, who asked to go along, saw it all with a fresh child's eye. Their first impression may give a start to those whose vision is paled by preconception. They thought the Negroes an unusually distinguished looking group of people, as indeed they were.

The prime movers of the inquiry were A. Philip Randolph and Grant Reynolds of the Committee Against Jim Crow in Military Service and Training, supported by the American Veterans Committee, which has the distinction locally of being a non-segregated organization. The counsel was Arthur Garfield Hays, whose immunity to hysteria and unaging devotion to basic liberties have made us all his debtors.

The testimony showed that wherever the armed services wished to operate on a non-segregated basis, as the Army did in certain officer candidate schools, there was no difficulty. "When the Army wants to get tough," one witness said, "it can get plenty tough."

Costly Jim Crowism

The Army seemed willing to go to all kinds of expense and trouble rather than disturb accepted Jim Crow patterns. One Negro electrical engineer worked with whites all day but a special jeep was assigned to take him a considerable distance to and from lunch so they wouldn't have to eat with him. The Army was prepared to build a special barracks for one lone Negro officer rather than have him share quarters with his white colleagues.

The picture drawn was of an Army in which Negroes were confined almost entirely to menial or non-combat tasks. Except in emergencies like the Battle of the Bulge where they fought magnificently. In this hierarchical organization, demanding unquestioning obedience, without freedom of expression, all the traditional evils of despotism thrived: informers, trumped up charges, courts-martial little better than kangaroo courts.

The prime example of Army stupidity at the hearings was the case of former Sgt. Al Levy, who was put through the wringer of court-martial for championing the Negroes under his command. He was found "not guilty" but the verdict was arbitrarily changed to guilty three days later.

The War Department sent an investigator from Washington when the story got into *PM*. The investigator's way of getting the facts was to line up the Negro troops in front of their white officers and invite any Negro who had been mistreated to step forward and make his complaint. None did so; he might just as well have invited them to stick their neck in a noose.

Alone and Apart

The most touching testimony for me was not the overt ill-treatment often shown Negroes or the dreadful attempt to frame Grant Reynolds for fighting his people's battle but his story of several months at a camp in which he was the lone Negro officer. When Reynolds insisted, he was allowed in the officers' mess but ate at a table alone and apart. Reynolds testified, "Nobody would even speak to me at mealtime."

Testimony indicated little actual change in the attitude of the armed services; they demonstrated as much by ignoring the invitation to be heard through representatives of their own.

Chicago Defender
WORLDS GREATEST WEEKLY
Saturday, Jan. 22, 1949 5

THE SUNDAY STAR - Washington, D. C.
January 9, 1949

Langer Plans Rider To Ban Segregation Of Negro GIs Here

Senator Langer, Republican, of North Dakota, announced yesterday he will add an amendment to his civil rights program that "would ban discrimination and segration in Washington public facilities for Negro service men and draftees."

Calling discrimination against Negros in Washington a "national scandal," he communicated his intentions in a message to the Commission of Inquiry Into the Wartime Treatment of Negro GI's. It was read at an all-day hearing conducted on the subject at the Twelfth Street Y.M.C.A.

Discrimination here is "particularly odous." the Senator said, when directed against Negros in uniform.

Truman Request Cited.

Senator Langer was joined in his denunciation by Representative Javits, Republican, of New York, and other civil rights adherents.

President Truman's request on Wednesday for universal military training, Senator Langer said, "has highlighted again the threat that Negro youth may be conscripted under a permanent program of segregation within the Armed Services and subjected to civilian abuses and indignities in Southern Communities."

Of the seven anti-segregation and civil rights amendments he introduced to the 1948 draft act, only the anti-poll tax amendment "squeezed through" the Senate and House, Senator Langer reminded the commission. He informed the group that he intends to re-introduce the same amendments to the draft act and will call them up for consideration at the "first propitious moment."

Morale Element Stressed.

Representative Javits, in another message, declared that "discriminatory treatment of Negro soldiers is a most serious infringement of our freedoms." He added that "strict adherence to constitutional principles . . . is an essential element in the morale of our armed forces."

A message from Margaret Halsey, author of "Color Blind," a racial book, also was received. She asserted that "the Stage Door Canteen policy of nonsegregation" worked during the war.

A plea for the "elimination of Jim Crow" was made by Adolph Held, national chairman of the Jewish Labor Committee of New York.

The Commission of Inquiry is headed by Thurman L. Dodson of Washington, president of the National Bar Association. He presided at the session yesterday. Included among the dozen members were Arthur Garfield Hays, general counsel of the American Civil Liberties Union; Joseph L. Rauh, jr., national chairman of the Americans for Democratic Action; Joseph A. Clorety, jr., national vice chairman of the American Veterans Committee; Lewis C. Hines, national legislative representative of the American Federation of Labor; and Charles H. Houston, national chairman of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peoples' legal committee.

Veterans Relate Experiences.

They took testimony all day from various ex-service men, both white and colored. who told about personal experiences with segregation in the service. One of them, Al Levi of New York. claimed he was court martialed twice for criticizing conditions and discriminations at the Lincoln (Nebraska) Air Base during the war. Sentenced to four months on the "rock pile," he was saved by White House intervention, he said.

Mr. Levi was assigned as sergeant major to a Negro detachment at the post,

Other witnesses included Grant Reynolds of New York, a former captain, and Albert Black of Washington, both of whom described their experiences in the Army.

Mr. Black said that at the officer candidate schools discrimination and segregation were "banned by orders" and furnished an example of how different races could get along well. Mr. Levi said the guardhouse afforded examples also, where white and Negro got along together perfectly.

The Negro's America

By A. Philip Randolph

National Treasurer, Committee Against Jim Crow in Military Service and Training

Now that civil disobedence is no longer a factor nor a reason for nonparticipation in our movement, where do we go from here? Our victory in the form of the Executive Order was one of the handful of recent achievements by liberals, and in addition to illustrating the value of an uncompromising stand, it should encourage us to finish the task of ridding the armed services of all racism.

After an analysis of the problem from this point on, the Committee Against Jim Crow concluded that the remorseless spotlight of public opinion can expedite the work of the President's official committee and assist it in implementing the anti-Jim Crow policy of the Executive Order. We asked a group of eminent white and Negro citizens last spring to constitute themselves as a Commission of Inquiry into the wartime treatment of Negro GIs. In two days of Washington hearings, with Arthur Garfield Hays as counsel, the Commission heard testimony from GIs of both races, war correspondents, Selective Service and Defense representatives, and civilian observers.

Impressed by the educational worth of this national sounding board, Mr. Hays recommended further hearings in every major city as well as research

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By ALFRED E. SMITH

ARMY

AL Levy told these while testifying before A. Phil Randolph's Commission of Inquiry into Wartime Treatment of Negro GI's. You recall Levy was court-martialed, jailed and otherwise pushed around by Army during the War because he protested abuse of Negro soldiers.

At Lincoln Air Base, the colored GI's were quartered nearly two miles from other barracks, the Mess Hall and everything but their own inadequate PX. One evening when supplies ran out in their PX as was usually the case, a group of them walked to the "white" PX to buy soft drinks and beer. Strangely enough nobody paid any attention to them except some Spanish-American (Mexican) GI's who were quartered with the "white" troops and apparently were proud of it.

The Mexican GI's undertook to throw the colored GI's out of the PX and it was one royal scrap especially after colored reinforcements arrived from two miles away. This is of course a commentary on evil tendency of minorities to shy away from one another as they jealously court the white group.

Funniest one Levy told was about a swimming pool in another camp in one of the Southwest States. There was but one pool and it was allotted the colored GI's on Friday and the white GI's on Saturday. The white GI's refused to use the pool unless all the water was drained out on Friday night after the colored GI's had finished, and the pool refilled with fresh water. Resentfully the colored GI's refused to use the pool on Fridays unless all the water used by the white GI's the Saturday before was drained and the pool refilled. So, to satisfy old Jim Crow, that pool had to be drained, cleaned and refilled every Thursday and every Friday night at considerable time, expense and water which was valuable in that dry locality.

ABSENCE

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National Treasurer, Committee Against Jim Crow in Military Service and Training

Now that civil disobedence is no longer a factor nor a reason for non-participation in our movement, where do we go from here? Our victory in the form of the Executive Order was one of the handful of recent achievements by liberals, and in addition to illustrating the value of an uncompromising stand, it should encourage us to finish the task of ridding the armed services of all racism.

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Impressed by the educational worth of this national sounding board, Mr. Hays recommended further hearings in every major city as well as research into pertinent War Department records and court martial transcripts. Nothing except lack of funds is preventing the adoption of these excellent suggestions. The incredible Army-imposed racial barriers in the Canal Zone could also be called to the attention of unknowing Americans if the Commission could sit for a few days in Panama and hear the infamous "silver and gold" story. And I can think of no more salutary—though for some circles embarrassing—forum than a series of hearings in occupied countries where American West Pointers have introduced racial segregation to the dismay of the populace. (Jim Crow schools, for example, have been transplanted from Mississippi to the cities of Germany where Negro troops are stationed!)

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The commission, which formed last May, was told that these letters had been superseded by a 1946 letter, but that Marine Commandant Clifton B. Cates had declined an invitation to send a representative to appear before the commission to document the new policy.

Alfred E. Smith, Washington correspondent for the Chicago Defender, told the commission that although top military leaders were showing a change of attitude toward discrimination "orders against Jim Crow were still not carried out at lower levels of command."

Smith presented to the commission "thousands of letters he said he had received from Negro GIs who wrote him during the war.

Others who testified during the day-long session were Al Levy, who told the commission he was court-martialed and jailed in 1943 for protesting abuse of Negro soldiers; Milton Sachs of the Washington Chapter of the American Veterans Committee, who told the commission of an instance in Karachi, India, where an anti-segregation policy had worked successfully, and Lieut. Patrick Munroe, who told of his experiences in the south Pacific as an officer in a Negro regiment.

COMMITTEE AGAINST JIM CROW IN MILITARY
SERVICE AND TRAINING

Grant Reynolds, National Chairman
A. Philip Randolph, National Treasurer

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New York 27, New York
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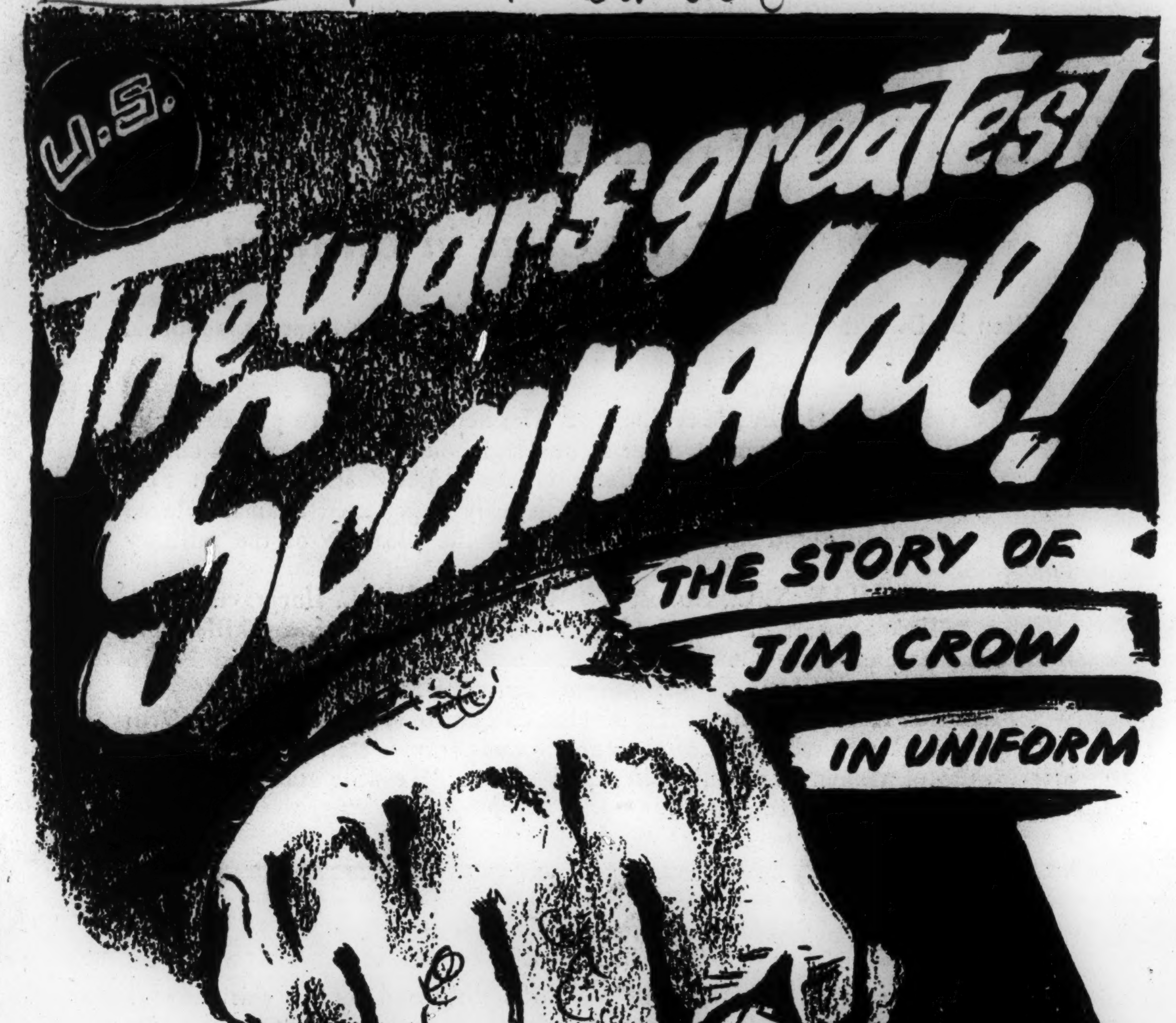
Documents + ~~Reports~~ Literature



The war's greatest Scandal!

THE STORY OF JIM CROW IN UNIFORM

5¢

PUBLISHED BY THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT

THE WAR'S GREATEST SCANDAL

The Story of Jim Crow in Uniform

Written by Dwight Macdonald **Research by Nancy Macdonald**

FORT BENNING, GA., May 2, 1941: The body of a Negro private, Felix Hall, is found hanging from a tree, arms and legs bound. Negro groups charge Private Hall was lynched. The *Bulletin* of the NAACP states that at Fort Benning "concentration camp tactics are allegedly being used against colored soldiers, and torture and killings take place at the pleasure of the military police."

FAYETTEVILLE, N. C., August 6, 1941: Sergeant E. L. Hargraves, white military policeman, and Private Need Turman, Negro engineer, are killed and four other soldiers are wounded in a gun battle between white and Negro soldiers on a crowded bus. Cause: brutality by white M.P.'s.

PRESCOTT, ARK., August 17, 1941: 43 Negro soldiers from the 97th Engineer Battalion go A.W.O.L. and return to their former station, in Michigan, after weeks of violent persecution by local whites. "Trouble started in Little

Foreword

The conscience of the American people is disturbed by the existence of two American armies: the U. S. Army and the U. S. Army (Colored). The aim of this pamphlet is to present a true picture of jimcrowism in the armed services and to enlist the mind and will of all Americans, Negro and white, who are concerned with democracy.

There are those who feel that at a time like this any attempt to raise the color question is utopian and ill-advised. But we of the March on Washington Movement cannot agree. We feel our movement must make known to the American people the whole shameful story of the oppression, exploitation and indignity to which Negroes are being subjected in the armed forces. Otherwise, how can we pretend to be a movement for economic, social and political justice?

In this and other activities, we of the March on Washington Movement believe that we are doing battle for democratic principles. We are trying to realize freedom, truth and justice in the national life. Our struggle for complete equality for all men regardless of race, religion or national origin is the basic struggle to preserve and extend democracy in these United States.

E. PAULINE MYERS
(Executive Secretary, March on Washington Movement)

Rock," states Sergeant James Humphries, "after a fight between a white copper and one of our boys. The copper started it when he slapped the soldier. . . . We found we had no Negro M.P.'s; these had been replaced with whites. And the whites were not any too anxious to protect us. Negro M.P.'s had been requested but refused. We were told that white Southerners would not stand for Negro M.P.'s. . . . Then we moved again. . . . I saw some of the white armed civilians in parked autos along the highway. Then one of our sentries was attacked. He had a rifle but it was empty. . . . Then on Thursday hell broke loose."

ALEXANDRIA, LA., January 11, 1942: Twenty-eight Negro soldiers shot or clubbed in a race riot provoked by the attempt of a white M.P. to arrest a Negro soldier. 3,000 Negro soldiers put under arrest by white M.P.'s and city and state policemen. Basic cause of riot: lack of recreational facilities for 16,000 Negro troops stationed in nearby camps; refusal of Army authorities to allow colored M.P.'s.

SAVANNAH, GA., June 10, 1942: Negro troops in the Army Day parade are forced to march at the tail end, behind garbage trucks.

BEAUMONT, TEXAS, Aug. 10, 1942: Negro private Charles J. Reco is clubbed and shot by two city policemen. No action taken by Army authorities.

VALLEJO, CALIF., Dec. 26, 1942: Mistreatment of Negro sailors by Southern whites provokes race riots involving 272 Negro and white sailors.

These things have happened in an army supposed to be fighting for democracy. They could be multiplied a hundredfold. It is mere good luck that this undeclared war against part of our own armed forces has not broken out into large-scale rioting, bloodshed and lynching. The pattern is always the same: brutal and humiliating treatment of Negroes wearing the uniform of their country, and complete failure of the Army authorities to protect those wearing that uniform. A fantastic situation in an Army supposedly dedicated to wiping out Nazi racialism. And yet how can we expect anything else when we see those in command of this Army and Navy adopting as their official policy this very doctrine of Hitler?

"MASTER RACE" VS. "WHITE SUPREMACY"

Half a million Negroes are now bearing arms in the service of their country. Great numbers are volunteers: *although only* 9.8% *of the population is colored,* 16.1% *of all volunteers for the Army in* 1940-41 *were Negroes,* according to the Office of War Information. In return for their patriotism, the Negroes of America have been jimcrowed into segregated regiments and used largely as servants and laborers. Although there is a shortage of Army nurses, at last reports considerably fewer than 200 Negro nurses had been accepted—for an Army nurse is a commissioned officer, and the Army doesn't want too many Negroes with commissions. Radio technicians are badly needed. No Negroes need apply. The Air Corps desperately needs weather officers. Negroes are not eligible—their duties might take them to all-white airfields. Registered pharmacists are in great demand—that is, if their skins are white. From every battlefront the cry goes up: More pilots! And not one Negro flyer has yet seen combat. The outstanding hero of Pearl Harbor was Dorie Miller, who singlehanded worked a machine-gun against Jap planes until his hands and arms were blistered and scarred. Yet Dorie Miller, who got the highest medals for bravery in action, was only a messman, barred by regulations from rising to combat status. For Dorie Miller's skin was black.

If you are interested in winning the war, this is a criminal waste of human resources. If you are interested in democracy, it means spreading the poison of legalized, official jimcrow from the deep South throughout our entire national life and even overseas. For various reasons, the Army and Navy have always had an unusually high proportion of Southerners in their officers' corps. A man doesn't lose his prejudices when he puts on a uniform. And so a doctrine of "White Supremacy" which is simply Hitler's "Nordic Supremacy" in Cracker lingo has become the official policy of the American armed forces. Racialism is monstrous in Nazi Germany but O.K. in the U. S. Army.

There is, of course, no more scientific basis for American jimcrow than there is for Hitler's anti-Semitism, which is to say there is no basis at all. Other nations don't feel this way about the Negro. In the last war, the French were shocked and bewildered by the treatment of colored troops in the A.E.F. In this war, it is the turn of the British to be shocked. The jim crow policies which American officers have tried to enforce among our troops in England have aroused the greatest indignation in Parliament. "That is the last thing the British Parliament would tolerate," recently declared Viscount Simon, Lord Chancellor of England. His sentiments were echoed by the humble pubkeeper who tacked up a sign at the entrance to his bar: FOR THE USE OF THE BRITISH AND OF COLORED AMERICANS ONLY.

OUR UNCONSTITUTIONAL ARMY

Jimcrow in the Army is all the more inexcusable because there is a specific clause forbidding it in the 1940 Draft Act. Few people are aware of the existence of this clause, Section 4(a), which reads as follows:

> **In the selection and training of men under this Act, and in the interpretation and execution of the provisions of this Act, there shall be no discrimination against any person on account of race or color.**

The military authorities are thus violating the spirit if not the letter of the very law which permits them to draft civilians into the Army. Yet neither Congress, which passed the law, nor President Roosevelt, who signed it, have raised the slightest protest. How is this possible?

It is possible because up to now the colored people have not put up any real fight to enforce Section 4(a) of the Draft Act. They have mistakenly relied on Roosevelt and other "liberal" politicians to do their fighting for them. But the record shows that the Negro gets something from the Roosevelt Administration only when he kicks up a fuss. It took the threat of a March on Washington to extract the Fair Employment Practice Committee from the White House. And as we shall see, such concessions as the Negro has won to date from the armed forces have been won only by a fighting insistence on his rights. This pamphlet has two purposes: (1) to give the brutal facts on jimcrow in the American Army and Navy; (2) to show that the colored people of America, and their white friends, must begin *right now* to make a real fight on this issue.

One Negro who believes in standing up for his rights is Winfred William Lynn. Last June he was notified by his draft board—Local Board 261, of

Jamaica, Long Island—that he had been put into 1-a. He sat down and wrote a letter:

Gentlemen: I am in receipt of my draft-reclassification notice. Please be informed that I am ready to serve in any unit of the armed forces of my country which is not segregated by race. Unless I am assured that I can serve in a mixed regiment and that I will not be compelled to serve in a unit undemocratically selected as a Negro group, I will refuse to report for induction.

Yours respectfully,
Winfred W. Lynn

THE LYNN CASE

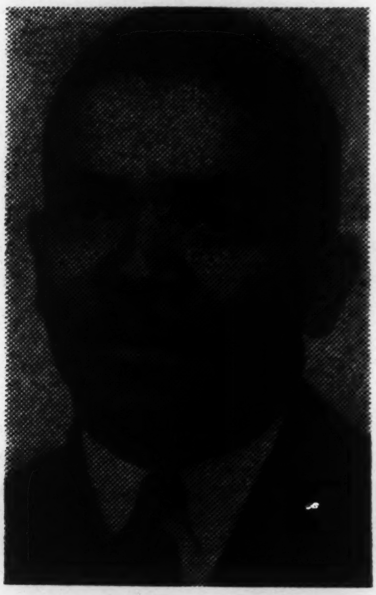
This letter was the beginning of what is coming to be known more and more widely as "the Lynn Case"—an important legal attack, the only one made to date, on military jimcrow. It all grows out of the fact that Winfred Lynn, in a quiet way, is a very determined person, and that he has a brother, Conrad, not so quiet but equally determined, who happens to be a capable lawyer. Until last December, when Arthur Garfield Hays came into the case as trial lawyer, the Lynn brothers carried on their fight practically alone. Winfred Lynn is, or was, a landscape gardener. For the past twelve years—he is now thirty-six—he has been building up a nice little business putting in trees and shrubbery on Long Island estates. He wasn't much interested in politics, and he had no great quarrel with the economic system—"I'll always get by," he used to say. But he did feel very strongly about one thing—racial discrimination. When war came, he couldn't make any sense out of the contradiction between the theory of a war for democracy and the fact of a jimcrow army being raised to fight it. Long before he got his 1-a notice, he used to tell Conrad that, regardless of what happened to him, he wasn't going to be a party to such a practice. Many Negroes talked like that. The Lynns are unusual in that they did something about it, and something effective.

The legal basis of Lynn's case is that Section 4(a) prohibits discrimination in selecting draftees, and that he, like most Negroes, was actually selected on a separate jimcrow quota. He is therefore suing the Army authorities—he has accepted induction in order to make a test case—to be allowed to return to civilian life on the grounds that the jimcrow method of his selection violates the Draft Act. His case will probably reach the U. S. Supreme Court by the end of this year. Arthur Garfield Hays, acting for the American Civil Liberties Union, is the trial lawyer, and Albert C. Gilbert is now the attorney of record in charge of preparing the brief, succeeding Conrad Lynn, who was recently drafted himself.

The Lynn case may turn out to be one of the most important ever argued before the Supreme Court. It raises two big issues:

1. *Is segregation in itself discrimination?* Webster defines "segregation" as "a separation from others" and quotes in illustration William Wetmore Story's judgment: "The very name of ghetto, signifying segregation and disjunction, is opprobrious." The U. S. Supreme Court thinks otherwise, however. The line of its decisions in all the classic jimcrow cases, beginning with *Plessy v. Ferguson* in 1895 and continuing through *Mitchell v. United States* in 1941, has been that segregation is not in itself discriminatory so long as equivalent facilities, whether in transportation or schools, are provided for Negroes and whites.

The novelty of the Lynn case is that it brings up to the court for the first time the question of segregation practiced not by Southern states but by the federal government itself. Jimcrow is integrated so closely into the present social system of the South that it is not surprising that the court, even in its current liberalist phase, has not ventured to disturb it. But it will be quite a different thing to sanction the practice when it is applied by the federal government itself on a national scale to an army drawn mostly from areas where legalized jimcrow has never existed. "Our Constitution is color-blind," wrote Justice Harlan in his great dissent in the Plessy case. Whether this was a hope or a statement of fact will become clearer when the court decides the Lynn case.



Amsterdam News

WINFRED LYNN

Amsterdam News

CONRAD LYNN

2. *Is a jimcrow army compatible with a war alleged to be fought for democratic aims?* The fact that nothing was said in the last war's draft laws about racial discrimination, while this time Congress voted Section 4(a) into the law, indicates both a general awareness of the paradox of a jimcrow army fighting against Nazi racialism and also the gains the Negroes have made since 1917. There are plenty of legalistic ways in which the court can decide against Lynn: it can reaffirm the doctrine that segregation is not discrimination; it can even declare Section 4(a) unconstitutional because it interferes with the control the military authorities must have over civilian rights in training a war-time army (that is, it would interfere if it were respected). On the other hand, even the most legalistic jurist must be concerned with the army's present policy of spreading the poison of racial discrimination among millions of draftees from outside the South.

Furthermore, an adverse decision will be politically inexpedient in view of the present state of mind of Negroes. It is significant that although the Lynn case has hardly been mentioned in the national press, it has been front-page news in Negro papers all over the country. When Winfred Lynn went to Camp Upton, his fellow-soldiers knew all about the case and insisted on doing his military chores for him. Another Lynn brother, in training down South, was asked by his white captain whether he was related to "this fellow Lynn that's making so much trouble"—which shows that those on the other side of the fence know about the case too. According to Conrad Lynn, at least six Negroes in his brother's draft district have followed his example, without having the means to make a legal test or to do much of anything, in fact, except go to jail when it comes to that. He also asserts that a large number of Negroes just don't show up when summoned for induction, and that the authorities usually prefer not to do anything about it. The whole question has been smoldering beneath the surface. The Lynn case brings it out into the open and forces a showdown on whether the 1940 Draft Act means what it says.

LET'S LOOK AT THE RECORD

"Negroes are too cowardly and shiftless to make fighting troops, they are fit only for labor gangs, they must have white officers because their own race doesn't produce officer material, it would be demoralizing to mix them with white troops, etc., etc." These are the kind of slanders that are circulated, privately, to justify the humiliations put upon the Negro in the armed forces today. All right, let's have a look at the record.

- The first American to give his life for the Revolutionary cause was Crispus Attucks, a Negro, who fell at the first volley of the Boston Massacre. More than 6,000 colored soldiers fought with Washington (and were rewarded after the war by being told by their Commander-in-Chief: "Return to your masters like good niggers.") An outstanding Revolutionary naval hero was Mark Starlin, a former slave, who commanded the warship, *Patriot*.
- In the War of 1812, Andrew Jackson had high praise for the conduct of his Negro troops at the Battle of New Orleans, and Commodore Perry said of his Negro sailors: "While America has such tars, she has little to fear from tyrants of the ocean."
- Over 200,000 Negroes fought in the Union ranks in the Civil War (and were rewarded by getting lower pay than white soldiers). One of the most distinguished naval heroes of the war was Captain Robert Smalls, after whom the Negro division of the Great Lakes Naval Training Station was recently named. (A Southern-born Rear-Admiral "hit the ceiling" when he learned the base had been named after a Negro, and tried to get the press to kill the story.)
- The Ninth Cavalry, a famous Negro regiment of the Regular Army, played an important part in the Battle of San Juan Hill in the Spanish-American War.
- In the last war, 400,000 Negroes served in the Army, on a strictly jimcrow basis. (Secretary of War Baker said: "We are not trying by this war to settle the Negro problem.") Only 40,000 of them were allowed to fight, the remaining 90% being used only for labor service. None of the three Negroes who then held officer's commissions in the regular Army were sent abroad, and not a single Negro unit of the regular Army went over. Nevertheless, the few inexperienced National Guard regiments that were permitted to get to the front gave a fine account of themselves. Southern-born American officers tried to slander the Negro troops to the French authorities, just as

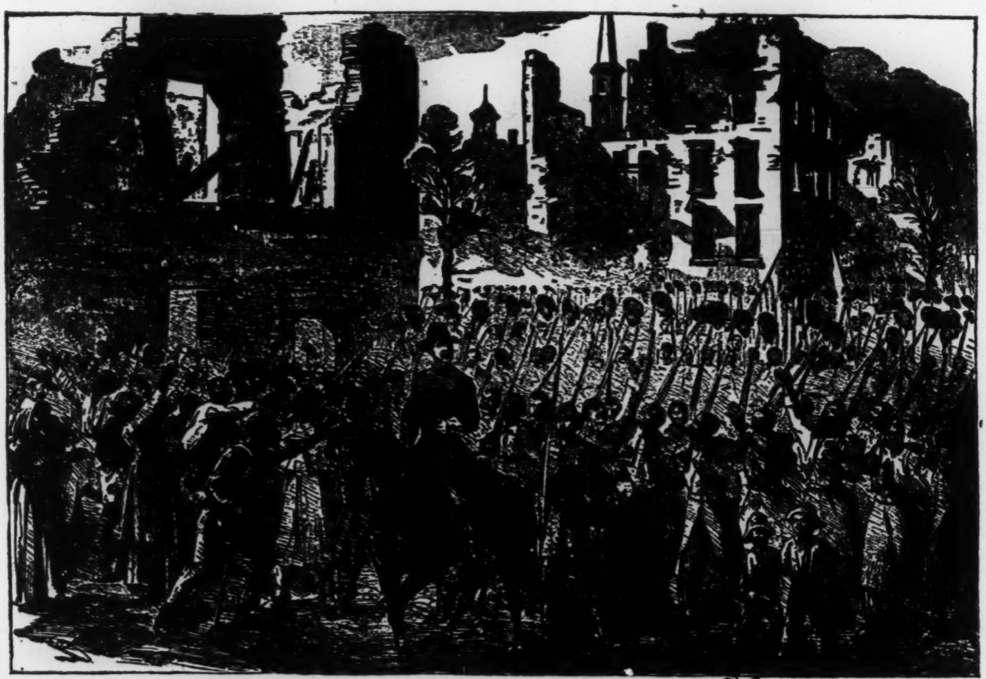
they have done in this war with the British, but the French, being without racial prejudice, conceived a very high opinion of the American colored troops.

- The 369th National Guard Regiment, recruited mostly in Harlem, served 191 days under fire, more than any other unit of the A.E.F., suffered casualties of 40%, never lost a foot of ground or had a man taken prisoner, and returned home with 172 individual French and American decorations and a regimental Croix de Guerre. A member of the 369th was the first American soldier to win the Croix de Guerre with star and palm: Henry Johnson, a pint-sized Red Cap from Albany, who routed a party of 25 Germans singlehanded in the famous "Battle of Henry Johnson." (The War Department rewarded the 369th in 1940 by planning to convert it into a labor regiment and ordering it to add the word "Colored" to its name. Pressure forced the Department to cancel the orders.)

- Another colored regiment, the 371st Infantry, suffered 1,047 casualties, received 184 individual decorations and a regimental Croix de Guerre, and was cited by the French Commander-in-Chief in the East: "The 371st Regiment has shown, during its first engagement, the very best qualities of bravery and audacity which are characteristic of shock troops."

- The colonel of the 372nd (colored) Infantry received this message from his French divisional commander: "Your troops have been admirable in their attacks . . . and I consider it an honor to have commanded them. The bravery and the dash of your regiment are the admiration of the Moroccan division, and they are good judges. . . . Signed, GOYBET."

- **In the green rolling fields of Arlington National Cemetery, just outside Washington, lie the dead of many American wars. Here is the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, the "Maine" memorial, and many another stately military monument. And here is a section pointed out to visitors: "These are the colored graves." Even in death the Negro soldier is jimcrowed by the nation in whose service he died.**



1865

THE MASSACHUSETTS FIFTY-FIFTH COLORED REGIMENT IN CHARLESTON.

N. Y. Public Library

Such is the record of the past, a mixture of heroic sacrifice on the part of the colored man, and of all too frequent slander and humiliation as his reward from the military authorities. It is high time the American people changed this shameful pattern.

SEGREGATION IS DISCRIMINATION

Every one of the half million Negroes now serving in the armed forces is doing so on a jimcrow basis. Every regiment, every ship, every battery, every flying squadron and medical staff and jeep company is either all white or all colored. The most ingenious planning, the most complicated and voluminous quantities of paper-work, the tireless efforts of thousands of officers are devoted to the great task of keeping apart the two races. The instant he puts on the uniform of his country, the Negro becomes a deadly plague carrier, to be quarantined, isolated at all costs from his white comrades in arms.

The military authorities, like the Supreme Court, deny that segregation is in itself discrimination. Actually, however, the record of the armed forces to date in this war is the strongest possible proof that discrimination is inextricably bound up with segregation. The Negro civilian in jimcrow states finds that, even if he is willing to accept segregation, he does not in actuality—whatever legal theories the Supreme Court may spin about it—get equal educational, housing and transportation facilities. And the Negro soldier or sailor also discovers, and even more dramatically, that even if he accepts segregation, he gets anything but equal treatment. The medieval Jew knew that ghetto-segregation was discrimination; the modern Jew in Nazi Germany knows that Nuremburg-Law-segregation is discrimination; and the American Negro soldier knows that jimcrow-segregation is discrimination—whatever the Supreme Court or the Secretary of War says about it. Again, let us have a look at the record.

IN THE ARMY: SERVANTS AND LABORERS

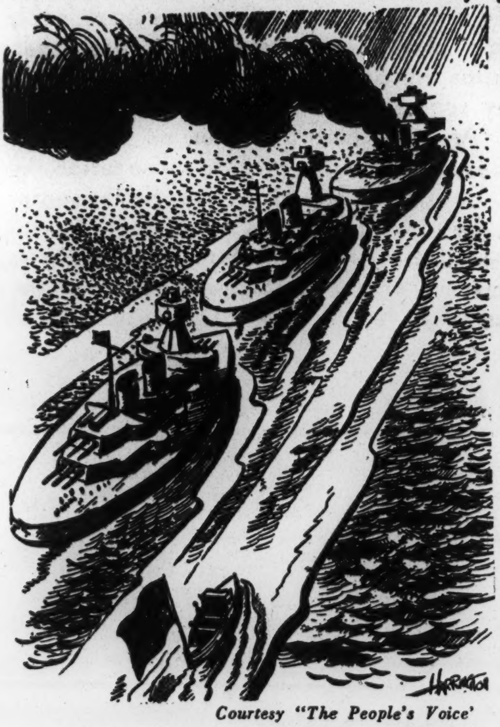
After the last war, the four colored regiments in the Regular Army were reduced to menial jobs. The two cavalry regiments became hostlers and stable-boys; the two infantry regiments became cooks, officers' servants, road builders. As late as the beginning of 1941 there was not a single Negro officer on duty in the Regular Army, and not a single one of the more than 500 Negro reserve officers had been called up for duty.

The huge numbers of Negroes drafted into the Army have now somewhat changed this picture. There must be *some* officers, *some* combat units among half a million Negroes in uniform. So today there are some 2,000 Negro commissioned officers, and three regiments have Negro officers from top to bottom. (There was only one Negro colonel in the last war.) In all the other regiments, however, including the first all-colored division, the 93rd, the officers are white—except for a few lieutenants—and the privates and non-coms are colored. The great bulk of Negroes are still in menial and labor jobs: only 100,000 of the 450,000 now in the Army are in combat units. The same is true of the 60,000 Negro troops that have to date gone abroad—as was dramatically shown when Rommel broke through the American lines recently in Tunisia and captured thousands of Negro soldiers who were armed with nothing more lethal than picks and shovels.

Special mention must be made of the one important area in the entire armed services where jimcrow has been abolished: the officers' training schools. White and colored officer candidates work, study and live together, apparently in complete harmony and comradeship. The very success of these unsegregated schools, in fact, is a strong argument against the Army's claim that riot and bloodshed would result if jimcrow were to be abolished.

THE NAVY MAKES A "CONCESSION"

Up to last spring, the highest aspiration a Negro could have in the U. S. Navy was to rise to the dignity of . . . officers' cook. Only menial, low-paid jobs were open to him. This policy actually represented a big step *backward* in the last twenty years, for up to 1920 Negroes could and did serve in all ranks of the Navy up to and including Chief Petty Officer. They lived on the same ships with white sailors, ate with them, served the same guns in battle side by side with them. Last June the Navy yielded to tremendous pressure and announced that Negroes again would be accepted for regular combat service. This concession was made in the most grudging spirit, and was surrounded with a mass of humiliating restrictions:



Courtesy "The People's Voice"

U. S. Navy: "Cullud Section"

1. Negroes are trained at Jimcrow training stations.

2. They are accepted only as "reservists," for service in "district craft" (small boats) and on shore around Navy Yards and construction projects (that is, labor gangs).

3. All craft manned by Negroes are to be 100% colored—except, of course, for the officers, who are 100% white.

4. Negroes are not eligible for commissions as officers — which means, among other things, that the women's naval auxiliary, the WAVES, is 100% lily white, since a WAVE is a commissioned officer.

5. All Negro enlistments are to terminate automatically six months after the war is over, so that the Navy can rid itself of these undesirables once the fighting is over. The effects of this provision on the morale of Negro sailors may be imagined.

Even with all these safeguards against the ruinous effects of a more democratic treatment of Negroes, the Navy is still taking no chances. It is almost a year since the new policy was announced, and yet at the present writing, only 1,000 Negroes have completed even their preliminary training for the Navy.

THE AIR CORPS SCANDAL

"Reactionary policies and discriminatory practices of the Army Air Force in matters affecting Negroes were the immediate cause of my resignation as Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War." In these words, on January 18, 1943, Judge W. H. Hastie announced that, after two years of getting nowhere in his War Department post, he had reached the end of the road. The straw that broke Judge Hastie's back was the Air Corps' decision last December to set up a jimcrow officers' training camp, thus taking a step *backward* from Army practice. But there were many straws before that.

Flying is a romantic (and highly paid) military job, and the Army Air Corps apparently considers itself much too aristocratic to put up with Negroes. When the Senate in 1939 passed a law requiring the Army to train Negroes as pilots, *Time* magazine reported that the Air Corps "much distressed, quietly went to work on Capitol Hill to get Negro training killed." For two more years, the Corps was able to keep out Negroes altogether. A typical story was that of Walter L. Robinson, a Negro who had finished his C.A.A. training course thirteenth in a class of 300, who was told: "There is no place for a Negro in the Air Corps." Robinson went to Canada, where he was instantly accepted as a pilot in the Royal Air Force. Finally, early in 1941, Yancey Williams, a highly qualified Negro pilot, brought suit to compel the Corps to accept him. *The very next day* the Corps announced that a training center for Negro pilots would be opened at Tuskegee Institute.

The Tuskegee school has turned out to be strictly eyewash. It is, of course, jimcrow (despite strong protests by Judge Hastie). It is over two years since it was announced, and not a single Negro flyer has yet been assigned to actual combat service. In its first year of operation it turned out exactly 50 pilots, which means it will take over 20 years for the 1100 Negroes who have passed the tests for the Air Corps to get their basic training. It trains pursuit pilots only, and the pursuit plane is of decreasing importance in modern warfare. Further, these pilots lack trained ground crews, since the Corps refuses to train Negro mechanics at white centers and has not got around to setting up a jimcrow center.

The familiar slanders about Negroes being incompetent to fly planes are whispered to justify this shameful record. A pilot needs good coordination and quick reflexes above all. That the race which produced Joe Louis, Jesse Owens, Satchelfoot Paige and hundreds of other great athletes cannot fly planes—this is a bit of racial mythology worthy of Dr. Goebbels. Out of 100 Negroes who took C.A.A. courses in 1940, 91 qualified for licenses. In one important branch of aviation, namely night flying, recent evidence shows that Negroes are better qualified than whites. Two scientists who tested 4,000 Army truck drivers found that the colored drivers had much keener night vision than the others. "We never even suspected this phenomenon before," they reported (*Time*, June 30, 1941). "It may result in changes in our military setup on land, sea and in the air." This is the opinion of mere scientists. The racial philosophers in charge of our armed forces know better: they have refused to make use of this or any other special talent of the colored people.

RED CROSS, DOUBLE CROSS

When Negroes see those posters showing a white-robed Red Cross nurse, representing "The Greatest Mother in the World," stretching out her hands in appeal for funds, they smile bitterly. For the American Red Cross has actually applied jimcrow to the "blood banks" from which it gives transfusions on the battlefield. At one time it refused to accept blood donations from Negroes at all. It now accepts Negro blood but processes and stores it separately "so that those receiving transfusions may be given plasma from blood of their own race." The Red Cross has to be very careful with its labels, for no scientist has yet been able to demonstrate the slightest difference between colored and white blood—or between the blood of any races. The difference exists only in the imagination of a Hitler—or of the directors of the Red Cross, the Surgeon Generals of the U. S. Army and Navy, and the Secretaries of War and Navy, all of whom approved the policy of segregating Negro blood on January 21, 1942. This episode shows us how far those in command of our armed forces have come to accept the racial mythology of the enemy.

Those are the facts, and it is not a pretty picture. What can be done about it? There are three important factors:

(1) The colored people of America have come a long ways since the last war; they are no longer willing to be pushed around as an inferior race.

(2) The Roosevelt Administration has backed up the jimcrow policies of the military authorities as much as it has dared; nothing can be hoped for from Washington without a much tougher fight than the Negroes and other friends of democracy have put up so far.

(3) This great issue must be faced; it cannot longer be evaded and compromised as our political leaders are trying to do. Either you advance towards real democracy, and the Negro with you; or you go backward to racialism and fascism.

Let us consider each of these points briefly.

1. THE NEGRO IS ON THE MARCH

The American Negro has made tremendous advances in the last twenty years, in education, in independence and self-respect, in consciousness of his rights as a citizen of a democracy. These gains are shown in a rise in social status, despite all the efforts of reactionaries to bar his advance. Even in the armed forces, for example, the new American Negro has forced some important concessions he did not have in the last war. It is true that the anti-discrimination clause of the 1940 Draft Act is being violated by the military authorities, but the 1917 Draft Act lacked even the clause. Over 1800 Negroes are serving on draft boards throughout the nation, a great advance over 1917. The Marine Corps recently admitted Negroes for the first time in its history. In the last war, Negroes were confined to the infantry; this time there are Negro units of mechanized troops, armored forces, tank destroyers, anti-aircraft service—shamefully few of them, it is true, compared to the number of qualified Negroes, but still a few. Negroes are in the air force—again, very few, but in the last war there was not one. It took all sorts of pressure to get even a jimcrow officers' training camp for Negroes in the last war; this time colored officer candidates are trained in the same unsegregated schools. We have seen how grudgingly these concessions have been made, and how most of them are so much whitewash. But it is significant that in the last war the military authorities didn't even have to use whitewash. The change in attitude is a response to the stronger pressure from a more conscious and better educated colored population.

2. THE ROOSEVELT RECORD — WORDS VS. DEEDS

In the crucial months before the 1940 Presidential election, the Roosevelt Administration worked out its formula for dealing with "the Negro problem": *Democracy in Words, Jimcrow in Deeds.* The Rooseveltian formula is an attempt to square a political circle: to maintain a jimcrow army without losing the political support of the nation's thirteen million Negroes.

On September 14, 1940, President Roosevelt signed the Draft Act, with its Section 4(a). On September 27th he received with his customary geniality a delegation of three Negro leaders who came to present him with a program for actually carrying out Section 4(a). The leaders were Walter White, of the NAACP, T. Arnold Hill, of the National Urban League, and A. Philip Randolph, of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Their detailed 7-point program called for equal treatment for Negroes in all branches of the armed services. They got their answer on October 9, when the White House issued a press release stating that traditional jimcrow policies would be continued by the Army and Navy, and that, except for three regiments, all present and future Negro units would have white officers. "This policy," added the release, "has proven satisfactory over a long period of years, and . . . it is the opinion of the War Department that no experiments should be tried with the organizational set-up of these units at this critical time." The release also implied that Messrs. White, Hill and Randolph were in agreement with this statement of policy, which violated every detail of the program they had submitted ten days earlier.

The three Negro leaders at once issued a strong repudiation of the alleged "agreement":

> "We question that the jim crow policy of the Army 'has been proven satisfactory.' It has never been satisfactory nor is it now to Negro Americans. Such segregation has been destructive of morale and has permitted prejudiced superiors to exercise their bigotry on defenseless Negro regiments.
>
> "We are inexpressibly shocked that a President of the United States at a time of national peril should surrender so completely to enemies of Democracy who would destroy national unity by advocating segregation. Official approval by the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of such discrimination and segregation is a stab in the back of Democracy."

This statement put the White House in a very tight spot. The elections were only a few weeks off, and the Negro vote was an important factor in Roosevelt's calculations. On the other hand, the Army and Navy stood firm on jimcrow, and the President lacked either the courage or the will to crack down on them. Some whitewash was needed badly, no matter how cheap so long as it covered up the ugly reality. On October 25, therefore, a week before the elections, three Negroes were appointed to high posts in the military apparatus: Judge William H. Hastie became Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War; Colonel Campbell Johnson became Special Aide to the Director of the Draft; and Benjamin O. Davis, the only Negro colonel in the Regular Army, was made a Brigadier-General, the first Negro to reach general's rank.

These appointments, of course, made no real difference. As we have seen, Judge Hastie recently resigned after two and a half years of ineffectual protests, nor do the other two appointees seem to have been any more successful in liberalizing the Army's policies. However, the crisis was met, or rather postponed, and Roosevelt was reelected. A few more concessions have been made since then, as we have seen, but the Rooseveltian formula still persists basically unchanged: *Democracy in Words, Jimcrow in Deeds.*

3. THE ISSUE MUST BE FACED — NOW!

Every one remembers the terrible race riots that took place during and after the last war in this country. The East St. Louis riot—or rather massacre—of 1917 in which at least 39 Negro men and women were killed and the entire colored section of the city was burned down. The 1919 Chicago riots, in which 20 Negroes and 14 whites died in three days of savagery. In the single year, 1919, there were 26 race riots throughout the country. Just what part the jimcrow policies of the Army played in these outbreaks is not known, but it must have been a considerable one. Millions of young whites and Negroes were segregated from each other, taught to regard each other as alien creatures. At least one of the worst 1919 riots, in Washington, D. C., was directly caused by friction between white and colored soldiers.

After this war, we will be lucky if the Army's racial policies inflict nothing worse on us than race riots. A new and sinister kind of political doctrine has arisen since the last war, which feeds on racial antagonisms. A few years ago we got a glimpse of it in the anti-Semitic preachings of Father Coughlin and the Silver Shirts, in the anti-Negro agitation of the revived Ku Klux Klan and Detroit's secret Black Legion. Unless the present policies of the armed forces are greatly liberalized, the veterans of our jimcrow army and navy will make the best possible post-war breeding ground of a new native fascism.

Nor is the danger by any means confined to the *white* veterans. The "Pacific Movement of the Eastern World" was launched by Japanese agents with the slogan: "The Japanese are brothers of the Negroes and the Negro race will be better off under Japanese rule than under white rule." This kind of propaganda has attracted little support among Negroes . . . yet. But already many sincere and intelligent American Negroes are thinking in the terms expressed in a dialogue recently reported between a Negro teacher and student:

Student: I hope Hitler wins this war.

Teacher: How can you make such a statement?

Student: Because I am convinced that is the only thing that will teach these white people some sense—their knowing what it means to be oppressed.

Teacher: But don't you realize that conditions would be even worse under Hitler?

Student: They can't possibly be any worse than they are for Negroes in the South right now. The Army jimcrows us. The Navy lets us serve only as messmen. The Red Cross segregates our blood. Employers and labor unions shut us out. Lynchings continue. We are disenfranchised, jimcrowed, spat upon. What more could Hitler do than that?

When this dialogue was reported to a Negro audience recently, it was greeted with cheers. On the basis of the record of jimcrow in uniform to date, it is not hard to understand those cheers.

Or consider a case typical of hundreds, if not thousands—that of Donald Sullivan, who preferred a three-year term in the Federal Penitentiary to serving in a jimcrow Army. According to the *N. Y. Times*, of May 21, 1942, he "became embittered when he tried unsuccessfully several years ago to join the Navy."

It is not hard to understand Donald Sullivan's feelings. Nor those of Harry Carpenter, a Philadelphia Negro, when he said to a colored sergeant last year: "This is a white man's war and it's no damn good."

Harry Carpenter was arrested for treason. But you can't arrest thirteen million people.

Jimcrow in uniform is an intolerable insult to the thirteen million colored citizens of this country. It violates the most basic principles of the democracy our leaders say we are fighting for. It spreads the most vicious of Hitler's doctrines among the very soldiers and sailors who are dying in battle with Hitler's armies.

Jimcrow in uniform must go! Every colored person in America, every real friend of democracy in America must take up the fight and refuse to be satisfied with anything less than the smashing of racial barriers throughout the entire armed forces. Jimcrow in uniform must go!

◆

The material in this pamphlet has been drawn almost entirely from printed sources.... For a week-to-week coverage of military jimcrow, I found *Time* and *P.M.* especially good. ... The most complete material on jimcrow in the Air Corps appears in the various statements by Judge W. H. Hastie in the last two months, obtainable from the Press Service of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 69 Fifth Ave., New York City. . . . *The Negro Handbook*, edited by Florence Murray, contains statistics and a very useful chronology on Negroes in the Army. . . . The section in this pamphlet on the Lynn case is mostly reprinted without change from an article by myself, "The Novel Case of Winfred Lynn," which appeared in the *Nation* for Feb. 20, 1943, and I wish to thank the editors of the *Nation* for permission to reprint. . . . A lavishly illustrated 64-page brochure on "Negroes and the War" may be obtained from the Office of War Information. It costs nothing and is worth it.

The following articles contain useful information:

"The Right to Fight for Democracy," by Walter White. *Survey-Graphic*, Nov. 1942.
"Colored Soldiers, U. S. A.," by Earl Brown. *Survey-Graphic*, Nov. 1942.
"Legal Status of the Negro in the New Army," by Milton R. Konvitz. *The Guild Lawyer*, Dec. 1940.
"Jim Crowism in the Army and Navy." *Lawyers Guild Review*, March 1941.
"Negroes Are Fighting for Freedom," by Shirley Graham. *Common Sense*, Feb. 1943.
"The Negro's War." *Fortune*, June 1942.
"It's Our Country, Too," by Walter White. *Saturday Evening Post*, Dec. 14, 1940.
"Negroes and Defense," by M. T. P. Lochard. *The Nation*, Jan. 4, 1941.

MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT

2084 SEVENTH AVENUE NEW YORK CITY

What Is It?

An all-Negro mass organization dedicated to winning full democracy for the Negro people. It is pro-Negro, but not anti-white.

"We Are Americans, Too!"

What Has It Done?

It has won Executive Order No. 8802 from the President of the United States, barring discrimination in war industries, the only such order issued since the Emancipation Proclamation.

It has gained jobs for thousands of Negroes in war industries.

"We Are Americans, Too!"

What Are Its Aims?

1. To develop a program of action by which the Negro masses can march towards the total abolition of all social, economic and political discrimination.
2. To draw out leadership from the Negro masses to struggle on their own behalf.

"We Are Americans, Too!"

What Is Its Immediate Program?

1. To eliminate jimcrow from the armed services of our country.
2. To initiate a campaign of Non-Violent Direct Action against jimcrow laws and customs in every part of the country.

"We Are Americans, Too!"

Who Can Belong?

Every Negro who believes in our aims and who wants freedom enough to fight for it.

"We Are Americans, Too!"

How Much Does It Cost?

Ten cents a year a person, five cents of which is to remain in your local treasury and five cents to be sent to the National Office.

"We Are Americans, Too!"

Who Are Its Officers?

A. Philip Randolph, National Director; B. F. McLaurin, National Secretary; E. Pauline Myers, National Executive Secretary; Aldrich Turner, National Treasurer.

Come to the "We Are Americans, Too" Congress, sponsored by the March on Washington Movement, to be held in Chicago on June 30 through July 4, 1943.

cm against [illegible]

LEST WE FORGET

"— — that those who died shall not have died in vain"

Memorial Services for Negro War Dead

REYBURN PLAZA (Broad and Arch Streets)

Sunday Afternoon, May 28, 1950

★

GIANT PARADE — "MARCH OF SILENCE" — with thousands bearing flowers in the line of march.

Parade assembles at 3 o'clock, Broad and Jefferson Streets.

Gold Star Mothers, veterans, church choirs, bands — led by Isaac Woodard, the blind veteran.

★

Stars of stage, screen and concert stage to participate, along with national leaders who will gather to pay homage to those men of color who died for freedom and civil rights.

A thirty-foot "Torch of Memory" will burn for 24 hours in the Plaza to be guarded by veterans in uniform.

★

ANY organization may march. *ANY* club or group which has not registered to bring a wreath to the "Torch of Memory" is requested to call POplar 5-4535 or write to the Citizens Memorial Committee at 1416 North Broad Street for parade assignment.

★

Services at the Plaza begin at five o'clock.

★

All-Philadelphia Citizens Memorial Committee
Father Jesse F. Anderson, Reverend William P. Stevenson, Co-Chairmen

★

National Citizens Memorial Committee: Hobson R. Reynolds, Chairman

★

MEMORIALS AT GETTYSBURG MILITARY PARK; SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS;
LINCOLN MEMORIAL IN WASHNGTON, D. C.

★

He was the Negro soldier
Who drank war's cup to the brim
That we might live and grow and love

Have We Forgotten HIM?

MARCH IN HIS MEMORY RAIN OR SHINE

20

Com against Jim Crow

Non-Violent Action NEWSBULLETIN—Nos. 2 and 3

Civil Disobedience

IS IT THE ANSWER TO JIM CROW?

A Symposium

with

REINHOLD NIEBUHR
OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD
KIRBY PAGE
ROGER BALDWIN
RICHARD GREGG
GEORGE SCHUYLER
MORRIS MILGRAM
NORMAN THOMAS
ALLAN KNIGHT CHALMERS
E. STANLEY JONES
HOWARD THURMAN
HARIDAS T. MUZUMDAR

AND OTHERS

Two Tactical Problems

By A. J. MUSTE

Non-Violent Direct Action News

10 Cents per Copy

Is Civil Disobedience the Answer to Jim Crow?

On December 30, 1942, A. Philip Randolph, National Director of the March-on-Washington Movement, issued a press release stating that the May conference of the MOW will consider launching a broad national program based on non-violent civil disobedience and non-cooperation modeled along the lines of the campaigns of Mohandas K. Gandhi.

Such a program, it was stated, would call upon all Negroes, except those on duty in the armed forces or at work, for a stated period to disobey any law which violates their basic citizenship rights, such as Jim Crow cars and all forms of discrimination. They would be asked to exercise their civil rights and eat in all places in every city where citizens normally dine, to boycott Jim Crow cars in the South and ride in the cars provided for citizens generally, and to refuse to go into Jim Crow waiting-rooms, but to enter the normal waiting-rooms provided for everybody. If ejected, it was stated, they should not fight back, but should constantly keep up this program in an orderly, peaceful, and quiet manner.

The Fellowship of Reconciliation feels that such a program is so momentous as to merit a great deal of vigorous discussion. Hence, the Non-Violent Action NEWSBULLETIN has submitted a series of questions to a number of individuals representing different points of view and varying shades of interpretation. Realizing that clarity of thought is indispensable before perilous spheres of action are entered, and that such clarity is often best achieved through the clash of divergent viewpoints, the purpose of this feature is to help clarify thinking on the possible systematic application of civil disobedience to Jim Crow laws and customs.

The questions are designed to secure critical judgment on four points of paramount importance in the issue of civil disobedience to color caste. The first deals with the desirability of such a program; the second with its consequences; the third with the relation between Negroes and anti-Jim Crow whites in the struggle; and the fourth with the execution of such a program. A number of the contributors, however, were inclined to present a statement of their point of view, rather than answer the specific questions.

The Questions

I

(a) Should Negroes practice organized, non-violent civil disobedience to Jim Crow, systematically disobeying laws and violating customs which manifest segregation and race discrimination? Why? (b) If not, is there any other alternative to continued cooperation with Jim Crow practices? What is it?

II

(a) What consequences, good and/or bad, are likely to come to the Negro people as a result of such disobedience? (b) Can those consequences be met and dealt with in such a way as to secure from the venture lasting gains and the least set-backs? If so, how?

III

What should be the relation of progressive and sympathetic whites to, or their role in, such a venture of civil disobedience? (If your answer to Ia was negative, then state here the role of progressive whites in the alternative which you recommended in Ib.)

IV

(a) What organizational framework would be required to execute such a program of civil disobedience? (b) Does such a framework already exist? If so, where? If not, is it now being developed? By whom? (If your answer to Ia was negative, then answer these questions in relation to the alternative which you recommended in Ib.)

The Contributors

Reinhold Niebuhr, professor, Union Theological Seminary, author, *Moral Man and Immoral Society*, etc.; **Frank C. Shearer,** president, Vanguard League, Columbus, Ohio; **Haridas T. Muzumdar,** lecturer, author, *Gandhi vs. the Empire*, etc., follower of Gandhi; **Oswald Garrison Villard,** journalist, former editor, *The Nation*, grandson of William Lloyd Garrison; **Douglas V. Steere,** vice-chairman FOR, professor, Haverford College; **Herbert King,** associate secretary, National Council of Student Christian Associations; **Bernice Fisher,** chairman, Committee of Racial Equality (CORE), Chicago; **George S. Schuyler,** journalist, business manager, *The Crisis*, columnist, *Pittsburgh Courier;* **Kirby Page,** author; lecturer; vice-chairman FOR; **Buell G. Gallagher,** president, Talladega College, author, *American Caste and the Negro College;* **Lillian E. Smith,** editor, *South Today* (The South's foremost progressive journal, a quarterly, published in Clayton, Georgia. Subscription: $1.00 per year); **Morris Milgram,** executive secretary, Workers Defense League; **Roger Baldwin,** director, American Civil Liberties Union; **Claud Nelson,** Y.M.C.A. Secretary, New York, N. Y.; **George L. Collins,** director, Baptist Student House, University of Wisconsin; **D. P. McGeachy,** minister, Atlanta, Georgia; **Franklin H. Littell,** former Social Action chairman, National Council of Methodist Youth; **Richard Gregg,** author, *The Power of Non-Violence;* **Marjorie Penney,** secretary, Philadelphia Interracial Fellowship, Director, Fellowship House; **Allan Knight Chalmers,** minister, Broadway Tabernacle Church, New York, N. Y.; **Ralph Templin,** former missionary to India, director, School of Living; **William J. Faulkner,** Dean of the Chapel, Fisk University; **E. Stanley Jones,** Methodist missionary to India; **Norman Thomas,** Socialist leader; **Howard Thurman,** Dean of the Chapel, Howard University.

The Answers

REINHOLD NIEBUHR I should think it would be very impolitic to call such a campaign "civil disobedience." Also since some of the worst disabilities from which Negroes suffer are enjoined by custom and not by law, I should think that any campaign of non-cooperation ought to begin with those areas where the law is on the Negroes' side. I would not want to judge at the present time how advisable and effective a campaign against laws would be, but I would certainly want to try a campaign first which has the support of the law.

FRANK C. SHEARER I. Negroes should practice this method only after there has been a nationwide effort at education for such a program. Otherwise it would be suicidal.

II. The consequences, after a program of education, would be all for the good of the Negro. Some heads would roll, as in all revolutions, for revolution this would be. But the end would be good.

III. The role of sympathetic whites would be that of all sympathetic persons, to aid in the education which would be necessary for such a national program.

IV. The framework would be that of a system of mass education, the like of which does not now exist, to my knowledge. The only plan for such widespread mass education that I know of is the one recently suggested by George Schuyler. Whites as well as Negroes would need be informed.

HARIDAS T. MUZUMDAR I. Negroes have a right to practice organized non-violent civil disobedience to Jim Crow by disobeying laws repugnant to the conscience. But the question is: Have we first taken the preliminary steps to find ways and means for changing this institutional pattern by methods of goodwill and reconciliation?

II. Non-violent resistance to Jim Crow is apt to bring forth some desirable and some undesirable results. For instance, it is apt to generate the spirit of dedication in the rank and file of the Negro minority. It is also sure to create a doubt and a question in the minds of those who are responsible for perpetuating this institutional pattern. In the preliminary stages there is apt to be violence done to civil resisters and, unless we have people who can go through the ordeal of non-violence, the results are apt to mark a set-back to the cause of redeeming this injustice.

III. I should say that in the initial stages progressive and sympathetic whites should take leadership in a venture of this sort and thereby dramatize the inherent evil of this institutional pattern in America.

IV. I don't know whether any organizational setup does exist today that is competent to execute a program of civil disobedience. My plea is that we must build such an organizational framework, do some spadework and try to make a dent in the whole field of segregation in a modest way here and there and everywhere. This training and the time gained thereby may be utilized finally for the removal of this pattern, if need be, by launching of civil disobedience on a limited scale, and later mass civil disobedience.

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

I., II., (a) I am opposed to Negroes practicing non-violent civil disobedience at this stage of their development. I do not think that they are emotionally ready for any such tremendous undertaking, or well enough aware of what frightful physical punishment would be involved. Nor do I see the leadership necessary. The popular resentment against it in wartime would put back the race for about 50 years. (b) The only alternative policy is for white and colored people alike to insist as at present to all peaceful means to agitate for the Negroes' rights.

III. Steady insistence by all sympathetic whites upon the absolute necessity of doing justice to the Negro as we are morally obligated to do —and constitutionally also.

DOUGLAS V. STEERE

I. Yes, but in cooperation with whites and with a program of interpreting what is happening to the community where it takes place—to the railroad company, to the bus lines, etc.—and doing this well in advance.

II. (a) Great suffering will be inflicted upon the resisters. (b) Gains can be secured from the venture by carefully preparing those who will suffer from this disobedience in advance, so that they will not break under it or vitiate it in any way by their actions under suffering.

III. They may participate with the Negroes; help in direct fashion in the interpretation and court proceedings; and help immeasurably to create the benevolent neutrality on the part of the larger community that is necessary for this.

IV. I know of no single organization to back this except the FOR. But I would consider seriously whether some organization should not be set up for doing it. What help will the NAACP be?

HERBERT KING

I don't feel equal to your request. Though my feeling is that the civil disobedience campaign would not be morally wrong and would not be unpatriotic, I am nevertheless doubtful that the Negro population would or could support a successful struggle of that character. However, my tedious reflections and hard fought spiritual struggles regarding what precisely should be the character of our over-all Negro resistance to humiliation and cursed discrimination in scores of forms, won't take form that is concise enough to risk the printed word on this question. This is a terrible admission to be made, but simply has to be made in honesty. Of one thing I am sure: the demoralization of the Negro people at the hands of the Anglo-Saxon is leading the white man's culture to inevitable doom, and because we Negroes are inextricably bound to him, we too will reap the whirlwind. It is urgent that we do *something*. I regret that with the limited time available I do not feel able to contribute a well thought out alternative.

BERNICE FISHER

I. Definitely Negroes should practice non-violent civil disobedience. Educational approaches are necessary as a background for action, but have thus far proved ineffective in opposing the very real evils of discrimination. Violence is self-defeating. Withdrawal from the struggle to avoid conflict is immoral and disintegrating. The one creative and effective solution is in non-violent direct action. Ideally, however, the action should be taken in an interracial group, for the cause is the common cause of humanity, neither a Negro problem nor a white one. Practically, such a movement would necessarily be predominantly Negro.

II. (a) The consequences obviously depend upon methodology. If the Negroes were trained and disciplined for such a program, the result would be a tremendous gain for justice and brotherhood. In the realistic scene, however, training and disciplining such a mass movement immediately would be nearly impossible. The consequences of partial commitment and outbreaks of violence would conceivably lead to riots and mass murder with an increasing vigilance in present discriminatory laws and the creation of more. (b) The best method of securing lasting gains is in having a well-disciplined nucleus, completely aware of the technique in all its implications and philosophy. And the necessary corollary would be to begin on a small scale, such as one city, instead of on a nationwide scale. The time element should be watched carefully. If, in the next few months, small groups can be organized throughout the country to experiment in the method and to be firmly established in various areas geographically, the mass movement would have infinitely better chance of success.

III. "Sympathetic whites" is a phrase that should be carefully defined. Too often whites attempt to use organizations to further their own party line. Trustworthy Caucasians should be organized in interracial, integrated units, carrying through direct action in local situations, and preparing to join in any mass civil disobedience. Such units could be invaluable in standing by through tension periods, accepting their share of the violence that might arise—the whites making themselves one with the exploited group.

IV. (a) The organizational framework would require the loyalty of the masses, and also a well-integrated nucleus with definite plans and a positive experience in the non-violent technique. (b) The two organizations in which such possibilities exist are the March on Washington and, on a much smaller scale, CORE. The former is a mass movement with popular following and good leadership. If it accepts the non-violent technique, and spends the requisite time and effort in making it the full possession of its nucleus of leaders, great results will accrue. Its limitation is in its tendency to be racist in philosophy and in its present lack of knowledge of the non-violent direct action method. The latter is a small group, but one active in the field of racial justice. If such units were established everywhere and nationally coordinated, they would be a distinct contribution to a program of civil disobedience. The answer seems to lie in the effort of MOW to carry through the non-violent civil disobedience campaign, and in the support of a national federation of COREs which experiment in local situations and join in any mass demonstrations, offering strength nationally and stability locally.

GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

I. (a) No, because it would invite most drastic reprisals from the dominant element responsible for Jim Crow. (b) Yes, by a more spirited and intelligent campaign of white *mass* education. When the majority no longer believes in the wisdom or necessity of such laws they will lapse into disuse or be repealed.

II. (a) The same thing that has always happened: reprisals, withdrawal of existing privileges, imposition of more drastic Jim Crow laws, and possible concentration in certain areas as in the case of the Japanese-Americans and Amerindians. (b) No, unless one regards complete physical segregation of colored from white as a gain.

III. In the sections where Jim Crow is legal, the progressive and sympathetic whites are presently too much in the minority to adopt any but a passive role because of Ku Klux terror, as indicated by recent "curbing" of Southern white "liberals" like John T. Graves, Mark Etheridge, Virginius Dabney, etc. In the present state of public conditioning on "race," any flouting of local mores will be suicidal, unless I am greatly mistaken about the *genus cracker*. What these whites need to do is to speed up and intensify their efforts toward developing tolerance and understanding. More money and brains should be put into the job of white mass education.

IV. (a) Community and county organizations, a service of news and information, legal aid (unless all voluntarily chose jail for disobedience). (b) The framework exists to a certain extent through NAACP, student groups, labor unions, etc., but those in charge of them (with the possible exception of student groups) are opposed to any campaign of civil disobedience because they know it would sound the death knell of their organizations. On the other hand, all these organizations and media could greatly improve interracial relations by a well-planned, closely integrated campaign of mass education through the same channels used to influence that mind in other directions.

There are similarities between the socio-economic situation in India and the United States, but the differences are far more numerous and important. For example, in India the whites are a tiny fraction, about 1/1200 of the total population. In the U. S. the whites are ten times more numerous than the so-called Negroes. Moreover, they occupy all key positions in government, industry, commerce, finance and national defense. Again, force is honored in the U. S., and American mores reject the philosophy of non-violent non-cooperation. Violence is the basis of the American (and whole Western) system. In this belief in force the colored citizens do not differ from the whites. If Gandhi has never been able to prevent violence from entering the civil disobedience campaigns in India, from one side or the other, how can we prevent it in a violent land like America? And when a minority so numerically and militarily weak resorts to force, even in self-defense, the outcome is obvious.

KIRBY PAGE

I. Yes, Negroes should practice non-violent disobedience, but not until they are disciplined and times are right. Mahatma Gandhi most of all has insisted that adequate preparedness is absolutely essential to effectiveness.

II. (a) Race tension is increasing and premature civil disobedience will only result in mass violence, lynching and massacre. Even under the most favorable conditions, non-violent non-cooperation will lead to indignity, loss, and suffering for those who practice it. (b) Therefore spiritual insight and spiritual discipline are required. Preparedness and more preparedness are the next steps toward an effective campaign of non-violent non-cooperation.

BUELL G. GALLAGHER

In my opinion: (a) Non-violent civil disobedience to Jim Crow, if it is to be launched, should be an interracial thing, in which persons of both racial groups refuse to conform. (b) Such civil disobedience must be strictly confined to those persons who have become part of a disciplined movement of like-minded people, with an advance commitment strong enough to carry them through the heartbreaking experiences of the campaign, with the prospect of defeat, and to keep them from breaking over into violence when met with violence. Such a movement needs to be built on religious bases. (c) Such an effort within the American framework will meet with considerably less overt success than Gandhi's efforts in India, for the reasons that (1) India has a Gandhi and we have none, (2) India has a cultural *ethos* which is congenial to the technique of passive resistance, while our activist *ethos* is quite different, and (3) the British ruling classes are susceptible to the appeal to conscience in a way in which the white supremacy group in America has not yet indicated it will be.

Therefore:

I. (a) There *should* be civil disobedience—*if* we had the disciplined group, the commitment, and the leadership. (b) The alternative of "cooperation with Jim Crow" is not the only choice, if it implies either acceptance or support. There is a wide area of individual and social life not covered by legal codes; and as individuals and groups we have the obligation to move into these areas quietly and continuously, refusing absolutely to be bound by Jim Crow *customs* (as distinct from laws). As the ritual of social relationships changes, the laws may also be changed. And continuous education against segregation needs to be pushed.

II. (a) The launching of a civil disobedience campaign now, before the movement has been developed into a disciplined select group, would (I believe) result largely in accelerating the race riots which are due. (b) I suspect it would tend more largely to make difficulty than to solve problems, largely because the persons engaged in the disobedience would be led to return violence for violence, thereby robbing themselves of the only effective weapon we possess in a civil disobedience campaign—the fact that all the aggression and shedding of blood comes on the initiative of the dominant group. When an undisciplined group broke out into returning violence for violence, we would lose our moral ground and our movement itself would be lost.

III. White and Negroes should play identical parts in the civil disobedience campaign. There may be a place somewhere for liberal hangers-on who give money and encouragement to those who take the beating. But the persons in the thick of it ought to be the sanest, most well-balanced persons of both groups.

IV. (a) Organizational framework should be kept at a minimum. It should be genuinely democratic in shape and in fact. It should work more toward a small, disciplined group than toward a great mass movement for at least its first years. Intensive study and discussion, in preparation for the actual processes of civil disobedience, are indicated. (b) This probably will be done by somebody—I don't know who.

On the whole, I should be inclined to discourage the attempt of the March on Washington Movement to launch a nationwide civil disobedience to Jim Crow at an early date. If the May conference were to decide to take a minimum of twelve months for working up its group of *not more than* 250 persons as a genuine beginning of such a movement, it might then have reasonable hope of getting somewhere in the years ahead.

A NEGRO AUTHOR AND SCHOLAR: I conclude that it would be unwise to do so (to participate in the symposium), I hope not from personal motives of prudence or cowardice. I think the public discussion of this issue would be very unstrategic in the present war crisis and that the institution of this tactic would be detrimental to the best interests of the Negro minority *at the present time.*

LILLIAN E. SMITH I. (a) I think when the Negro group in America is prepared philosophically and emotionally for it, that the group can practice organized, non-violent civil disobedience to Jim Crow with good effect upon the white people of the country. (b) I know of no other alternatives save those already in use, such as group political pressure and the arousing of public opinion by means of writing, speeches, radio, etc., and (this is of extreme importance) by attacking the basic evils back of Jim Crow. For after all, Jim Crow is a symptom of a very grave cultural illness. The poverty of the South, the constant threat of low wages and unemployment throughout the country in "normal times," the illiteracy of the people, the forces which have made of independence a cult of the best-fist wins, the hates and fears nourished by unwise family customs and pressures—all of these must be considered and dealt with steadily. At the same time I realize that the symptom which we call Jim Crow is a terrible thing for the man who experiences it and he has a right—indeed he has a responsibility—to protest it both for his own sake and for the sake of democracy and the welfare of the entire human race.

II. (a) If inexperienced groups, immature groups, or hating groups go out to use this non-violent method, will it not soon turn itself into terrible riots? The test on character will be of a severity difficult to realize. Are the Negro groups, North and South, experienced enough in this way of thinking and believing? Are they self-disciplined enough to control themselves when brutally provoked? They will be provoked almost beyond the power of a man to endure. (b) Would it not be better to begin now to train the entire Negro group in this philosophy of life; but not yet to precipitate matters by an all-out civil disobedience movement? If small movements should take place, would it not be wise to see to it that only a highly disciplined, emotionally mature and tested group engage in such non-violent non-cooperation in the smaller movements and test cases?

III. I believe progressive and sympathetic whites have a most important role to play, especially in the South. They can either precipitate violence by their criticism of the Negro's efforts to secure his share of democracy, or they can help avoid it by their efforts to get the masses of people to understand his rights and his democratic right to protest the evils done to him. The job before us is to educate the progressive white group to understand these things, to try to get them "to put themselves in the place of the Negro" and to understand the pressures upon the race. Whether whites should also practice non-violent non-cooperation themselves is the next question. Of course many of us already do in many instances. I think white liberals are is a position to be of powerful influence just now. If enough whites will break Jim Crow customs and rules, Jim Crow will sicken. It would be the best possible way. If the churchwomen of the South, for instance, would take a stand against Jim Crow, as 12 or 15 years ago they took a stand against lynching, Jim Crow would begin to droop his feathers. We might try to persuade some of them to start such a movement.

South Today is already speaking out plainly to Southerners on this subject. The most recent issue of the magazine has already disturbed the old guard enough that they are urging that it and its editors be investigated by the legislature for "indecency." There will of course be struggles for all of us, but if we could secure the cooperation of a large group of white women in the South we could help the Negro win the battle far more quickly than any of us now dare hope is possible.

MORRIS MILGRAM

I. Yes.

II. (a) Good. (b) Education in non-violent techniques for all Americans can result, if MOW plans its campaign and educates its group leaders and rank and file before starting disobedience.

III. They should participate in the civil disobedience as often as possible, getting arrested when Negroes do, and showing their belief in equality. They should aid in training, but not too obviously.

IV. MOW must have a good-sized staff to carry any such program, and FOR should be a principal cooperating agency. It should loan staff, and help train others. Randolph himself needs training, and should attend conferences with people who have studied non-violent direct action and civil disobedience. . . . In addition, it is essential that there be more unity among Negroes in support of MOW than there is at present. That unity can be obtained. A major victory would be achieved if Townsend, of the CIO's transport Service Employees could work with Randolph who is a key Negro leader in America, and if Walter White (Exec. Sec'y., NAACP) could see the program's possibilities.

ROGER BALDWIN

I.-II. I look with grave misgivings on the proposal to apply to Negro segregation the tactics of non-violent non-cooperation. It would arouse reprisals and hostilities that would undo what has been gained and is being gained by court decisions, civil rights statutes, and the slow changes in customs and attitudes. If undertaken in wartime it would be particularly disastrous. It could not conceivably succeed unless supported very widely among Negroes, and generally practiced, with a strong moral leadership. Those conditions are wholly lacking.

Nor would such a campaign reach the major evils of race discrimination—exclusion and segregation in industry and the armed forces, and in the schools. The main citadel to capture is the unions, the basis of power for all workers; and in them the doors are opening to Negroes. Picketing is the best direct action to open more. Even in the more irritating but less vital aspects of discrimination—transportation, restaurants, public meeting places and theatres—some progress is being made.

III. Progress can be speeded better by joint action of white and colored together, as it has been, than by Negroes assuming the burden and risks alone of violating the law. Where civil rights laws penalize race discrimination they can be invoked and enforced, as they commonly are not. White sympathizers in segregation states can dramatize injustice by using accommondations reserved for Negroes—and with assurances that they will run the risks of prosecution and violence, but without penalty on Negroes.

For those Negroes who wish to use the non-violent "civil disobedience" technique, the place to begin to make a moral case is in the churches. Let them as a starter try out the brotherhood of man by attempting to worship in white congregations. This will raise no issue of violating law, but it would attack segregation by custom at its most vulnerable point—and create all the advertising of grievances any advocate of equality could ask.

A PROFESSOR IN A SOUTHERN NEGRO COLLEGE: Will Gandhi's program work here? In India, the Indians are the political minority, but the numerical majority. 350 million Indians to perhaps a hundred thousand Englishmen. In America, the Negro is both the political and the numerical minority—about one-tenth of the population. A basic difference. Second, we have no organization comparable in solidarity and numbers to the Indian Congress. The NAACP has only about 175,000 members among 13,000,000 people. Third, civil disobedience and non-cooperation in wartime are treason. Gandhi is in jail; Indians are shot down; the press is muzzled. This, in spite of India's powerful Congress and numerical superiority. In America, the reaction would be more severe. Fourth, anyone knowing the South can see that there could be no "orderly, peaceful, and quiet manner." I firmly believe that civil disobedience and non-cooperation would release the brutality of the South, where the acts would have to be practiced. Such a thing as a mass meeting for the ballot brought a mob with machine guns in Shreveport. Here, a Negro taxi let a man out at the entrance to the station and two Negroes were beaten up. I don't know what would have happened had the Negro gone into the station "for whites"! Fifth, the masses of whites and even the unions, in large part, are anti-Negro. The Negro would have neither the press nor the forces of labor behind him.

There's no question in my mind but that violence would follow on a huge scale, and that the movement would defeat itself because it would antagonize the masses of whites. In a word, your non-violence would bring violence. Are you ready for that? The Bilbos would use your program to consolidate reaction. In India, Gandhi is jailed; in Georgia, he'd be lynched. . . .

I say this: Dramatize our injustices. March with democratic slogans. Propagandize in papers, churches, schools, over the radio. Unite with advanced groups—radicals, unions, organizations like your own, etc. Politicize. Lobby.

Even radicals have feared for my personal safety down here. I speak out, and even that has endangered my life. I am not afraid to die. A ruling class will not give up its exploitation without bloodshed. If I thought we could win, I'd die today. . . .

CLAUD NELSON I. Yes, but only after careful preparation, in specified localities—a continuing campaign, now here, now there, rather than one big general explosion.

II. Must cooperate, e.g., invading Negro seats as Negroes invade white seats; going together—in violation, and to courts and jails. Without this, civil disobedience loses half its value, or more.

III. Disciplined leaders, as well as followers. People who know (1) Gandhi's work, (2) the Quakers, and (3) race relations, must be in the planning and leadership.

GEORGE L. COLLINS

I. (a) I think such a program has real possibilities and should be explored as a possible way to deal with the hated injustice. Other methods have brought about precious little advance. But it could hardly be applied in some sections of the country which are quite backward, socially and ethically. In other sections it might be used after careful preparation. (b) As an alternative to continued cooperation with Jim Crow, white churches across the country might be enlisted to work for the winning of unchurched Negroes to Christ, and bring them into the church without any discrimination or segregation. There might be a national compaign along this line. In each church that would cooperate a committee might be set up to work for equal employment opportunity.

II. Organized civil disobedience might lead to violence on a large scale which would set back the development of interracial justice. On the other hand, such a plan might stir to action for justice the many half-dormant interracial committees and church groups which have long given lip-service to democracy and Christianity. There is a bare possibility that a date set for such a campaign of civil disobedience might lead to such favorable action. There is a possibility also that it might mean the organization of some super-Ku Klux Klan.

III. In a campaign of civil disobedience, sympathetic whites should stand with their colored brothers and sisters to help shield them from the violence which would almost certainly be used. If such an alternative campaign as suggested in Ib were developed, then progressive and sympathetic whites should be carefully organized on a national scale to make interracial church membership and fellowship a reality.

IV. To organize an effective civil disobedience program would require a vast network of local committees, with a disciplined organization to make people, both white and colored, aware of their responsibilities. It would require many first-aid units to help the victims of reaction. It would require an amount of energy and money that does not yet seem to be in sight.

If such an alternative as suggested were adopted, then a special committee might be established perhaps by the Federal Council of Churches, in conjunction with denominational leaders, to make such a program nationally effective—to win not only Negroes, but to revitalize the white church members who need to be Christianized as much as, or more than, the colored people.

D. P. McGEACHY I would hesitate about beginning a sit-down strike in connection with race discrimination just now. So far as my observation goes, we have not reached a state where this sort of thing can be put on in the right spirit. I mean that there is not sufficient "soul-force" among us as yet to begin or to carry on or to end such an affair with right results. I realize that I may be mistaken in my estimate of myself and of others whom I know. And I realize that if we wait for perfection we will never begin. At the same time I stand by my position that we need to cultivate further; overt action can wait. I think we should go away again beyond Jordan. Probably we may soon need to come back and suffer, but I have had no sign that this is the appointed hour. My advice is to go slowly—and prayerfully. . . .

FRANKLIN H. LITTELL In my judgment this is the most significant opportunity in the history of American pacifism. For some time I have been disturbed by the tendency of American "pacifism" to work back to pure Personal Non-Resistance, refusing to participate in war personally, but going no further. Because of that tendency we have become involved in the defense of a conscript labor policy (CPS), and the support of it, in a manner utterly intolerable to anyone of revolutionary judgments. As a matter of fact, most of what goes by the name of "pacifism" in America is not pacifism at all, but Personal Non-Resistance. The distinctive thing about a pacifist is that he believes not only that he cannot personally participate, but also that there is a larger social alternative which society and the governments involved ought to be employing.

Therefore I immediately support this campaign as being the first major tactic of non-violence in America in modern times. And especially do I support it because it will smoke out those who are only mystics, or personal non-resistants, and incapable of thinking in social terms.

This having been said, my first question concerning the campaign is this: Is there a disciplined constituency, with a trained leadership, capable of carrying out a Civil Disobedience Campaign? The mere issuance of a call to non-violence will not maintain non-violence. Gandhi found it necessary to call off his first campaigns in India, with a population by religious doctrine largely pacifist, because his men were not disciplined to the extent that they could face police violence and troops without replying in kind. The building of a revolutionary movement such as this implies, takes years of careful training of leadership; it takes cell organization and disciplined membership; above all, there must be built up a sense of solidarity capable of maintaining weaker members in the non-violent line in spite of their natural reactions.

It is my considered judgment that a campaign call issued at this time, without some months (perhaps longer) of careful local cultivation and training, would result in a race riot. I question very strongly that Randolph or any other Negro or white leader at this time has a following which is disciplined to the extent that such a general campaign involves.

This means that the position of the FOR should be: (1) to encourage the March itself, as being a "limited objective" and more easily controllable—aimed at the FEPC's shutting down; (2) to take up the questions of planning a carefully considered campaign of larger proportions—deploying the most skilled personnel available into strategic locales for that end—to meet with and train local personnel and constituency; (3) to continue to point out that in history the blame for violence rests on the "oppressors" rather than the "agitators."

My second question follows on the first: Is the systematic breaking of Jim Crow laws and *social* restrictions the right place to attack first? We would agree without debate, I think, that in the first stages of such a movement it is imperative that "limited objectives" be defined for every campaign—although I am not sure that the "big men" involved in this call are sure of that distinction. It is my judgment that the most serious body of problems confronting the American Negro is the politico-economic. To date the CIO and STFU have been hitting at the main problem better than any other organized bodies, and there are many places where poor whites and Negroes are learning to work in terms of the proposition that both are exploited when one is played off against the other. Recently I talked this question of strategy of emphasis over with a Tensman who is now organizing for Shipward Workers (CIO), and she said that an immediate breaking over of social restrictions in restaurants, public conveyances, etc., would split the union gains wide open. All the subterranean impulses among the poor whites would spring up; race riots would follow; and the main objective would go down and take the gains of organized labor with it.

By all means, the leaders of a campaign of civil disobedience should confer with the leaders who have succeeded in organizing Negroes and whites on an economic basis in the South—and build on those gains, rather than run the risk of killing them.

RICHARD GREGG

I. Yes, Negroes should, after careful preparation, practice organized non-violent civil disobedience to Jim Crow—subject to certain conditions mentioned below. They should do this because the poison of white pride and economic, political, and social power can be ended, I believe, only by a development and manifestation of Negro moral power in this manner.

The conditions of this answer are: (a) That the movement is truly not an attempt at mass coercion but of non-violent mass persuasion. That is, it should seek to change the inner attitudes of the whites, not merely their practices. (b) That those who join the movement accept and practice for some months a common discipline to alter and condition their habits. Those who will not subject themselves to discipline are in effect saying to their opponents: "We expect and demand that you change your habits, but we will not change ours." (c) The leaders of the movement must realize that the first attempt may not succeed in outward appearance, that outward success may come only after the stimuli of several attempts spaced several years apart. But they may be sure that there will be more moral and spiritual strengthening of Negroes, and more moral progress among whites, than will appear on the surface. (d) The discipline must be practiced widely and long enough to insure wide and prolonged non-violence among Negroes. There will be many Negroes joining the movement after action starts who will be bitter and resentful and will, under provocation, become violent. There must be enough non-violence to offset this state of affairs. (e) The chances of success will be vastly increased if a large number of both the Negro leaders and followers regard the whole affair as religious in nature, an attempt to win spiritual and moral unity with the whites. Only on a spiritual basis can the losses and hardships and injuries be endured without moral failure, i.e., anger, bitterness, and desire for revenge.

II. (a) I think much violence will be inflicted on the Negroes during and after such action. Censorship will be imposed by the government and white newspapers and radios on most of the events. (b) To the extent, however, that the movement remains truly non-violent in spirit as well as method there will be an immense, wide, deep, and lasting moral and spiritual strengthening and unification among the entire Negro population. Keeping the movement religious and keeping up with the discipline for years will enable the Negroes to survive seeming temporary or local defeats.

III. Sympathetic and progressive whites should, so far as possible and in as many ways as possible, support such a movement. Some can speak, some can interpret the method and the purposes, some can help bridge the censorship and keep the public correctly informed of events and the extent of non-violence. Perhaps some whites should at the same time use Jim Crow facilities and thus escort or mingle with the Negroes. Some can give first-aid, hospitalization, comfort and friendship to the Negro sufferers.

IV. There should be many decentralized local, county, city and state committees under the leadership of a national organization. The function of the latter should be largely educational, disciplinary, and toward the end of initiating the action. I do not know whether there is as yet any such organization. I believe that the discipline here urged should be of the sort described in my two pamphlets: *A Discipline for Non-violence*, and *Training for Peace*.

Very likely there are other important considerations, but this is what has occurred to me so far. If possible (which is perhaps doubtful) such a movement would likely seem less coercive, and therefore be more apt to be persuasive and successful, if, like Gandhi's first use of the method in S. Africa, it were postponed till after the war is over—till the government is free from many other problems. But probably that is asking too much.

MARJORIE PENNEY

I. Ideally, a non-violent civil disobedience program for American Negroes promises well. However, most Negro leadership and the Negro masses contacted through this agency (Fellowship House) or in my brief experience in the deep South, fail to show any inclination in this direction. Cooperation with the war effort is the accepted pattern even though Negroes recognize the discrepancies in the "fight for democracy." Non-violent techniques would demand a trained and committed leadership and a trained and disciplined mass movement.

II. Negroes are apt to meet a bloody martyrdom in the South, and increasing restrictions in the North if such a program of civil disobedience is launched immediately. They will be accused of pressing for their own advantage during the crisis when the nation is imperiled. There is, in my estimation, no way to avoid this. On the other hand, Negro morale would be stiffened by such an example.

III. Sympathetic whites can be in only one place, if such a program is attempted—beside the Negroes in their struggle.

IV. Successfully to execute such a program of civil disobedience, a nationwide campaign would be needed for introducing the idea, followered by institutes for the education of leaders. There is no existing framework around which such a program can be built.

ALLAN KNIGHT CHALMERS

In general I am strongly for it. I am very certain that we shall be just about where we are now long after I'm dead if there is not some program of direct action as a part of the strategy of social change. But there are problems that have to be faced. From the standpoint of social conservatives, North as well as South, the argument will be used that to change the system will create chaos or even revolution. I believe the answer is that the state of the world today calls for some daring leadership lest the revolution comes by neglect. I doubt that we can avoid revolution on this by really trying to hold the *status quo*.

However, in employing civil disobedience, we must be sure that we are not merely applying the result of a technique and have failed to go into the processes of the technique which made the Gandhi actions as effective as they are. It is not an easy thing for a mass movement to retain a non-violent spirit and practice under pressure. You will recall that Gandhi found that out particularly in the first two attempts, which he called off after they started, because he realized that the masses were not ready.

I would myself be willing to foster and support attempts along this line. I recognize that in all probability the first attempts would be failures even from our standpoint. I know there is real danger in attempting something of the kind, but there is real hope that something valuable would come out of the experience.

RALPH TEMPLIN

I. In the matter of such racial injustices as Jim Crow, the one alternative to cooperation, for a minority, is non-violent resistance. Jim Crow should be resisted as though it did not exist, by all true Americans—whites and Negroes alike.

II.-III. Only good can come from such resistance if strict non-violence is adhered to, particularly if a good representation of whites can be induced to mingle with their Negro brothers in every instance of such civil disobedience. I for one am ready to give myself whole-heartedly toward that end.

IV. I do not believe we should duplicate the organizational machinery furnished us in the March on Washington Movement. Other groups, white and Negro, should loan themselves to that organization for this campaign. They may, however, use their own organizations, in their own way, for preparation as well as for feeding resisters into strategic places. A coordinating staff might be required, though I incline to the opinion that it is unnecessary.

WILLIAM J. FAULKNER

I. (a) My answer is no. American Negroes are not prepared this year for a non-violent civil disobedience campaign. A thorough educational crusade in the spiritual disciplines of non-violent disobedience is highly necessary. The MOW has announced no such intention on their part. (b) My alternative suggestion would be the quiet organization of study groups, North and South, composed of white and colored Christian youth and adults and their leaders for the purpose of mastering the techniques of non-violent civil disobedience. So far, this effective weapon, as used in

India, is virtually unknown to the American Negro and white community. Proceeding from these study groups should radiate a spiritual contagion for freedom and simple human rights. Like Christianity of old, this contagion would creep into the homes, schools, and other social institutions of the dominant group in America and, with intelligent guidance from the head of the movement, determined minority groups would effect the removal of discriminatory laws. The campaign of such a religious organization would result in a minimum of bloodshed and racial tensions.

II. I deeply fear that the MOW's utilization of this method, unprotected and unsupported by the imperative of deep religious conviction, would result in violent disorder among blacks and whites. Bloodshed would occur and racial hatreds would burst into flame. Misguided and unprepared Negroes would be beaten, imprisoned, and their property destroyed. No doubt such a movement would precipitate speedy declaration of martial law over the Southland because of the desperate war effort in which the country is engaged.

Civil disobedience is like dynamite. If skillfully handled by trained and experienced persons it can safely open the way for human progress. If handled by awkward, ambitious, and unskilled leaders, it can destroy the most precious of human relations.

III. There is no nationwide organizational framework existent, so far as I know, prepared to project the kind of campaign I recommend in my first paragraph. The FOR, working with various sympathetic Christian church groups, is best suited to perfect an organization of non-cooperationists, motivated by the spirit of good will and love.

E. STANLEY JONES

I am deeply interested in the proposed non-violent action in regard to Jim Crow throughout the country. This must be carefully organized with people who understand non-violence. If they are not trained in non-violent methods, it may do more harm than good. Only if you have a disciplined, non-violent group to carry it on can this movement appeal to the conscience of the country. If the slightest violence comes into it on the part of those who are carrying it on, it will destroy the total effect. Therefore, there should be a period of training of those who participate in it. If this cannot be done, I question whether it should be launched. If it can be done, it has great possibilities.

NORMAN THOMAS

At present my own opinion is that it would be a mistake to embark on such a campaign; not because I do not believe in the principle, but because I do not believe that it is well enough understood among Negroes or that it could be sufficiently well carried out to be effective.

You might merely produce irritation. I still think that there are other methods properly pushed which would be more effective. I do not believe that Negroes will give weight to civil disobedience until they are willing to use more effectively the ballot and other methods of action which in many parts of the country they are in a position to use.

HOWARD THURMAN My general reaction to A. Philip Randolph's proposal is this. First, non-violent civil disobedience is a technique that presupposes very definite disciplines. It is an act of the will arising out of a profound spiritual conviction which by its very nature is devoid either of ill will, contempt, or cowardice. I was very much interested in the fact that Mr. Gandhi told me that such civil disobedience broke down in India because the masses of the people were not able to sustain so lofty a creative idea over a time interval of sufficient duration to be practically effective. They were unable so to do, not because they were lacking in courage or in willingness, but rather in vitality. It occurs to me further that civil disobedience, in a sense, is the final gesture of the human spirit before martyrdom. It means that every means for social change has been exploited and this alone is left. As long as there is available due-process before the courts there are some who would question civil disobedience as a widespread technique. This second consideration I simply mention in passing. My fundamental reaction to the proposal is that it is a very good thing provided it is built upon definite disciplines so that the masses of people will not be inspired by fear, revenge or hate.

Two Tactical Problems

by

A. J. MUSTE

In a previous statement, I set down some thoughts on the question whether non-violent direct action is compatible with the ethic of love and is genuinely a method for overcoming evil with good. Now I want to comment on two other questions which members of the Fellowship must face in carrying out non-violent actions. The first has to do with the meaning and importance of our religious basis.

Must men—Negroes, for example, who are proposing to practice non-violence to break down Jim Crow, or workers who undertake to employ it to overcome economic exploitation—first make a religious commitment to a non-violent way of life? Must they become Satyagrahis in the full sense of that Gandhian term? I think not. We cannot, of course, forbid men who often are desperately poor or ill, or spiritually outraged at the degradation to which they are subjected, to make an effort to remove these sufferings. Non-violence as a tactic is superior to violence even when used by those who may not have overcome the spirit of violence. In the next place, many people are motor-minded. They learn primarily by doing. A violent spirit begets violent actions; but it is also true that a person who repeatedly acts violently will thus develop a violent spirit. Likewise we may expect that it is by acting non-violently that many will attain to a religious faith in non-violence and develop a non-violent spirit.

This in no sense implies minimizing the importance of the religious basis of non-violence and pacifism. The overwhelming majority of the great practitioners of non-violence and pacifism in all times and countries have been obviously and avowedly men of religion. Probably the exceptions are much more exceptions in appearance than in fact. To expect that non-violence can ultimately come forth out of a violent spirit, or brotherhood be established on earth by men who know nothing of it, have no faith in and loyalty to it within, seems to me as fantastic as to expect that a rational world order will be produced by irrational minds. In this realm of religion and of the cultivation of the spirit, there are laws to be observed that we, like Gandhi, shall have to learn to observe, exactly as there are laws in other spheres.

Two cautions are to be observed in our contact as religious pacifists with fellow workers in social movements. Being religious is not synonymous with holding certain philosophical or theological views or observing the ritual of this or that church. Religion is at a much deeper level.

It has to do with spiritual powers and ideas that hold us, rather than with ideas we hold. It naturally follows that it is through our lives rather than by our words that our religious commitment makes itself felt upon others. The great Kierkegaard wrote something which bears on this point and which I cannot forbear quoting: "Silence and action correspond to one another perfectly. . . . A man has never more power to act than he has power to be silent. Every one understands very well that to act is something much greater than to talk about it. . . . When a man talks about doing a thing, it is a sign that he is not sure of himself." But it is of course this kind of silence that will characterize the religious pacifist; not the silence of one who has no faith to talk about. And if we are not contributing our religious insight and power to the non-violent action cause, we are failing to make a distinctive contribution.

In the second place, there is the question of what we do about our pacifist convictions in relation to war as we work with those who are in greater or less measure supporting the war. Here it seems to me the following points are important. (1) We do not in the slightest way dissemble about our attitude toward war. The pacifist is always truthful and aboveboard. (2) We give our help, for example, to the movement against Jim Crow because we believe in that cause and we do not use it as a platform to air or insinuate our views about war. That kind of "boring from within" is un-pacifistic. (3) However, the notion that there is no integral connection between militarism and war on the one hand and on the other hand, economic exploitation, fascism, racism, Jim Crowism, is a superficial and false one. If, therefore, our respect for truth and the personality of others will keep us from any hasty or arbitrary effort to air our views about war to our fellow workers in social movements, conditions which none can escape will compel all to consider the relationship between war and the other evils just mentioned.

The leaders of Negroes and the industrial workers always try to make support of war and promotion of social justice for the underprivileged go together. The masses are often, I think, more skeptical. British and American labor both believed support of the first World War would bring them great gains. Soon after the war was over they got for their pains set-backs from which they had hardly recovered when preparations for World War II began. British labor nevertheless gave its support to this war, and now it is already becoming clear that another disillusionment is in the making. The Churchill cabinet refused recently to support the Beveridge plan without serious modification. When Labor members of Parliament in large numbers voted "no confidence" on that issue, not only did Tory members of the cabinet complain but Labor members of the cabinet, notably Ernest Bevin, threatened if such sabotaging of unity for the war continued, they would resign—not from the cabinet but from the Labor Party! Thus the ghost of the Ramsay Macdonald-Philip Snowden defection from the Party stalks again.

What but unwillingness to endanger national unity for the war effort by alienating Southern senators accounts for the scuttling of the Fair Employment Practices Committee by the Roosevelt administration? Any other vigorous and successful effort to abolish Jim Crow will encounter the same obstacle; and eventually men will have to choose what they really want—support of war and consequent maintenance of the whole regime of which war is a part, or the abolition of the whole regime of exploitation within the nation and throughout the world which will also involve withdrawal of mass support from war. Temporarily, pacifists may not be too warmly welcomed as allies in certain activities, but we can afford to bide our time. Certainly we shall not gain increased confidence from any by compromising our pacifism. Eventually all who are genuinely working for a free world, which necessarily means a warless world also, will be drawn together.

Direct Action News

DENVER, COLORADO

Interracial Committee Acts Against Restaurant Discrimination

An interracial group, modeled along the lines of the Committee of Racial Equality (CORE) in Chicago, has on three occasions successfully utilized the direct action technique of seeking service in Denver restaurants thought to observe a policy of discrimination against Negroes. After overcoming initial efforts of the managements and employees to segregate them from the other patrons, the group received service in each instance.

Upon entering Baur's, one of the two most formal and exclusive restaurants in Denver, on January 8, the party composed of six white persons and eight Negroes, selected four small tables near the front. The hostess, however, invited them to the rear where there was "more room." Replying that the tables which they had selected were quite satisfactory, they declined to move. A bit later they were again asked to move, but declined. They were finally served, despite the obvious displeasure of the lady in charge. On the way out, Roger Axford, Denver FOR chairman, and spokesman for the party, thanked the manager for the excellent serivce which they had received.

One Caucasian lady applauded silently when the party sat down in the front of the restaurant. Another patron and his wife gave the group a "very friendly smile" when they entered, and later remarked: "You look as though you're having such a good time; we envy you." Generally, though, the other patrons paid very little more attention to the interracial party than they would to any large group coming in.

The second occasion was on January 23, when a party including two Negro women and sixteen white persons of wide age-range entered the Blue Parrot Restaurant for dinner. Table reservations had previously been made for four small tables, but upon arriving the party discovered that the restaurant had arranged table service for them at one large table. They have reason to think that one well-intentioned white member of the group had felt impelled to "tip off" the restaurant, informing the café ahead of time that the party would be an interracial one.

Though the large table selected for them was next to the window, it was sheltered from the view of three-fourths of the other patrons. The party met this problem by separating into two groups. The two Negro women and two white persons took a small table in the main part of the restaurant. The rest took their places at the large table prepared for them.

Both groups received good service. The only blight in the atmosphere was the uncordial personal attitude of the waitress serving the large table. She made it clear that she was aware that the four individuals at the mixed table were with the persons whom she served. Nevertheless, her service was extremely efficient.

From the experience of the second restaurant visit, two lessons were learned: (1) Several individuals should have phoned individual table reservations; and (2) Announcement and invitation to the dinner party should not have been made in a general meeting. Had this not been done, the visit to the restaurant would have been a more normal thing and the restaurant would not have arranged for them at a segregated table.

The third experience occurred on January 29. A party of four colored persons and fifteen white entered the Golden Lantern, a restaurant patronized chiefly by substantial middle-class people.

After inquiring of the Negro bus boy and learning that a certain table was not reserved, the group prepared to take seats. At this point, however, the hostess appeared, emphatically stating that the tables in the front were reserved, and insisted that the party take seats in the back. A few moments of conversation ensued, after which the hostess finally agreed to their occupying a booth which was open to public view.

Though the waitress appeared to be frightened, the service was good. None of the other customers left, though a few stared curiously. As the party was leaving, Roger Axford was stopped by the hostess. She inquired as to why they did these things. After Axford had explained that he was a minister and believed that all people had equal rights and should enjoy equal privileges, he invited her to visit his church. The hostess promised to do so, and they parted under most cordial conditions.

FOR Secretary Investigates Race Discrimination in Dime Store

On January 9, Margaret Rohrer, Rocky Mountain Area FOR Field Secretary talked with store managers and luncheon counter managers in both Kress and Woolworth stores in Denver, as a result of the refusal of both stores to serve a Negro friend of hers, Miss Himsley. The Woolworth manager sent his apologies to Miss Himsley and stated that his policy was to serve to everyone. The Kress manager, however, stated that their store policy is set by the national office. In Colorado they are instructed to serve Negroes only in the kitchen, or to sell them food to take out. When informed about the Civil Rights Law of the State, he indicated his willingness to think it through, and to discuss the matter further at a later date.

SYRACUSE, NEW YORK

Direct Action Defeats Jim Crow in Roller Skating Rink

The Alhambra Roller Skating Rink, the largest in Syracuse, abandoned its policy of excluding Negroes after the Syracuse Committee of Racial Equality (CORE) had negotiated with the manager toward that end.

On January 23, Ben Candee (white) and William Jordon (colored), members of the Syracuse CORE, recently organized along the lines of Chicago's CORE, chose to go to the Alhambra Rink for recreation. The ticket-seller refused them tickets, maintaining that there was a capacity crowd. The two men waited and watched a group of six white folk purchase tickets and enter the rink. When questioned about this, the ticket-seller stated that the party of six had previously made reservations. Soon another white man approached, and the two CORE members asked him if he had a reservation. He replied negatively and stated that he did not know that reservations were necessary. He gave the boys his name and went in. When the ticket-seller was unable to explain this, the boys asked to see the manager. Finding the manager antagonistic, they explained to him the purpose of CORE and promised to return and see him. Leaving the Alhambra, they went to the Jefferson Roller Rink, where they were admitted without question.

On February 3, a committee of three from CORE conferred with the Alhambra manager concerning his policy. He presented the usual arguments that (1) all Negroes are rowdies, (2) his patrons wouldn't stand for it, and (3) it would hurt his business. The committee pointed out that his policy was anti-Christian, and anti-democratic, and anti-legal, and also that a competitor—the Jefferson Rink—did not discriminate, and was having no trouble with Negroes, and was probably taking away some of his business. After a half-hour's conference he agreed to open his rink to all people, but reserved the right to eject anyone guilty of rowdyism. In this policy the committee concurred, and congratulated the manager on his fairmindedness. CORE is now planning an interracial skating party at the Alhambra to make sure that the agreement has been carried out.

SOUTHERN AVIATION FIELD

Negro Trainees Resist Theatre Segregation

Several trainees in a Negro aviation squadron in the South disobeyed a Jim Crow regulation in a War Department Theatre, sitting outside the Jim Crow section, and were surprised to find that nothing happened.

In the theatre there was a special section roped off for Negro soldiers, on the grounds that the camp is in a southern state and must conform to the Jim Crow laws of that state. This situation existed despite the fact that the theatre is on U. S. Government property, and that the men in training there come from all parts of the country.

As the Negro men sat outside the Jim Crow section, an usher from headquarters went to them stating that they would have to move. The spokesman for the group, seeing that the white soldiers apparently didn't object to their presence, replied: "We don't think these fellows will bite and we certainly shan't harm them. Personally, we like the seats which we now occupy and do not care to move." Nothing happened. The Negro men are now planning to repeat this action as often as possible and in ever increasing numbers.

In reporting the incident, one of the soldiers observed that too often his buddies forget the one essential thing in combating discrimination —*good will toward the evil-doer.*

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

CORE Members Win Victory in Housing Controversy

The CORE members who have challenged the Chicago Restrictive Covenant Agreements by running a men's interracial housing co-op in a restricted area were finally successful in maintaining the lease on their apartment, despite legal pressure, when the McKey-Poague Real Estate Company was forced to withdraw its charges against them by the failure of their "witnesses" to show up for trial.

For three months the CORE members had been under legal siege as the real estate company sought to evict them on the grounds that "there were persons other than those who signed the lease" in residence in the apartment, and "among those other persons were non-Caucasians, therefore constituting a source of great annoyance to the neighbors." When the neighbors who had been secured as witnesses on two occasions failed to show up to testify against the boys, McKey-Poague had no alternative but to withdraw charges. The boys now continue residence in the apartment, with their status unquestioned.

Anti-Jim Crow Leaflets Distributed to Patrons of Loop Restaurant

For several consecutive days in December, the Committee of Racial Equality distributed leaflets to the patrons of a large restaurant in Chicago's Loop district, urging them to protest the restaurant's policy of excluding Negroes. This action resulted from the restaurant manager's refusal to serve an interracial party composed of CORE members, and from the failure of a two-month period of negotiation to effect the desired reconciliation.

The leaflets, written in a style suitable for the restaurant's patrons who were chiefly middle-class folk, were distributed during each meal to persons entering the restaurant. They were designed to acquaint the patrons with the restaurant's policy, to convince them of the anti-Christian, anti-democratic, and anti-legal implications of such a policy, and to prevail upon them to sign a blank at the bottom of each leaflet protesting the racial discrimination, and leave it with the cashier.

The reactions of the patrons were varied. A few destroyed the leaflets. The vast majority, however, read them carefully, and a large number left the signed blanks of protest with the cashier. The campaign against the restaurant's discrimination policy is continuing.

NEW YORK, NEW YORK

Twenty-eight Picketers Arrested on India Independence Day

On January 26, thirteenth anniversary of the signing of India's Declaration of Independence, twenty-eight persons picketed the British Consulate in New York City, demanding that the Britain of Democracy renounce the Britain of Empire and free India now.

The pickets, including A. J. Muste, John Swomley, Charlotte Bentley, Marie Hazeltine, Layle Lane and others were arrested and rushed away in the station wagon. Upon trial, a few days later, they were given suspended sentences on a charge of disturbing peace.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Five Fined for Picketing British Embassy

Five FOR members from New York and Boston, among which were William Hefner, Secretary of the Free India Committee, Anne Berninger of New York City, and Bronson Clark, Boston FOR Youth Secretary, picketed the British Embassy in the District of Columbia, on January 26, India Independence Day, in protest against British imperial policies in India.

Fully expecting to be picked up for violating a District of Columbia law prohibiting the picketing of foreign embassies, the group was promptly told by police that they would have to stop the demonstration. William Hefner, spokesman for the group, took a poll of the five pickets, and announced their decision to continue picketing. The station wagon was summoned. Upon trial, the pickets were fined $25.00 apiece.

YELLOW SPRINGS, OHIO

College Groups Challenge Local Jim Crow

Late last Fall, a group of students from Wilberforce University and Antioch college engaged in initial efforts of non-violent direct action toward breaking down the Jim Crow section in the Little Theatre of Yellow Springs, Ohio.

Beginning at 7:00 P. M., small groups of Antioch students and small groups of Wilberforce students left separately and went into the theatre at brief intervals, the last group arriving at 7:25. According to *The Antioch Record*, the Negro students sat in the Jim Crow section, while the white students occupied two seats next to the aisle for about 13 rows. A few minutes later, after the movie had begun, a Negro couple purchased tickets, and sat in one of the front rows instead of the Jim Crow section in the rear. As the theatre owner followed the couple, the Wilberforce students left the Jim Crow section, quietly seating themselves by the Antiochans holding the aisle seats. Thus the theatre owner "had to bend over two people in order to talk to any of the unresponding Negro students."

The Record reports: The plan was executed in a somewhat secretive fashion in order to prevent Mr. D—— (the owner) from not showing the picture. We now have set a precedent and action in the future must be frank and open.

The tangible result of the action was the removal of the Jim Crow rope, and the fact that many Negroes began sitting outside the Jim Crow section. Apparently this result was a lasting one, for a February number of *The Record* commended the Little Theatre owner for removing the rope, and thus leading the way in a drive to abolish Jim Crow from the town. *The Record* further states that the drive has thus far been successful in abolishing Jim Crow in most of the downtown stores. One store which continues to "hold out" is a certain beer-drinking establishment. Confidence was expressed that the proprietors of this store can be led to see the light if students "try drinking a milk shake instead."

ANNOUNCING a new pamphlet by *Bayard Rustin*, entitled "Interracial Primer"! This pamphlet, giving suggestions to those who wish to act in improving interracial relations, may be secured from the FOR office for fifteen cents (15¢).

Chairman Non-Violent Action Committee: A. J. MUSTE
Editor NEWSBULLETIN: JAMES FARMER

Editorial and Publication Office: 2929 Broadway, New York, New York
10 cents per copy; 50 cents for six issues

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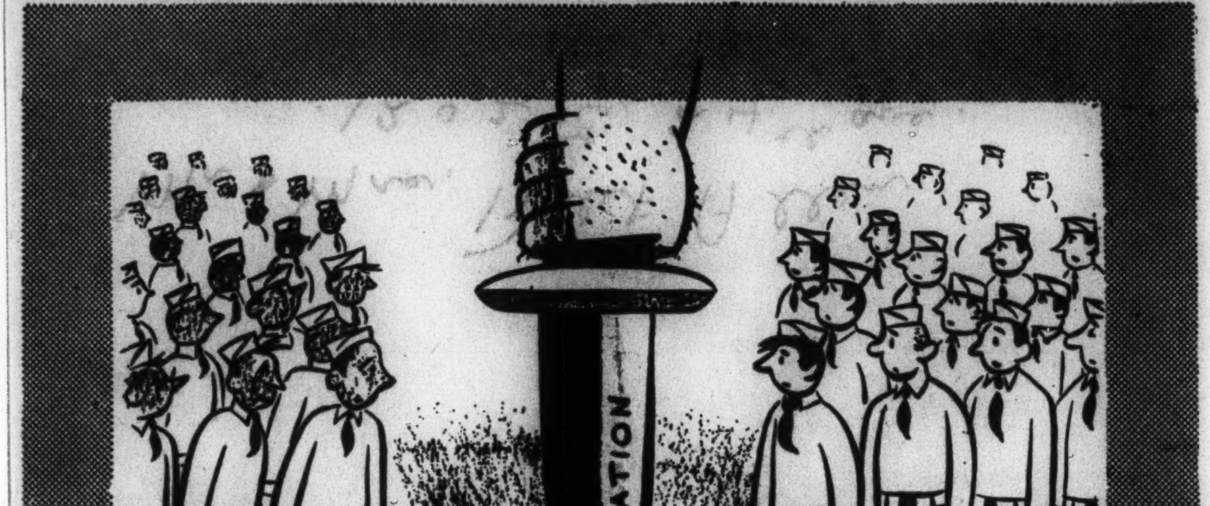
DON'T

join a jim crow army



Many men are refusing to go along with segregation in the armed forces. They say: We have pledged ourselves to refuse to be drafted or serve in a jimcrow army, and to encourage others to do likewise. We will go to prison before we will submit to military segregation.

If you are interested in this campaign write to

League For Nonviolent Civil Disobedience Against Military Segregation

A. Philip Randolph, Chairman
Fifth Floor, 2929 Broadway, New York 25, New York

440

Mr & Mrs. Robt A Allen
1202 E. 24th ave.
Ke. 7865

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New York City
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LEAGUE
for Nonviolent Civil Disobedience Against Military Segregation

●

Fifth Floor
2929 Broadway
New York 25, N. Y.
Tel.: MO 2-4780

Executive Co-Secretaries:
George M. Houser
Bayard Rustin

Field Secretaries:
Lynn Seiter Kirk
Robert Kirk
Bill Sutherland
Arthur D. Wright

Financial Secretary:
Deborah Bennett

"IF WE MUST DIE...

Dear Fellow American:

DON'T JOIN A SEGREGATED ARMY.

DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM ARE AT STAKE!

REFUSE TO REGISTER!

REFUSE TO BE INDUCTED!

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph
Chairman

League for Nonviolent Civil
Disobedience Against
Military Segregation

. . . let us die as free men, and not as jimcrow slaves."

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[redacted]

Drive against Jim-Crow Army not new

For more than twenty-five years Negro and white leaders have protested segregation in the armed forces. We have appealed to Congress, to the Supreme Court and to every President. We have educated, conferred, negotiated, and pleaded.

Yet even in World War II Negroes literally "caught hell." We must admit that constitutional methods have failed. Progress now depends on direct action.

● Negroes have reached breaking point

Last March, the President and Congress were warned that Negroes "do not propose to shoulder another gun for democracy abroad while they are denied democracy here at home."

● Yet Jimcrow is pushed through . . .

Three months later Congress passed and the President signed the draft law, which will induct thousands of young men into a jimcrow army each year.

Again Negroes and white progressives are told to "be patient"—but if the Army won't remove the sergeant's stripes from jimcrow when we are at peace, what chance is there later?

● Civil Disobedience the only answer . . .

We must act now. The League for Nonviolent Civil Disobedience Against Military Segregation calls on Negro and white youth to reject this racism now by refusing to accept service in the armed forces under the draft.

This is nonviolent civil disobedience.

It is not easy. It may mean insult, injury, prison. On the other hand if thousands act together and make it known now that they will not register or serve under a jimcrow draft, the government may be forced to listen.

But as Randolph said:

"If we must die, let us die as free men, and not as jimcrow slaves."

● Nonviolent civil disobedience is as old as the Boston Tea Party . . .

It is as old as the Boston Tea Party; as much a part of the Negro's struggle for freedom as the Underground Railroad, which was a direct violation of the Fugitive Slave Law. A jimcrow draft would violate the American ideals of equality and justice to such a degree that it is the duty of the people to maintain those ideals in spite of the law by refusing to register under a jimcrow draft until racial segregation and discrimination are outlawed by Congressional action, executive order, or court decision.

Some people will not support civil disobedience today just as there were people who criticized the Underground Railroad and the Boston Tea Party.

But many people do believe that civil disobedience is justified.

● Nonviolence is important

Jimcrow is injurious to white and colored people alike. The American Army, with its tremendous and expanding influence, is the world's biggest business. As such it is extending racial prejudice to places where it did not exist before. We must resist this discrimination with nonviolence. Only nonviolence will bring about peace and equality in a spirit that overcomes fear and bitterness. White and black, we are all members of the human race. As brothers and children of God, we must care so much about all people that we can face insult, arrest, and physical violence without retaliation and with an attitude of good will.

~~Documents + Reports~~ Literature

The War

SCAN AL!

THE STORY OF

JIM CROW IN UNIFORM

BY NANCY and DWIGHT MACDONALD

5¢

PUBLISHED BY THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT

TEST SCANDAL

ow in Uniform

Research by Nancy Macdonald

FORT BEN The body of a Negro private, Felix Hall, is found hanging nd legs bound. Negro groups charge Private Hall was lynched. of the NAACP states that at Fort Benning "concentration camp tactics are allegedly being used against colored soldiers, and torture and killings take place at the pleasure of the military police."

FAYETTEVILLE, N. C., August 6, 1941: Sergeant E. L. Hargraves, white military policeman, and Private Need Turman, Negro engineer, are killed and four other soldiers are wounded in a gun battle between white and Negro soldiers on a crowded bus. Cause: brutality by white M.P.'s.

PRESCOTT, ARK., August 17, 1941: 43 Negro soldiers from the 97th Engineer Battalion go A.W.O.L. and return to their former station, in Michigan, after weeks of violent persecution by local whites. "Trouble started in Little

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Foreword

The conscience of the American people is disturbed by the existence of two American armies: the U. S. Army and the U. S. Army (Colored). The aim of this pamphlet is to present a true picture of jimcrowism in the armed services and to enlist the mind and will of all Americans, Negro and white, who are concerned with democracy.

There are those who feel that at a time like this any attempt to raise the color question is utopian and ill-advised. But we of the March on Washington Movement cannot agree. We feel our movement must make known to the American people the whole shameful story of the oppression, exploitation and indignity to which Negroes are being subjected in the armed forces. Otherwise, how can we pretend to be a movement for economic, social and political justice?

In this and other activities, we of the March on Washington Movement believe that we are doing battle for democratic principles. We are trying to realize freedom, truth and justice in the national life. Our struggle for complete equality for all men regardless of race, religion or national origin is the basic struggle to preserve and extend democracy in these United States.

E. PAULINE MYERS
(Executive Secretary, March on Washington Movement)

Rock," states Sergeant James Humphries, "after a fight between a white copper and one of our boys. The copper started it when he slapped the soldier. . . . We found we had no Negro M.P.'s; these had been replaced with whites. And the whites were not any too anxious to protect us. Negro M.P.'s had been requested but refused. We were told that white Southerners would not stand for Negro M.P.'s. . . . Then we moved again. . . . I saw some of the white armed civilians in parked autos along the highway. Then one of our sentries was attacked. He had a rifle but it was empty. . . . Then on Thursday hell broke loose."

ALEXANDRIA, LA., January 11, 1942: Twenty-eight Negro soldiers shot or clubbed in a race riot provoked by the attempt of a white M.P. to arrest a Negro soldier. 3,000 Negro soldiers put under arrest by white M.P.'s and city and state policemen. Basic cause of riot: lack of recreational facilities for 16,000 Negro troops stationed in nearby camps; refusal of Army authorities to allow colored M.P.'s.

SAVANNAH, GA., June 10, 1942: Negro troops in the Army Day parade are forced to march at the tail end, behind garbage trucks.

BEAUMONT, TEXAS, Aug. 10, 1942: Negro private Charles J. Reco is clubbed and shot by two city policemen. No action taken by Army authorities.

VALLEJO, CALIF., Dec. 26, 1942: Mistreatment of Negro sailors by Southern whites provokes race riots involving 272 Negro and white sailors.

These things have happened in an army supposed to be fighting for democracy. They could be multiplied a hundredfold. It is mere good luck that this undeclared war against part of our own armed forces has not broken out into large-scale rioting, bloodshed and lynching. The pattern is always the same: brutal and humiliating treatment of Negroes wearing the uniform of their country, and complete failure of the Army authorities to protect those wearing that uniform. A fantastic situation in an Army supposedly dedicated to wiping out Nazi racialism. And yet how can we expect anything else when we see those in command of this Army and Navy adopting as their official policy this very doctrine of Hitler?

"MASTER RACE" VS. "WHITE SUPREMACY"

Half a million Negroes are now bearing arms in the service of their country. Great numbers are volunteers: *although only* 9.8% *of the population is colored,* 16.1% *of all volunteers for the Army in* 1940-41 *were Negroes,* according to the Office of War Information. In return for their patriotism, the Negroes of America have been jimcrowed into segregated regiments and used largely as servants and laborers. Although there is a shortage of Army nurses, at last reports considerably fewer than 200 Negro nurses had been accepted—for an Army nurse is a commissioned officer, and the Army doesn't want too many Negroes with commissions. Radio technicians are badly needed. No Negroes need apply. The Air Corps desperately needs weather officers. Negroes are not eligible—their duties might take them to all-white airfields. Registered pharmacists are in great demand—that is, if their skins are white. From every battlefront the cry goes up: More pilots! And not one Negro flyer has yet seen combat. The outstanding hero of Pearl Harbor was Dorie Miller, who singlehanded worked a machine-gun against Jap planes until his hands and arms were blistered and scarred. Yet Dorie Miller, who got the highest medals for bravery in action, was only a messman, barred by regulations from rising to combat status. For Dorie Miller's skin was black.

If you are interested in winning the war, this is a criminal waste of human resources. If you are interested in democracy, it means spreading the poison of legalized, official jimcrow from the deep South throughout our entire national life and even overseas. For various reasons, the Army and Navy have always had an unusually high proportion of Southerners in their officers' corps. A man doesn't lose his prejudices when he puts on a uniform. And so a doctrine of "White Supremacy" which is simply Hitler's "Nordic Supremacy" in Cracker lingo has become the official policy of the American armed forces. Racialism is monstrous in Nazi Germany but O.K. in the U. S. Army.

There is, of course, no more scientific basis for American jimcrow than there is for Hitler's anti-Semitism, which is to say there is no basis at all. Other nations don't feel this way about the Negro. In the last war, the French were shocked and bewildered by the treatment of colored troops in the A.E.F. In this war, it is the turn of the British to be shocked. The jim crow policies which American officers have tried to enforce among our troops in England have aroused the greatest indignation in Parliament. "That is the last thing the British Parliament would tolerate," recently declared Viscount Simon, Lord Chancellor of England. His sentiments were echoed by the humble pubkeeper who tacked up a sign at the entrance to his bar: FOR THE USE OF THE BRITISH AND OF COLORED AMERICANS ONLY.

OUR UNCONSTITUTIONAL ARMY

Jimcrow in the Army is all the more inexcusable because there is a specific clause forbidding it in the 1940 Draft Act. Few people are aware of the existence of this clause, Section 4(a), which reads as follows:

> In the selection and training of men under this Act, and in the interpretation and execution of the provisions of this Act, there shall be no discrimination against any person on account of race or color.

The military authorities are thus violating the spirit if not the letter of the very law which permits them to draft civilians into the Army. Yet neither Congress, which passed the law, nor President Roosevelt, who signed it, have raised the slightest protest. How is this possible?

It is possible because up to now the colored people have not put up any real fight to enforce Section 4(a) of the Draft Act. They have mistakenly relied on Roosevelt and other "liberal" politicians to do their fighting for them. But the record shows that the Negro gets something from the Roosevelt Administration only when he kicks up a fuss. It took the threat of a March on Washington to extract the Fair Employment Practice Committee from the White House. And as we shall see, such concessions as the Negro has won to date from the armed forces have been won only by a fighting insistence on his rights. This pamphlet has two purposes: (1) to give the brutal facts on jimcrow in the American Army and Navy; (2) to show that the colored people of America, and their white friends, must begin *right now* to make a real fight on this issue.

One Negro who believes in standing up for his rights is Winfred William Lynn. Last June he was notified by his draft board—Local Board 261, of

Jamaica, Long Island—that he had been put into 1-a. He sat down and wrote a letter:

> **Gentlemen: I am in receipt of my draft-reclassification notice. Please be informed that I am ready to serve in any unit of the armed forces of my country which is not segregated by race. Unless I am assured that I can serve in a mixed regiment and that I will not be compelled to serve in a unit undemocratically selected as a Negro group, I will refuse to report for induction.**
>
> **Yours respectfully,**
> **Winfred W. Lynn**

THE LYNN CASE

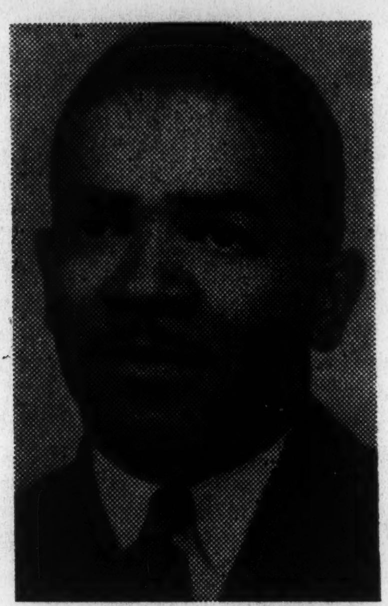
This letter was the beginning of what is coming to be known more and more widely as "the Lynn Case"—an important legal attack, the only one made to date, on military jimcrow. It all grows out of the fact that Winfred Lynn, in a quiet way, is a very determined person, and that he has a brother, Conrad, not so quiet but equally determined, who happens to be a capable lawyer. Until last December, when Arthur Garfield Hays came into the case as trial lawyer, the Lynn brothers carried on their fight practically alone. Winfred Lynn is, or was, a landscape gardener. For the past twelve years—he is now thirty-six—he has been building up a nice little business putting in trees and shrubbery on Long Island estates. He wasn't much interested in politics, and he had no great quarrel with the economic system—"I'll always get by," he used to say. But he did feel very strongly about one thing—racial discrimination. When war came, he couldn't make any sense out of the contradiction between the theory of a war for democracy and the fact of a jimcrow army being raised to fight it. Long before he got his 1-a notice, he used to tell Conrad that, regardless of what happened to him, he wasn't going to be a party to such a practice. Many Negroes talked like that. The Lynns are unusual in that they did something about it, and something effective.

The legal basis of Lynn's case is that Section 4(a) prohibits discrimination in selecting draftees, and that he, like most Negroes, was actually selected on a separate jimcrow quota. He is therefore suing the Army authorities—he has accepted induction in order to make a test case—to be allowed to return to civilian life on the grounds that the jimcrow method of his selection violates the Draft Act. His case will probably reach the U. S. Supreme Court by the end of this year. Arthur Garfield Hays, acting for the American Civil Liberties Union, is the trial lawyer, and Albert C. Gilbert is now the attorney of record in charge of preparing the brief, succeeding Conrad Lynn, who was recently drafted himself.

The Lynn case may turn out to be one of the most important ever argued before the Supreme Court. It raises two big issues:

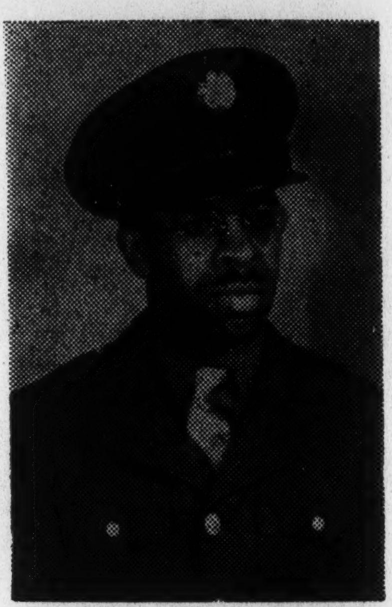
1. *Is segregation in itself discrimination?* Webster defines "segregation" as "a separation from others" and quotes in illustration William Wetmore Story's judgment: "The very name of ghetto, signifying segregation and disjunction, is opprobrious." The U. S. Supreme Court thinks otherwise, however. The line of its decisions in all the classic jimcrow cases, beginning with *Plessy v. Ferguson* in 1895 and continuing through *Mitchell v. United States* in 1941, has been that segregation is not in itself discriminatory so long as equivalent facilities, whether in transportation or schools, are provided for Negroes and whites.

The novelty of the Lynn case is that it brings up to the court for the first time the question of segregation practiced not by Southern states but by the federal government itself. Jimcrow is integrated so closely into the present social system of the South that it is not surprising that the court, even in its current liberalist phase, has not ventured to disturb it. But it will be quite a different thing to sanction the practice when it is applied by the federal government itself on a national scale to an army drawn mostly from areas where legalized jimcrow has never existed. "Our Constitution is color-blind," wrote Justice Harlan in his great dissent in the Plessy case. Whether this was a hope or a statement of fact will become clearer when the court decides the Lynn case.



Amsterdam News

WINFRED LYNN



Amsterdam News

CONRAD LYNN

2. *Is a jimcrow army compatible with a war alleged to be fought for democratic aims?* The fact that nothing was said in the last war's draft laws about racial discrimination, while this time Congress voted Section 4(a) into the law, indicates both a general awareness of the paradox of a jimcrow army fighting against Nazi racialism and also the gains the Negroes have made since 1917. There are plenty of legalistic ways in which the court can decide against Lynn: it can reaffirm the doctrine that segregation is not discrimination; it can even declare Section 4(a) unconstitutional because it interferes with the control the military authorities must have over civilian rights in training a war-time army (that is, it would interfere if it were respected). On the other hand, even the most legalistic jurist must be concerned with the army's present policy of spreading the poison of racial discrimination among millions of draftees from outside the South.

Furthermore, an adverse decision will be politically inexpedient in view of the present state of mind of Negroes. It is significant that although the Lynn case has hardly been mentioned in the national press, it has been front-page news in Negro papers all over the country. When Winfred Lynn went to Camp Upton, his fellow-soldiers knew all about the case and insisted on doing his military chores for him. Another Lynn brother, in training down South, was asked by his white captain whether he was related to "this fellow Lynn that's making so much trouble"—which shows that those on the other side of the fence know about the case too. According to Conrad Lynn, at least six Negroes in his brother's draft district have followed his example, without having the means to make a legal test or to do much of anything, in fact, except go to jail when it comes to that. He also asserts that a large number of Negroes just don't show up when summoned for induction, and that the authorities usually prefer not to do anything about it. The whole question has been smoldering beneath the surface. The Lynn case brings it out into the open and forces a showdown on whether the 1940 Draft Act means what it says.

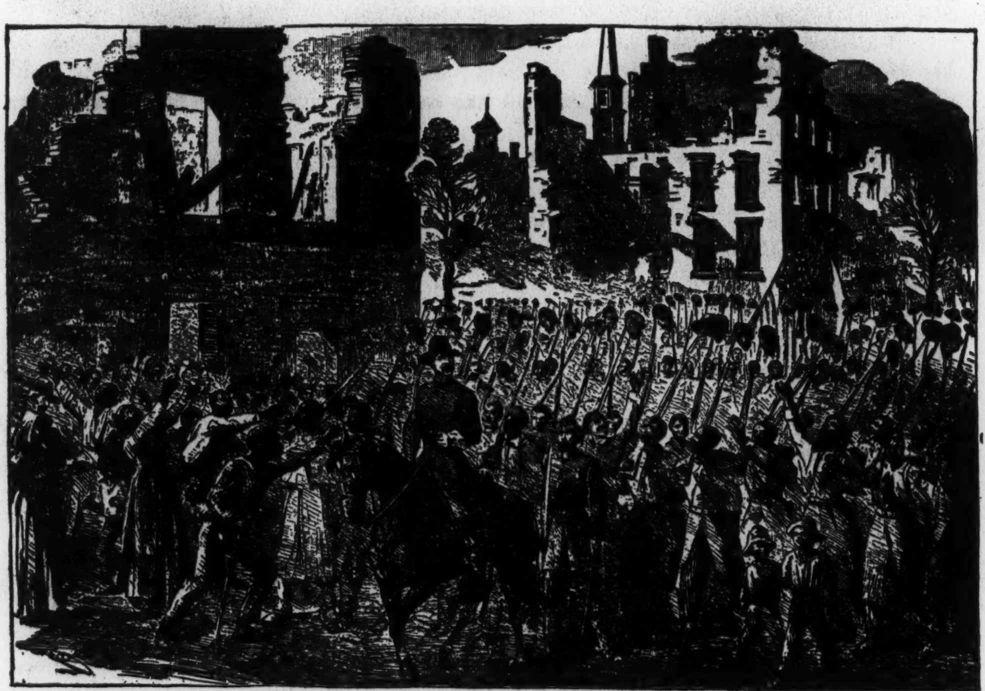
LET'S LOOK AT THE RECORD

"Negroes are too cowardly and shiftless to make fighting troops, they are fit only for labor gangs, they must have white officers because their own race doesn't produce officer material, it would be demoralizing to mix them with white troops, etc., etc." These are the kind of slanders that are circulated, privately, to justify the humiliations put upon the Negro in the armed forces today. All right, let's have a look at the record.

- The first American to give his life for the Revolutionary cause was Crispus Attucks, a Negro, who fell at the first volley of the Boston Massacre. More than 6,000 colored soldiers fought with Washington (and were rewarded after the war by being told by their Commander-in-Chief: "Return to your masters like good niggers.") An outstanding Revolutionary naval hero was Mark Starlin, a former slave, who commanded the warship, *Patriot*.
- In the War of 1812, Andrew Jackson had high praise for the conduct of his Negro troops at the Battle of New Orleans, and Commodore Perry said of his Negro sailors: "While America has such tars, she has little to fear from tyrants of the ocean."
- Over 200,000 Negroes fought in the Union ranks in the Civil War (and were rewarded by getting lower pay than white soldiers). One of the most distinguished naval heroes of the war was Captain Robert Smalls, after whom the Negro division of the Great Lakes Naval Training Station was recently named. (A Southern-born Rear-Admiral "hit the ceiling" when he learned the base had been named after a Negro, and tried to get the press to kill the story.)
- The Ninth Cavalry, a famous Negro regiment of the Regular Army, played an important part in the Battle of San Juan Hill in the Spanish-American War.
- In the last war, 400,000 Negroes served in the Army, on a strictly jimcrow basis. (Secretary of War Baker said: "We are not trying by this war to settle the Negro problem.") Only 40,000 of them were allowed to fight, the remaining 90% being used only for labor service. None of the three Negroes who then held officer's commissions in the regular Army were sent abroad, and not a single Negro unit of the regular Army went over. Nevertheless, the few inexperienced National Guard regiments that were permitted to get to the front gave a fine account of themselves. Southern-born American officers tried to slander the Negro troops to the French authorities, just as

they have done in this war with the British, but the French, being without racial prejudice, conceived a very high opinion of the American colored troops.

- The 369th National Guard Regiment, recruited mostly in Harlem, served 191 days under fire, more than any other unit of the A.E.F., suffered casualties of 40%, never lost a foot of ground or had a man taken prisoner, and returned home with 172 individual French and American decorations and a regimental Croix de Guerre. A member of the 369th was the first American soldier to win the Croix de Guerre with star and palm: Henry Johnson, a pint-sized Red Cap from Albany, who routed a party of 25 Germans singlehanded in the famous "Battle of Henry Johnson." (The War Department rewarded the 369th in 1940 by planning to convert it into a labor regiment and ordering it to add the word "Colored" to its name. Pressure forced the Department to cancel the orders.)
- Another colored regiment, the 371st Infantry, suffered 1,047 casualties, received 184 individual decorations and a regimental Croix de Guerre, and was cited by the French Commander-in-Chief in the East: "The 371st Regiment has shown, during its first engagement, the very best qualities of bravery and audacity which are characteristic of shock troops."
- The colonel of the 372nd (colored) Infantry received this message from his French divisional commander: "Your troops have been admirable in their attacks . . . and I consider it an honor to have commanded them. The bravery and the dash of your regiment are the admiration of the Moroccan division, and they are good judges. . . . Signed, GOYBET."
- In the green rolling fields of Arlington National Cemetery, just outside Washington, lie the dead of many American wars. Here is the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, the "Maine" memorial, and many another stately military monument. And here is a section pointed out to visitors: "These are the colored graves." Even in death the Negro soldier is jimcrowed by the nation in whose service he died.



1865

THE MASSACHUSETTS FIFTY-FIFTH COLORED REGIMENT IN CHARLESTON. *N. Y. Public Library*

Such is the record of the past, a mixture of heroic sacrifice on the part of the colored man, and of all too frequent slander and humiliation as his reward from the military authorities. It is high time the American people changed this shameful pattern.

SEGREGATION IS DISCRIMINATION

Every one of the half million Negroes now serving in the armed forces is doing so on a jimcrow basis. Every regiment, every ship, every battery, every flying squadron and medical staff and jeep company is either all white or all colored. The most ingenious planning, the most complicated and voluminous quantities of paper-work, the tireless efforts of thousands of officers are devoted to the great task of keeping apart the two races. The instant he puts on the uniform of his country, the Negro becomes a deadly plague carrier, to be quarantined, isolated at all costs from his white comrades in arms.

The military authorities, like the Supreme Court, deny that segregation is in itself discrimination. Actually, however, the record of the armed forces to date in this war is the strongest possible proof that discrimination is inextricably bound up with segregation. The Negro civilian in jimcrow states finds that, even if he is willing to accept segregation, he does not in actuality—whatever legal theories the Supreme Court may spin about it—get equal educational, housing and transportation facilities. And the Negro soldier or sailor also discovers, and even more dramatically, that even if he accepts segregation, he gets anything but equal treatment. The medieval Jew knew that ghetto-segregation was discrimination; the modern Jew in Nazi Germany knows that Nuremburg-Law-segregation is discrimination; and the American Negro soldier knows that jimcrow-segregation is discrimination—whatever the Supreme Court or the Secretary of War says about it. Again, let us have a look at the record.

IN THE ARMY: SERVANTS AND LABORERS

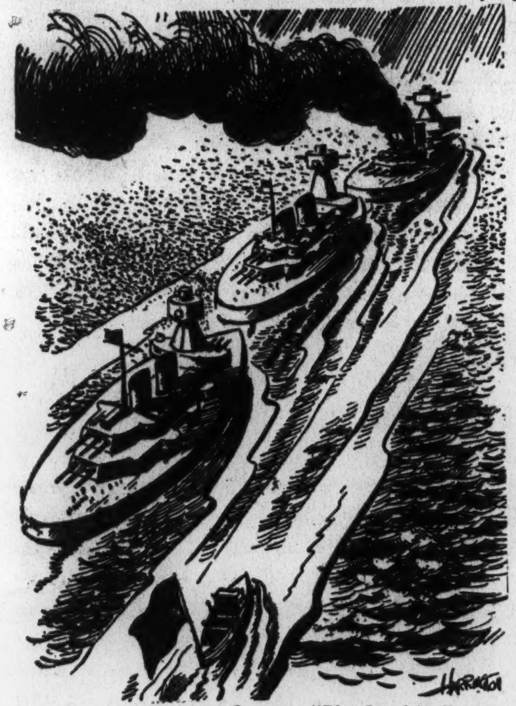
After the last war, the four colored regiments in the Regular Army were reduced to menial jobs. The two cavalry regiments became hostlers and stableboys; the two infantry regiments became cooks, officers' servants, road builders. As late as the beginning of 1941 there was not a single Negro officer on duty in the Regular Army, and not a single one of the more than 500 Negro reserve officers had been called up for duty.

The huge numbers of Negroes drafted into the Army have now somewhat changed this picture. There must be *some* officers, *some* combat units among half a million Negroes in uniform. So today there are some 2,000 Negro commissioned officers, and three regiments have Negro officers from top to bottom. (There was only one Negro colonel in the last war.) In all the other regiments, however, including the first all-colored division, the 93rd, the officers are white —except for a few lieutenants—and the privates and non-coms are colored. The great bulk of Negroes are still in menial and labor jobs: only 100,000 of the 450,000 now in the Army are in combat units. The same is true of the 60,000 Negro troops that have to date gone abroad—as was dramatically shown when Rommel broke through the American lines recently in Tunisia and captured thousands of Negro soldiers who were armed with nothing more lethal than picks and shovels.

Special mention must be made of the one important area in the entire armed services where jimcrow has been abolished: the officers' training schools. White and colored officer candidates work, study and live together, apparently in complete harmony and comradeship. The very success of these unsegregated schools, in fact, is a strong argument against the Army's claim that riot and bloodshed would result if jimcrow were to be abolished.

THE NAVY MAKES A "CONCESSION"

Up to last spring, the highest aspiration a Negro could have in the U. S. Navy was to rise to the dignity of . . . officers' cook. Only menial, low-paid jobs were open to him. This policy actually represented a big step *backward* in the last twenty years, for up to 1920 Negroes could and did serve in all ranks of the Navy up to and including Chief Petty Officer. They lived on the same ships with white sailors, ate with them, served the same guns in battle side by side with them. Last June the Navy yielded to tremendous pressure and announced that Negroes again would be accepted for regular combat service. This concession was made in the most grudging spirit, and was surrounded with a mass of humiliating restrictions:



Courtesy "The People's Voice'

U. S. Navy: "Cullud Section"

1. Negroes are trained at Jimcrow training stations.

2. They are accepted only as "reservists," for service in "district craft" (small boats) and on shore around Navy Yards and construction projects (that is, labor gangs).

3. All craft manned by Negroes are to be 100% colored—except, of course, for the officers, who are 100% white.

4. Negroes are not eligible for commissions as officers — which means, among other things, that the women's naval auxiliary, the WAVES, is 100% lily white, since a WAVE is a commissioned officer.

5. All Negro enlistments are to terminate automatically six months after the war is over, so that the Navy can rid itself of these undesirables once the fighting is over. The effects of this provision on the morale of Negro sailors may be imagined.

Even with all these safeguards against the ruinous effects of a more democratic treatment of Negroes, the Navy is still taking no chances. It is almost a year since the new policy was announced, and yet at the present writing, only 1,000 Negroes have completed even their preliminary training for the Navy.

THE AIR CORPS SCANDAL

"Reactionary policies and discriminatory practices of the Army Air Force in matters affecting Negroes were the immediate cause of my resignation as Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War." In these words, on January 18, 1943, Judge W. H. Hastie announced that, after two years of getting nowhere in his War Department post, he had reached the end of the road. The straw that broke Judge Hastie's back was the Air Corps' decision last December to set up a jimcrow officers' training camp, thus taking a step *backward* from Army practice. But there were many straws before that.

Flying is a romantic (and highly paid) military job, and the Army Air Corps apparently considers itself much too aristocratic to put up with Negroes. When the Senate in 1939 passed a law requiring the Army to train Negroes as pilots, *Time* magazine reported that the Air Corps "much distressed, quietly went to work on Capitol Hill to get Negro training killed." for two more years, the Corps was able to keep out Negroes altogether. A typical story was that of Walter L. Robinson, a Negro who had finished his C.A.A. training course thirteenth in a class of 300, who was told: "There is no place for a Negro in the Air Corps." Robinson went to Canada, where he was instantly accepted as a pilot in the Royal Air Force. Finally, early in 1941, Yancey Williams, a highly qualified Negro pilot, brought suit to compel the Corps to accept him. *The very next day* the Corps announced that a training center for Negro pilots would be opened at Tuskegee Institute.

The Tuskegee school has turned out to be strictly eyewash. It is, of course, jimcrow (despite strong protests by Judge Hastie). It is over two years since it was announced, and not a single Negro flyer has yet been assigned to actual combat service. In its first year of operation it turned out exactly 50 pilots, which means it will take over 20 years for the 1100 Negroes who have passed the tests for the Air Corps to get their basic training. It trains pursuit pilots only, and the pursuit plane is of decreasing importance in modern warfare. Further, these pilots lack trained ground crews, since the Corps refuses to train Negro mechanics at white centers and has not got around to setting up a jimcrow center.

The familiar slanders about Negroes being incompetent to fly planes are whispered to justify this shameful record. A pilot needs good coordination and quick reflexes above all. That the race which produced Joe Louis, Jesse Owens, Satchelfoot Paige and hundreds of other great athletes cannot fly planes—this is a bit of racial mythology worthy of Dr. Goebbels. Out of 100 Negroes who took C.A.A. courses in 1940, 91 qualified for licenses. In one important branch of aviation, namely night flying, recent evidence shows that Negroes are better qualified than whites. Two scientists who tested 4,000 Army truck drivers found that the colored drivers had much keener night vision than the others. "We never even suspected this phenomenon before," they reported (*Time*, June 30, 1941). "It may result in changes in our military setup on land, sea and in the air." This is the opinion of mere scientists The racial philosophers in charge of our armed forces know better: they have refused to make use of this or any other special talent of the colored people.

RED CROSS, DOUBLE CROSS

When Negroes see those posters showing a white-robed Red Cross nurse, representing "The Greatest Mother in the World," stretching out her hands in appeal for funds, they smile bitterly. For the American Red Cross has actually applied jimcrow to the "blood banks" from which it gives transfusions on the battlefield. At one time it refused to accept blood donations from Negroes at all. It now accepts Negro blood but processes and stores it separately "so that those receiving tranfusions may be given plasma from blood of their own race." The Red Cross has to be very careful with its labels, for no scientist has yet been able to demonstrate the slightest difference between colored and white blood—or between the blood of any races. The difference exists only in the imagination of a Hitler—or of the directors of the Red Cross, the Surgeon Generals of the U. S. Army and Navy, and the Secretaries of War and Navy, all of whom approved the policy of segregating Negro blood on January 21, 1942. This episode shows us how far those in command of our armed forces have come to accept the racial mythology of the enemy.

Those are the facts, and it is not a pretty picture. What can be done about it? There are three important factors:

(1) The colored people of America have come a long ways since the last war; they are no longer willing to be pushed around as an inferior race.

(2) The Roosevelt Administration has backed up the jimcrow policies of the military authorities as much as it dared; nothing can be hoped for from Washington without a much tougher fight than the Negroes and other friends of democracy have put up so far.

(3) This great issue must be faced; it cannot longer be evaded and compromised as our political leaders are trying to do. ..Either you advance towards real democracy, and the Negro with you; or you go backward to racialism and fascism.

Let us consider each of these points briefly.

1. THE NEGRO IS ON THE MARCH

The American Negro has made tremendous advances in the last twenty years, in education, in independence and self-respect, in consciousness of his rights as a citizen of a democracy. These gains are shown in a rise in social status, despite all the efforts of reactionaries to bar his advance. Even in the armed forces, for example, the new American Negro has forced some important concessions he did not have in the last war. It is true that the anti-discrimination clause of the 1940 Draft Act is being violated by the military authorities, but the 1917 Draft Act lacked even the clause. Over 1800 Negroes are serving on draft boards throughout the nation, a great advance over 1917. The Marine Corps recently admitted Negroes for the first time in its history. In the last war, Negroes were confined to the infantry; this time there are Negro units of mechanized troops, armored forces, tank destroyers, anti-aircraft service—shamefully few of them, it is true, compared to the number of qualified Negroes, but still a few. Negroes are in the air force—again, very few, but in the last war there was not one. It took all sorts of pressure to get even a jimcrow officers' training camp for Negroes in the last war; this time colored officer candidates are trained in the same unsegregated schools. We have seen how grudgingly these concessions have been made, and how most of them are so much whitewash. But it is significant that in the last war the military authorities didn't even have to use whitewash. The change in attitude is a response to the stronger pressure from a more conscious and better educated colored population.

2. THE ROOSEVELT RECORD — WORDS VS. DEEDS

In the crucial months before the 1940 Presidential election, the Roosevelt Administration worked out its formula for dealing with "the Negro problem": *Democracy in Words, Jimcrow in Deeds.* The Rooseveltian formula is an attempt to square a political circle: to maintain a jimcrow army without losing the political support of the nation's thirteen million Negroes.

On September 14, 1940, President Roosevelt signed the Draft Act, with its Section 4(a). On September 27th he received with his customary geniality a delegation of three Negro leaders who came to present him with a program for actually carrying out Section 4(a). The leaders were Walter White, of the NAACP, T. Arnold Hill, of the National Urban League, and A. Philip Randolph, of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Their detailed 7-point program called for equal treatment for Negroes in all branches of the armed services. They got their answer on October 9, when the White House issued a press release stating that traditional jimcrow policies would be continued by the Army and Navy, and that, except for three regiments, all present and future Negro units would have white officers. "This policy," added the release, "has proven satisfactory over a long period of years, and . . . it is the opinion of the War Department that no experiments should be tried with the organizational set-up of these units at this critical time." The release also implied that Messrs. White, Hill and Randolph were in agreement with this statement of policy, which violated every detail of the program they had submitted ten days earlier.

The three Negro leaders at once issued a strong repudiation of the alleged "agreement":

> "We question that the jim crow policy of the Army 'has been proven satisfactory.' It has never been satisfactory nor is it now to Negro Americans. Such segregation has been destructive of morale and has permitted prejudiced superiors to exercise their bigotry on defenseless Negro regiments.
>
> "We are inexpressibly shocked that a President of the United States at a time of national peril should surrender so completely to enemies of Democracy who would destroy national unity by advocating segregation. Official approval by the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of such discrimination and segregation is a stab in the back of Democracy."

This statement put the White House in a very tight spot. The elections were only a few weeks off, and the Negro vote was an important factor in Roosevelt's calculations. On the other hand, the Army and Navy stood firm on jimcrow, and the President lacked either the courage or the will to crack down on them. Some whitewash was needed badly, no matter how cheap so long as it covered up the ugly reality. On October 25, therefore, a week before the elections, three Negroes were appointed to high posts in the military apparatus: Judge William H. Hastie became Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War; Colonel Campbell Johnson became Special Aide to the Director of the Draft; and Benjamin O. Davis, the only Negro colonel in the Regular Army, was made a Brigadier-General, the first Negro to reach general's rank.

These appointments, of course, made no real difference. As we have seen, Judge Hastie recently resigned after two and a half years of ineffectual protests, nor do the other two appointees seem to have been any more successful in liberalizing the Army's policies. However, the crisis was met, or rather postponed, and Roosevelt was reelected. A few more concessions have been made since then, as we have seen, but the Rooseveltian formula still persists basically unchanged: *Democracy in Words, Jimcrow in Deeds.*

3. THE ISSUE MUST BE FACED — NOW!

Every one remembers the terrible race riots that took place during and after the last war in this country. The East St. Louis riot—or rather massacre—of 1917 in which at least 39 Negro men and women were killed and the entire colored section of the city was burned down. The 1919 Chicago riots, in which 20 Negroes and 14 whites died in three days of savagery. In the single year, 1919, there were 26 race riots throughout the country. Just what part the jimcrow policies of the Army played in these outbreaks is not known, but it must have been a considerable one. Millions of young whites and Negroes were segregated from each other, taught to regard each other as alien creatures. At least one of the worst 1919 riots, in Washington, D. C., was directly caused by friction between white and colored soldiers.

After this war, we will be lucky if the Army's racial policies inflict nothing worse on us than race riots. A new and sinister kind of political doctrine has arisen since the last war, which feeds on racial antagonisms. A few years ago we got a glimpse of it in the anti-Semitic preachings of Father Coughlin and the Silver Shirts, in the anti-Negro agitation of the revived Ku Klux Klan and Detroit's secret Black Legion. Unless the present policies of the armed forces are greatly liberalized, the veterans of our jimcrow army and navy will make the best possible post-war breeding ground of a new native fascism.

Nor is the danger by any means confined to the *white* veterans. The "Pacific Movement of the Eastern World" was launched by Japanese agents with the slogan: "The Japanese are brothers of the Negroes and the Negro race will be better off under Japanese rule than under white rule." This kind of propaganda has attracted little support among Negroes . . . yet.

Consider a case typical of hundreds, if not thousands—that of Donald Sullivan, who preferred a three-year term in the Federal Penitentiary to serving in a jimcrow Army. According to the *N. Y. Times*, of May 21, 1942, he "became embittered when he tried unsuccessfully several years ago to join the Navy."

It is not hard to understand Donald Sullivan's feelings. Nor those of Harry Carpenter, a Philadelphia Negro, when he said to a colored sergeant last year: "This is a white man's war and it's no damn good."

Harry Carpenter was arrested for treason. But you can't arrest thirteen million people.

Jimcrow in uniform is an intolerable insult to the thirteen million colored citizens of this country. It violates the most basic principles of the democracy our leaders say we are fighting for. It spreads the most vicious of Hitler's doctrines among the very soldiers and sailors who are dying in battle with Hitler's armies.

Jimcrow in uniform must go! Every colored person in America, every real friend of democracy in America must take up the fight and refuse to be satisfied with anything less than the smashing of racial barriers throughout the entire armed forces. Jimcrow in uniform must go!

◆

The material in this pamphlet has been drawn almost entirely from printed sources.... For a week-to-week coverage of military jimcrow, I found *Time* and *P.M.* especially good. ... The most complete material on jimcrow in the Air Corps appears in the various statements by Judge W. H. Hastie in the last two months, obtainable from the Press Service of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 69 Fifth Ave., New York City. . . . *The Negro Handbook*, edited by Florence Murray, contains statistics and a very useful chronology on Negroes in the Army. . . . The section in this pamphlet on the Lynn case is mostly reprinted without change from an article by myself, "The Novel Case of Winfred Lynn," which appeared in the *Nation* for Feb. 20, 1943, and I wish to thank the editors of the *Nation* for permission to reprint. . . . A lavishly illustrated 64-page brochure on "Negroes and the War" may be obtained from the Office of War Information. It costs nothing and is worth it.

The following articles contain useful information:

"The Right to Fight for Democracy," by Walter White. *Survey-Graphic*, Nov., 1942.

"Colored Soldiers, U. S. A.," by Earl Brown. *Survey-Graphic*, Nov. 1942.

"Legal Status of the Negro in the New Army," by Milton R. Konvitz. *The Guild Lawyer*, Dec. 1940.

"Jim Crowism in the Army and Navy." *Lawyers Guild Review*, March 1941.

"Negroes Are Fighting for Freedom," by Shirley Graham. *Common Sense*, Feb. 1943.

"The Negro's War." *Fortune*, June 1942.

"It's Our Country, Too." by Walter White. *Saturday Evening Post*, Dec. 14, 1940.

"Negroes and Defense," by M. T. P. Lochard. *The Nation*, Jan. 4, 1941.

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What Is It?

An all-Negro mass organization dedicated to winning full democracy for the Negro people. It is pro-Negro, but not anti-white.

"We Are Americans, Too!"

What Has It Done?

It has won Executive Order No. 8802 from the President of the United States, barring discrimination in war industries, the only such order issued since the Emancipation Proclamation.

It has gained jobs for thousands of Negroes in war industries.

"We Are Americans, Too!"

What Are Its Aims?

1. To develop a program of action by which the Negro masses can march towards the total abolition of all social, economic and political discrimination.

2. To draw out leadership from the Negro masses to struggle on their own behalf.

"We Are Americans, Too!"

What Is Its Immediate Program?

1. To eliminate jimcrow from the armed services of our country.

2. To initiate a campaign of Non-Violent Direct Action against jimcrow laws and customs in every part of the country.

"We Are Americans, Too!"

Who Can Belong?

Every Negro who believes in our aims and who wants freedom enough to fight for it.

"We Are Americans, Too!"

How Much Does It Cost?

Ten cents a year a person, five cents of which is to remain in your local treasury and five cents to be sent to the National Office.

"We Are Americans, Too!"

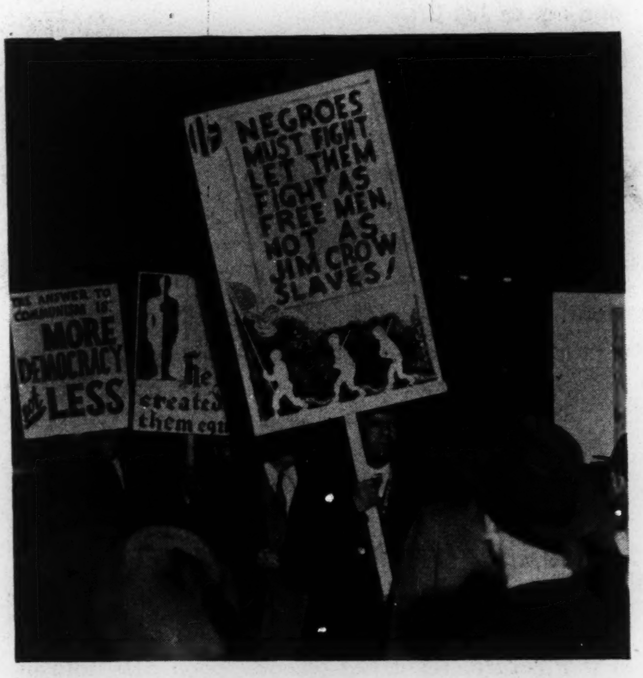
Who Are Its Officers?

A. Philip Randolph, National Director; B. F. McLaurin, National Secretary; E. Pauline Myers, National Executive Secretary; Aldrich Turner, National Treasurer.

Come to the "We Are Americans, Too" Congress, sponsored by the March on Washington Movement, to be held in Chicago on June 30 through July 4, 1943.

Com against Jim Crow

THE COMMITTEE AGAINST JIM CROW IN MILITARY SERVICE AND TRAINING



THE ANSWER TO COMMUNISM IS MORE DEMOCRACY not LESS
He created them equ
NEGROES MUST FIGHT LET THEM FIGHT AS FREE MEN, NOT AS JIM CROW SLAVES!

A. Philip Randolph leading a demonstration in New York City, December 21, 1949.

ITS PRINCIPLES AND OBJECTIVES

328

We cannot take the attitude that what we do at home has no relation to the rest of the world. Take, for instance, civil rights. There are minorities in our population who do not enjoy all the rights we enjoy. We are inclined to think of that as a domestic problem. I assure you it is not. There are vast populations of the world watching and drawing conclusions about our world attitude from our domestic attitude on civil rights."

—*Secretary of State Dean Acheson*
March 16, 1950

"If Negroes must fight, let them fight as free men and not as Jim Crow slaves."

—*A. Philip Randolph*

These statements represent the two principles which guide the activities of the Committee Against Jim Crow in Military Service and Training. The first considers the realistic effects of racial discrimination beyond our borders; the other, as it eats away at our moral fibre at home. The Committee devotes itself to a national educational program to abolish the harmful and immoral military discrimination policy.

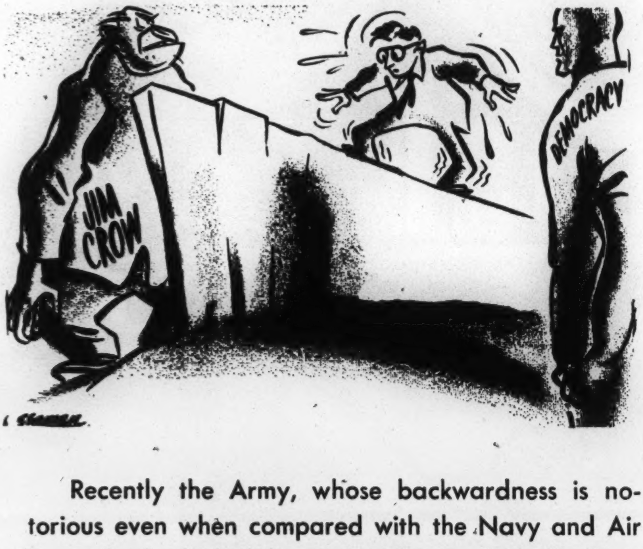
A PAINFUL RECORD

The record of military Jim Crow is painful to those who cherish the democratic way of life. It is not the purpose of this piece to recount the terrible stories in that record, for it has already been ably told in the widely circulated Committee pamphlet, "Nobody Knows." *We here present only a brief summary of the Committee's activities in order to explain our purposes and work.*

Although the problem of racial discrimination is an ominous cloud over the entire American scene, its most dismal and ironic spot hovers over the armed forces. There are 60,000 Negroes in the Army, 17,000 in the Navy and 25,000 in the Air force. We aim our spotlight on the conditions of these Americans.

The Committee was formed in October, 1947, by Negro leaders. Since that time it has been joined by a wide variety of individuals and groups drawn from the labor movement and the ranks of non-Communist liberals. Much has been done during the Committee's short life. The Committee believes that its work has been responsible in part for the various bits of enacted and contemplated legislation and administrative action aimed at military Jim Crow.

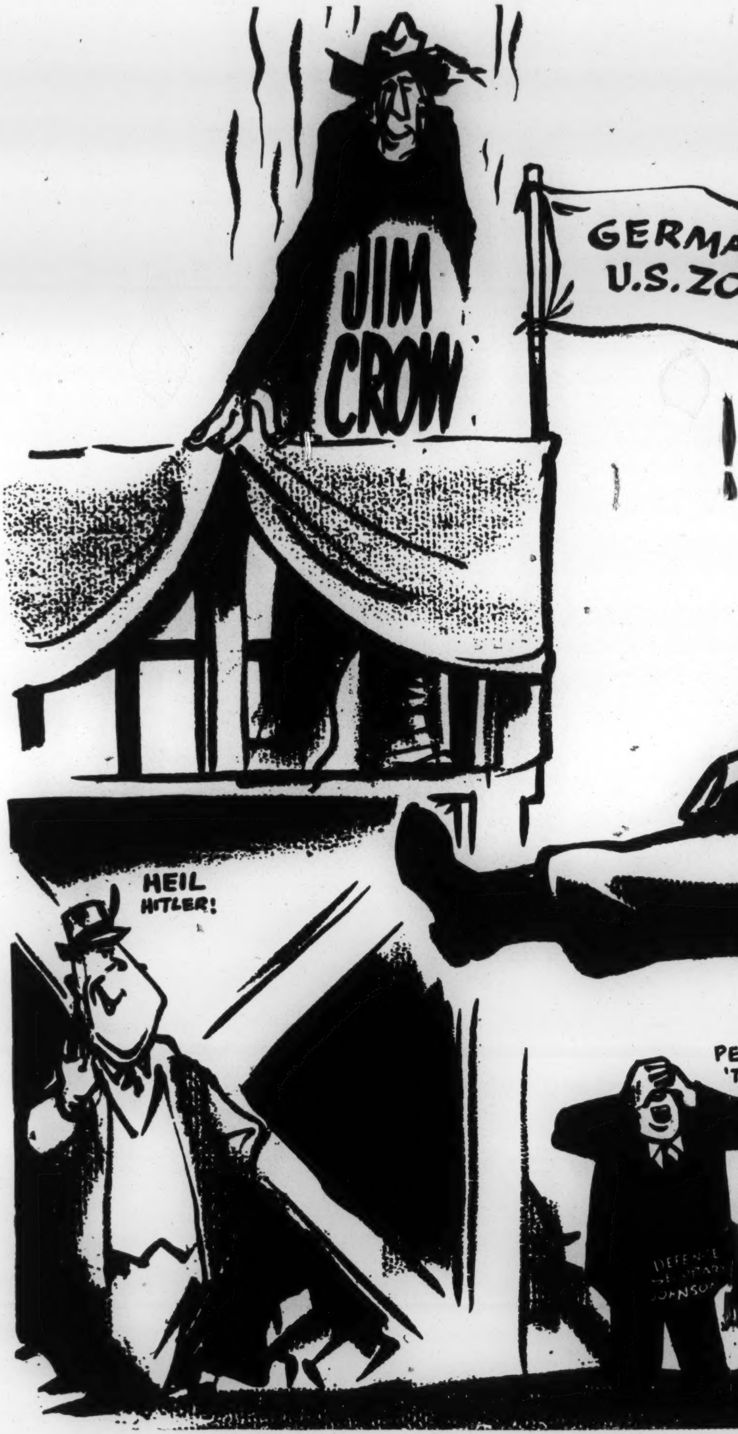
ON THE FENCE



Recently the Army, whose backwardness is notorious even when compared with the Navy and Air Force (both of which have moved toward integration), has made some token gestures against segregation. *These gestures have indeed been watered potions when the need is for much stronger stuff.* Yet in a large measure they resulted from the Committee's pressures. It is not over sanguine to expect that when the Committee, in cooperation with other organizations, is able to create greater public pressures, greater progress will be made.

JIM CROW ON TRIAL

One of the Committee's most effective campaigns was the creation of local Commissions of Inquiry in six leading cities throughout the nation. Featuring testimony from scores of veterans and others, these


JIM
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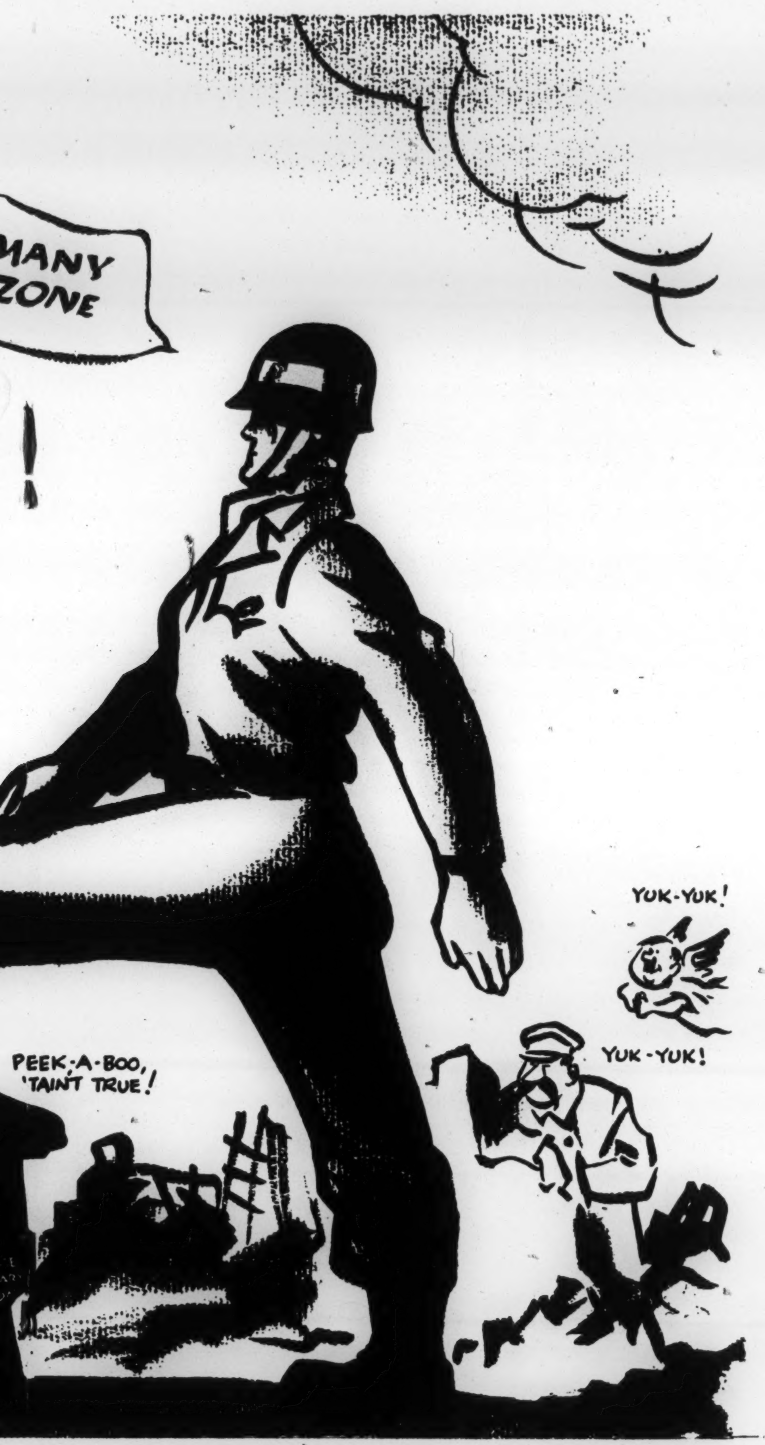
JOHNSO

"mock trials" highlighted the injustices of military Jim Crow. The trials and testimony were given wide publicity by local newspapers and national press services.

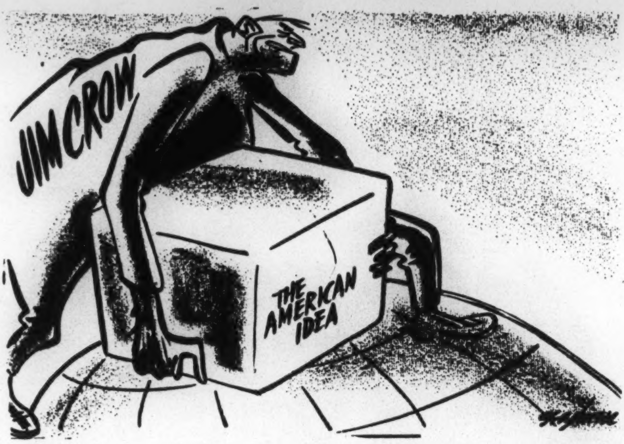
The Committee has kept relentlessly after Secretary of Defense Louis Johnson who with equal vigor has sought to ignore us. Last fall we took steps to


MANY
ZONE
YUK-YUK!
YUK-YUK!
PEEK-A-BOO,
'TAINT TRUE!

create a Commission of Inquiry to investigate the conditions of Negro troops in Western Germany. We were joined by other organizations, prominent members of the community and members of Congress who agreed to participate. For a while this open support seemed to assure that Pentagon approval would follow, but we had not reckoned with the Secretary of

Defense. Apparently, as the New York Post editorialized, the Department of Defense had something to hide. Mr. Johnson said "nein" to the investigation.

IN DIRTY HANDS



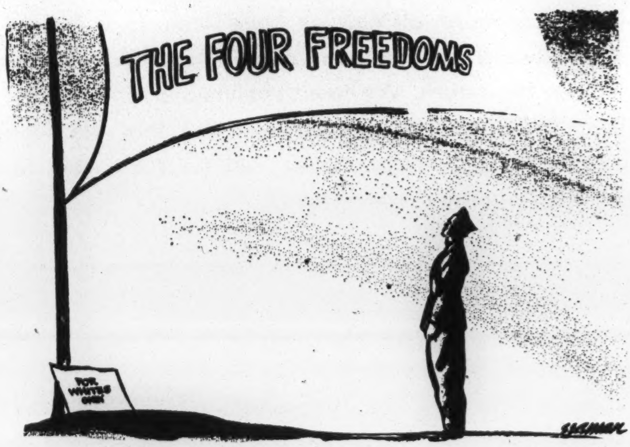
The Committee, led by A. Philip Randolph and Grant Reynolds, organized demonstrations to publicize the situation. We forced an inter-faith organization to cancel a testimonial dinner in honor of the Secretary. *Three weeks later — in January, 1950 — the Army suddenly agreed to a minor — very minor — exception to its rigid segregation pattern: henceforth scarce Negro specialists would be integrated into white Army units.* It was a milksop measure. The Army still cleaves officially to segregation.

Our work in the future is cut out for us. For instance, in the Panama Canal Zone whose Governor is an Army officer and which is administered under the Defense Department, discrimination and total segregation is the official policy. Native Negro carpenters earn 64¢ an hour compared to $2.09 an hour paid to white workers for identical labor. Negro painters earn 56¢ an hour as compared to $2.19 for whites. A Negro's forty hours of labor earn for him less money than is paid to a family on home relief in New York City. The cost of living in the two areas is comparable. Necessarily, the Army-imposed economic injustices as well as social injustices are the concern of the Committee.

IN MEMORIAM

This spring, while Congress is debating our legislative program, the Committee plans to hold Memorial Services in honor of Negro war dead. The ceremonies will mark the futility of Negroes dying for a democracy they hoped to enjoy, leaving to their heirs the bitter legacy of inequality. The services, to be conducted by national figures, will be held in Washington, D. C., Philadelphia, Gettysburg and Springfield, Illinois. It will be difficult for the Government to ignore the impact of large turnouts. Services such as these are in harmony with the American tradition of "petition for redress of wrongs."

"Look Down, Look Down"



We are ever careful to distinguish our cause from the baser motives of totalitarian organizations. Despite the occasional and unhappy embarrassments that may befall otherwise liberal friends in Washington, we cannot allow them to be lax with regard to our program. We believe that the public respects and responds to a group that does not sell its intellectual freedom. In the words of Grant Reynolds: "Our job has been to render our organization unnecessary, and when once the recalcitrant Army gets on the road to true integration, our end, happily, will be in sight."

A JOB TO BE DONE

Prior to June 24, 1950, Congress will consider a bill to extend the expiring Selective Service Law for three years.

At that time the House and Senate will have an opportunity to enact eight civil rights amendments sponsored by Representatives Isidore Dollinger and Jacob K. Javits and Senator William Langer.

These amendments would safeguard Negro draftees from all forms of segregation and discrimination, both on and off military installations, while they are in uniform.

YOU can help:

1. *by urging your two senators and congressman to support the Javits - Dollinger - Langer civil rights amendments;*
2. *by supporting and participating in the Memorial Services to Negro war dead;*
3. *by contributing to the Committee Against Jim Crow.*

It is amazing that our small budget has permitted us to accomplish all that we have done. It would be miraculous if we could accomplish so much on so little in the future. We have stretched dollars to the limit. With only modest financial support, we feel certain that our organization will soon be able to report: "mission accomplished."

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, *Co-Chairman*
Committee Against Jim Crow in
Military Service and Training
Suite 706—112 East 19th Street
New York 3, New York

I wish to support your work to eliminate all segregation and discrimination from the armed forces.

☐ I enclose $500.00 to help make possible the four national memorial services this spring.

☐ I enclose $250.00 toward your legislative campaign in Washington.

☐ I enclose $100.00 to further your general educational program.

☐ I enclose $.. to aid in your work.

Name ....
Address ....
City.............................. Zone........ State............

"One person with a BELIEF is a power equal to ninety-nine who have only INTERESTS."
—John Stuart Mill

WILL YOU HELP?

The Lynn Committee needs funds to expand its work and to carry the whole shameful story of Jimcrow in Uniform to ever-wider sections of the American public.

This is not merely a war-time issue. Following the war, the United States will have a permanent standing army and navy of somewhere between two and four million men. There may also be a system of compulsory military training. In both the standing army and in the training camps, the problem of race relations will continue to be all-important.

We must put an end to discrimination and segregation in the armed forces *now!*—if we want a democratic America after the war.

Won't you help us? Join our committee. Establish branches in your home community. Distribute our literature. Send in as generous a contribution as you can spare.

(Please fill out and mail today)

NANCY G. MACDONALD, *Treasurer*
LYNN COMMITTEE
360 West 125th Street, N. Y. 27, N. Y.

☐ I am enclosing $............ to assist your work.
☐ Please send me .... copies of this pamphlet.
☐ I enclose a list of friends who should get your literature.

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Address ....
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These Organizations Endorse Its Work:

American Civil Liberties Union
C.I.O. War Relief
March On Washington Movement
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
Workers Defense League
General Conference, African Methodist Episcopal Church

**THE LYNN COMMITTEE
TO ABOLISH SEGREGATION
IN THE ARMED FORCES**

National Office
**360 West 125th Street
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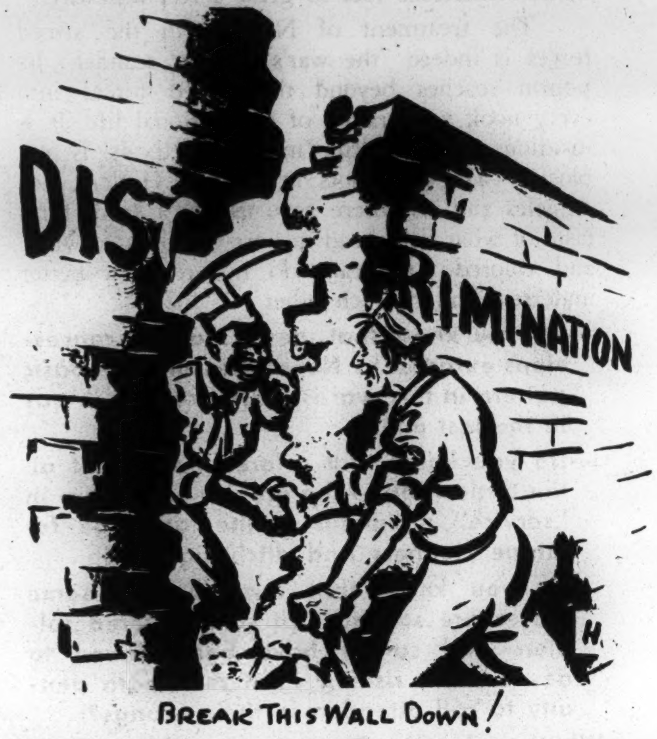
HELP FIGHT
Jim Crow In Uniform!

- **The War's Greatest Scandal!**
- **The Post-War's Greatest Challenge!**



BREAK THIS WALL DOWN!

THE LYNN COMMITTEE TO ABOLISH SEGREGATION IN THE ARMED FORCES

THE LAW

"In the selection and training of men under this Act, and in the interpretation and execution of the provisions of this Act, there shall be no discrimination against any person on account of race or color."

—*Selective Training and Service Act of 1940: Section 4 (a)*

THE PRACTICE

EXHIBIT A

"1. Your Quota for this Call is the first . . . White men and the first . . . Negro Men who are in Class 1A."

—*Selective Service, N. Y. City Headquarters. Subject: Requisition for Examination—Induction*

(Form sent to all local draft boards)

EXHIBIT B

"What we are doing of course, is simply transferring discrimination from everyday life into the Army."

—*General Lewis B. Hershey, Director of Selective Service*

EXHIBIT C

The following is a partial list of colored soldiers killed while wearing the uniform of their country—killed not by enemy action but by other Americans, civilian and military:

"THE ROLL OF SHAME"

PVT. ROBERT SPECELY, killed by white bus driver in Durham, N. C.

SGT. WELLINGTON D. ABRAMS, shot by white MPs at Brookley Field, Ala.

PVT. THEODORE SAMUELS, fatally wounded by Mobile, Ala., policeman.

PVT. RAYMOND McMURAY, murdered by Godsden, Ala., police officers.

PVT. RAIF G. WILLIAMS, killed by Little Rock, Ark., deputy sheriff.

PVT. TYREE JACKSON, shot to death by military guard, San Antonio, Tex.

SGT. THOMAS P. FOSTER, slain by civilian police, Little Rock, Ark.

PVT. ALLEN COX, shot to death by white woman near Kisatchie, La.

TEN SOLDIERS, killed by civilian and military police during "Night of Terror" riot at Alexandria, La.

PVT. RAYMOND CARR, killed by State policemen at Alexandria, La.

UNNAMED SOLDIER, killed by sheriff at Centreville, Miss.

PVT. HENRY WILLIAMS, slain by white bus driver at Mobile, Ala.

SGT. GILBERT WAGONER, shot by civilian police at Tampa, Fla.

PVT. HERMAN HANKINS, fatally shot by MP at Camp Tyson, Tenn.

PVT. LAWRENCE BAILEY, killed by policeman at Pine Bluff, Ark.

PVT. BOYD BRYANT, mysteriously shot near Trenton, S. C.

Reprinted from The Pittsburgh Courier

BACK UP THE LYNN COMMITTEE'S FIGHT

TO END MILITARY JIM-CROWISM
FOR A DECENT POST-WAR AMERICA

WENDELL WILLKIE before he died wrote: "Of all the indignities and injustices practiced against the Negro, the most ironic and cruel has been the discrimination practiced by and in our armed forces."

On no other issue are colored Americans so united and determined. For no other problem do white Americans feel so great a responsibility.

The treatment of Negroes in the armed forces is indeed "the war's greatest scandal." Its poison reaches beyond the armed forces into every nook and cranny of our national life. It is insidious, all-powerful, many-faceted. It is explosive! The race riots in Detroit, Harlem, Los Angeles and elsewhere gave us but a small foretaste of what lies ahead in post-war days, if white and colored Americans do not reach a better understanding of each other.

—Do you know that, despite a few concessions extorted by Negro pressure, the basic pattern in this war is as Jimcrow as it was in the last one?

—Do you know that colored troops get all the dirtiest jobs—the great majority are in "service" regiments (polite language for latrine cleaners and ditch-diggers)?

—Do you know that conditions in some places are so bad that some colored soldiers and sailors have been driven to desperation, risking even the death penalty to call attention to their wrongs?

What can be done?

A little more than a year ago a number of people—white and colored—decided that something could be done. They started the Lynn Committee to Abolish Segregation in the Armed Forces.

The Lynn Committee is the only organization in the United States set up to deal specifically and exclusively with racial discrimination in the army and navy.

The Lynn Committee says—Change segregation and discrimination in the armed forces, and you will change the face of America; you will make it possible for millions of young Americans to know and respect each other—not as racial robots pulled by the strings of vicious anti-racial prejudice—but as human beings.

The Lynn Committee's work is carried on through hard-hitting legal action, through a nation-wide publicity and educational program and through meetings and public protests.

Here, in brief, are the main facts about the three major cases around which its activities revolve:

1 THE LYNN CASE

The case which the Committee was originally formed to support is the now nationally famous "Lynn Case." In 1942 Winfred Lynn asked for his discharge from the army, in a habeas corpus action, on the grounds that he was illegally selected under an all-Negro quota in violation of Section 4a, of the Draft Act (quoted on flap below). The action was brought against a certain Colonel Downer, then his commanding officer. This was the proper and prescribed legal action insisted upon by the court.

Lynn was denied his rights, and in February 1944 the case moved up to the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals which split two-to-one against Lynn. Then in May the case, handled by Arthur Garfield Hays and Gerald Weatherly acting for the American Civil Liberties Union, went to the U. S. Supreme Court.

But the court, by a legal twist, refused to review the case on the grounds that it was "moot"; that is, it could not be determined one way or the other. And the reason it was moot, said the highest court in the land, was that Lynn was no longer under Colonel Downer's command! Of course, he was not! The very army against which Lynn was bringing suit had ordered him to the Pacific area where he is now serving.

This piece of legalistic sleight-of-hand has not gone unchallenged. Through widespread publicity, the Lynn Committee has sought to make known to the American people that the means by which the court has sought to avoid the issue make a mockery, not only of the immediate question involved, but also of the whole principle of habeas corpus. Through certain legal steps, the case has been reintroduced in the Supreme Court, and there is every indication that the court will reverse its earlier decision and hear the case before long.

2 THE HANSBERRY CASE

Last summer Perry H. Hansberry, a young married man with three children, was ordered by his Chicago draft board to report for induction. Instead of complying, he started another legal test of military Jimcrowism similar to the Lynn Case. His brief states that he "is ready, willing and able, as well as anxious, to join any branch of the military service of the USA, but feels it would be the height of folly to be inducted into a Jimcrow, segregated, discriminated army. . . ."

Immediately, a branch of the Lynn Committee was organized in Chicago to support the case. Among its members are such prominent Chicago liberals and trade unionists as Henry D. Spaulding, Horace Clayton, Willard Townsend, Francis Heisler, Rev. Joseph Evans and Rev. James Horace.

To avoid the run-around that the Supreme Court tried to give the Lynn Case, Hansberry goes right to the top! He petitions the court for an injunction restraining President Roosevelt, the Commander-in-Chief, and various other Federal and State authorities from inducting him into a Jimcrow army.

It was Carl Hansberry, Perry's father, who in 1938 fought the famous *Lee v. Hansberry* Restricted Covenant Case through to a successful finish before the U. S. Supreme Court. This case struck a serious blow against the private agreements by which racist-minded property owners tried to prevent Negroes from renting or buying in certain districts. The Hansberry family thus has a splendid record as fighters for the democratic rights of all Americans—Jew, Protestant or Catholic, white or colored.

3 THE CASE OF THE 19 SEABEES

On October 22, 1943, nineteen colored Seabees were discharged from the Navy. They were discharged against their will, and not honorably. A veteran with such discharge papers obviously finds himself handicapped in reestablishing himself in civilian life.

The story behind these discharges would seem incredible were it not so fully documented—and so representative of the experience of scores of other Negro soldiers and sailors. The Seabees had been building an airport in Trinidad. Jimcrow conditions had been bad, especially in the vital matter of promotion. No Negro Seabee—and there were Ph.D.'s and skilled machinists among them—could get a first-class rating; whites with far inferior qualifications rose easily in the ranks. Finally the Commanding Officer called a meeting at which he requested a number of colored Seabees "to tell us your grievances man to man."

Thus invited, the Seabees respectfully stated some of their complaints. The C. O. was sympathetic (verbally, at least). A few days later, nineteen of the colored Seabees were kicked out of the service with papers, reading: "UNDESIRABLE by reason of UNFITNESS" and "ORDINARY by reason of INAPTITUDE." Some had attended the C.O.'s little "off-the-record, man-to-man" meeting, some had not.

Last spring Isaac G. McNatt, one of the Seabees, brought his plight to the Lynn Committee, which immediately began action on his case. Acting for the Lynn Committee, Arthur Garfield Hays and Gerald Weatherly are representing four of the Seabees, Mr. McNatt, Robert Louis Mims, Harvey Steele and Clarence O. Clarke. The N.A.A.C.P. is handling the cases of most of the remaining Seabees. Since the new "G.I. Bill of Rights" provides that a soldier or sailor who has been discharged otherwise than honorably without a hearing (as was the case with the Seabees) has the right to have his case reviewed by a special military board, the case of the 19 Seabees will shortly be heard.

The Lynn Committee, which revived interest in the Seabees' case last summer, will keep it before the public eye until the injustice is redressed, and the Seabees receive the honorable discharge they deserve.

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IN THE ARMED FORCES
Nancy G. Macdonald, Treasurer
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I want to help fight to end Jim Crow in the Army.

Enclosed find $..

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Address ....

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Make your check or Post Office money order payable to *Nancy G. Macdonald, Treasurer.*
If not convenient to send a check or money order, send cash.

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Against
Jim Crow

JIM CROW
ON TRIAL

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3:00 P.M. 8:00 P.M.

SUNDAY, May 9

10:30 A.M. to 1:00 P.M.

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- --- on secret Army restrictions against Negroes.
- --- by Negro GIs, WACs, Doctors on their humiliating wartime treatment under Southern white officers.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH Speaker

ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS
Counsel for the Commission of Inquiry

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Com against Jim Crow

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SPEAKER
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

FANEUIL HALL
Friday, May 14, 8 P.M.

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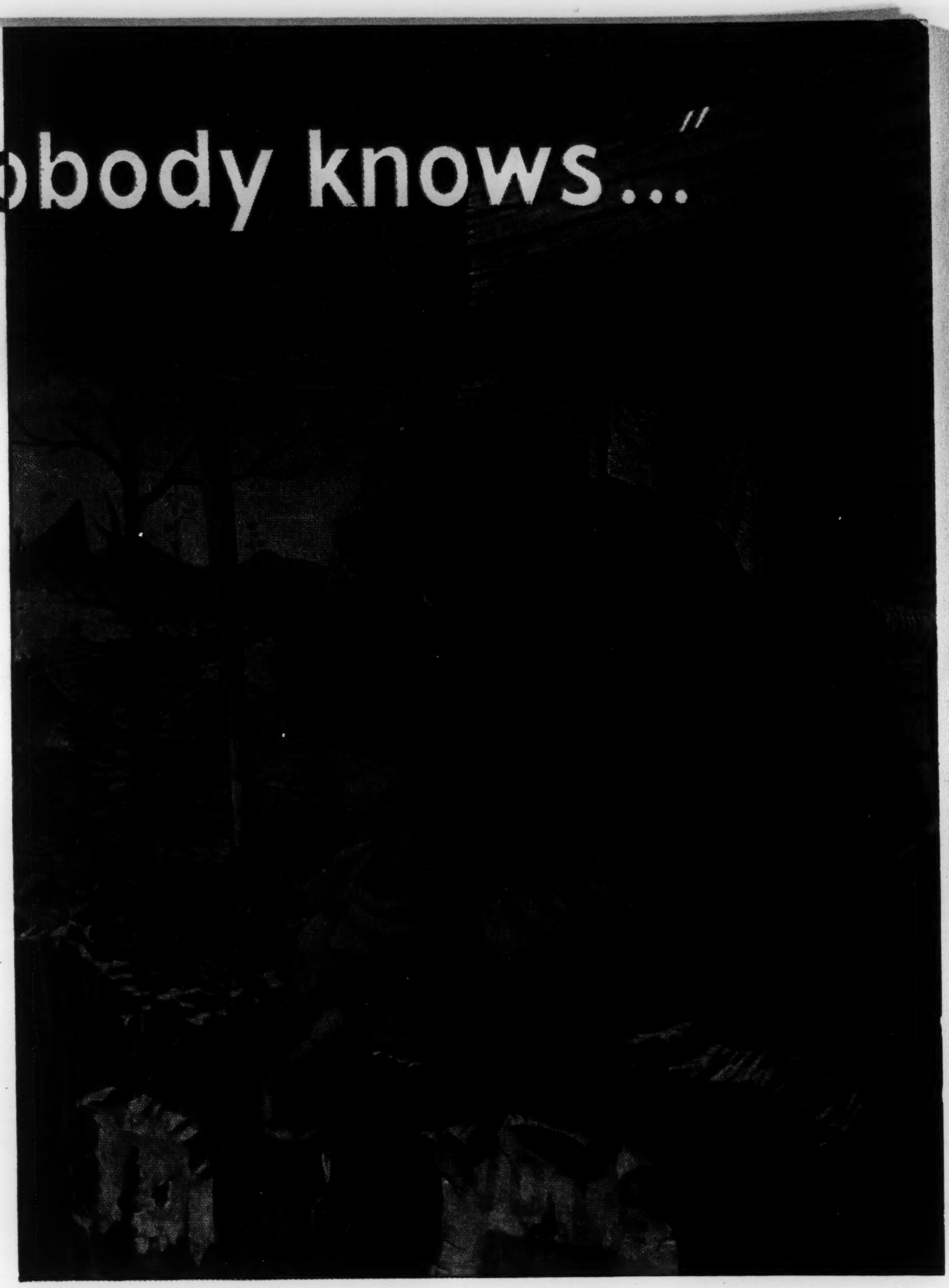
"Nobody knows..."



"The marvel of history is the patience with which men and women submit to burdens unnecessarily laid upon them by their governments."

—WILLIAM E. BORAH

"Nobody Knows..."

by

GABRIEL DeANGELIS
Education Director, Region 9,
United Auto Workers, C I O

* * *

EDITED by MARGARET HALSEY

FOREWORD by AL CAPP

ILLUSTRATIONS:
BERNARD SEAMAN
BILL MAULDIN

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* * *

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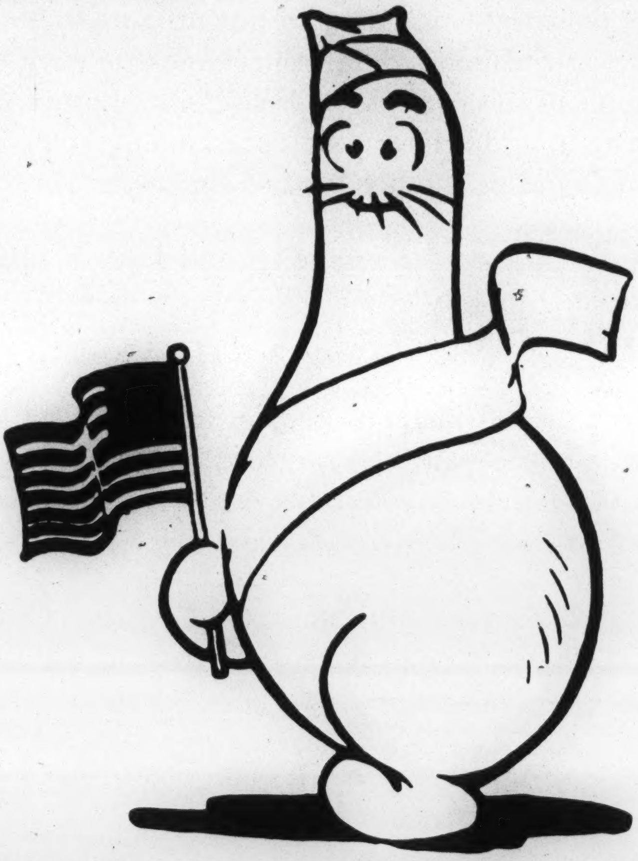
THE SHMOO IS ASHAMED

The Shmoo is a little animal that lays eggs and gives milk, both grade A, of course. When fried, it tastes exactly like chicken and when broiled comes out steak.

A Shmoo's eyes make splendid suspender buttons, and his whiskers make the finest grade of toothpicks. When you look at one, as though you'd like to eat it, it dies out of a sheer will to please you. It's a perfectly ordinary little animal.



In the Valley of the Shmoon one Shmoo is as good as the other. The Shmoos are peaceful. They don't have an Army.

But, if the Shmoos did have an Army, I know every last little loveable Shmoo would have an equal chance.

It's like the community of the Shmoos. Every last little loveable Shmoo has the same right as his fellow shmoo. Because no Shmoo could really give his all if he was stepping on the neck or getting the better of his brother Shmoo.

Shmoos get disgusted because some people are such fools. It's the most foolish thing I know to judge a man by the color of his skin. It's downright disgraceful to make the color of a man's skin a reason for keeping him apart from his fellow citizens. It's a crime against all good sense to keep men apart because of race, religion, or nationality. It's stupid and wrong to have an Army dedicated to defending this country's democracy and have this Army itself flaunt that very democracy it is dedicated to.

It's downright sickening to put up with ranting and foaming-at-the mouth of un-Americans who want to keep the people of this country suspecting one another, fearing one another, and believing that one kind of American has more rights than another kind of American.

I'm for a decent community, and I don't think any community can be decent unless every person receives equal rights of decency.

There are all kinds of people just like there are all kinds of Shmoos—all shapes, colors, dimensions, and outlooks. All of these people have one thing in common—they are people. Their common cause is a human cause.

It's sickening and anti-human to have Jim Crow any place. It's a disgrace to have Jim Crow in the military services.

And if anyone thinks that it's the job of Negroes alone to get this matter straightened out, he's mistaken.

This is a nation of all the people—and if there's to be an Army to carry the standard of all of the people, it's got to be the duty of all to rid this Army of the scurvy of color line and Jim Crow.

MILITARY JIM CROW IS ANTI-SHMOO.

Al Capp

"Nobody Knows..."

by G. J. DeANGELIS

ON JANUARY 20, 1949, Washington D.C., witnessed one of its most colorful inaugural parades. The occasion was in honor of President Truman, the little man who didn't have a chance.

Here was democracy in action. Here was an example of America lifting the underdog into the highest office in the land.

And to commemorate the occasion, the streets of Washington were filled with a giant pageant and with marching soldiers. As integrated columns — with white and Negroes marching side by side — these soldiers appeared to be a symbol of democracy.

* * * *

Men of good will had no quarrel with what they saw; men of good will applauded it. It was what they *didn't* see that told the real story. For when the pageantry was done and the order to disperse was given, the soldiers marched back to their barracks. But whites and blacks no longer marched together. Each went their separate ways —to Jim Crow barracks, USA. The Negro soldiers were a "foreign legion", an army apart. For there is not yet in America the full knowledge of the meaning of democracy.

Yes, Jim Crow is alive in America, alive in the very army dedicated to the defense of democracy. Clearly, Jim Crow—and more particularly Jim Crow in uniform—constitutes a malignant growth upon America.

WE MUST FIGHT

We cannot, in good faith, point with pride to our achievements; we cannot, with honesty, pose as a model to other nations in the world; we cannot, as a nation, hope to lead that world along the road to peace and prosperity and good will so long as we have a single Negro who cannot be served in any restaurant; so long as we have one single soldier who must live in a Jim Crow barracks.

And we must do more than lament; we must fight against this national disgrace, this absurd policy. It is not, as Al Capp says, a uniquely Negro struggle; this is a struggle for the dignity and the rights—the indivisible dignity and the indivisible rights—of man.

* * * *

That is the problem; and with that no man who employs heart and reason in the search for understanding can disagree.

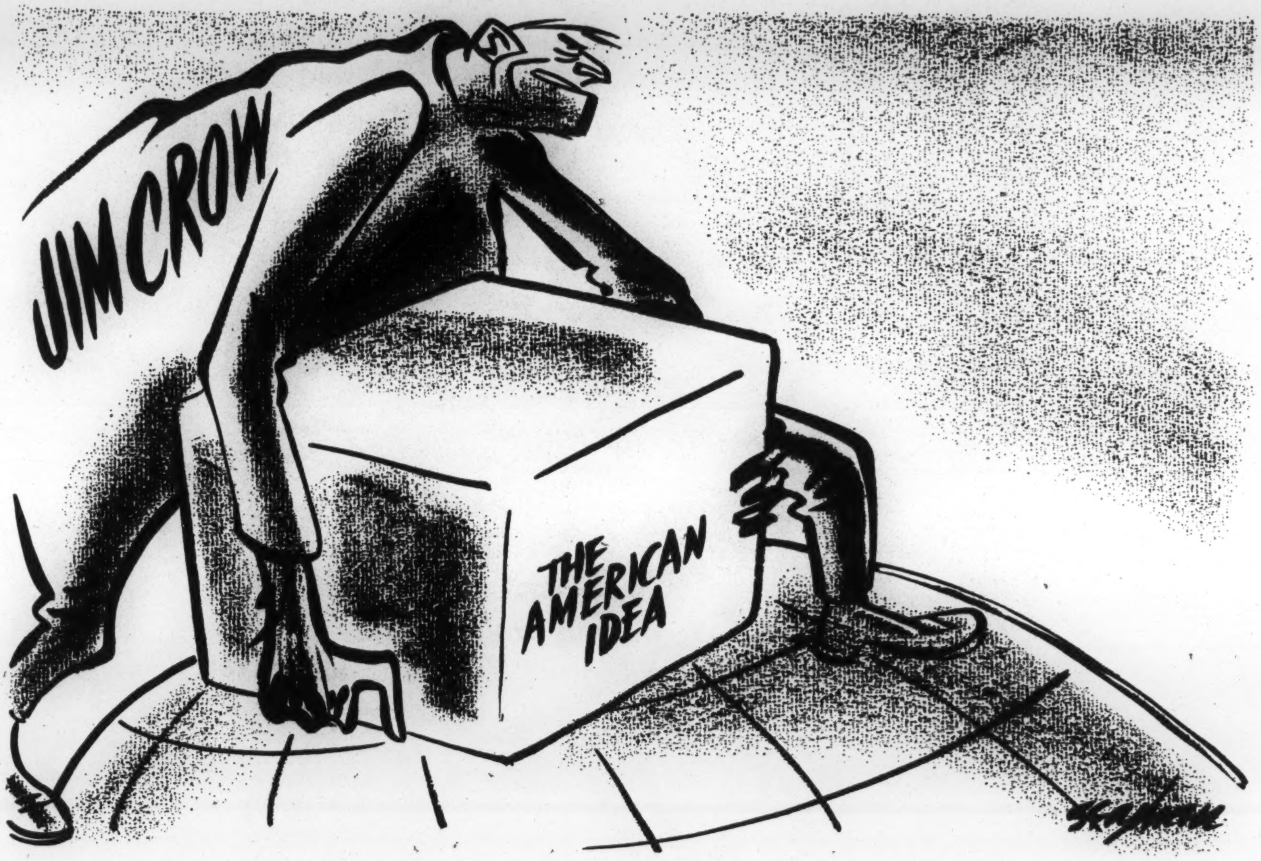
The Negro in America today is still a second-class citizen. During World War II when he was drafted, he was a second-class citizen. In effect, he was called upon to fight as a Jim Crow slave for a democracy he did not possess and did not enjoy. His treatment in the armed forces merely underscored that fact; made him bitterly conscious that even in a war against racism—even under the slogan of "national unity"—he was still a victim of racial bigotry.

The 1948 hearings before the Senate Armed Services Committee on Selective Service, as well as the hearings to date before the unofficial Commission of Inquiry into the Wartime Treatment of Negro GIs,* have brought forth a wealth of testimony to this effect.

* * * *

**The Commission of Inquiry, with Arthur Garfield Hays as counsel, is sponsored by the Committee Against Jim Crow in Military Service and Training.*

IN DIRTY HANDS



> *"We found that, even though the Navy had issued a certain revised racial policy, that as we got out into the Pacific it was absolutely ignored in many places, sometimes not even known and in many places not working at all because it didn't have the backing of the Commander or Commandant."*
>
> HARRY S. McALPIN, journalist-testifying before the Commission of Inquiry, January 8, 1949

The Negro serviceman was treated with contempt. The witnesses recited case after case of intolerance and abuse, all springing from the divisive base of segregation.

Alton Levy, a white Army sergeant, who was court-martialed in 1943 for opposing Jim Crow, painted a vivid picture of Negro soldiers forced to walk two miles to the mess hall at Lincoln, Nebraska, air base; he told how white soldiers could get passes nightly while Negro passes were restricted to 52 out of a total Negro population of 300 at the field.

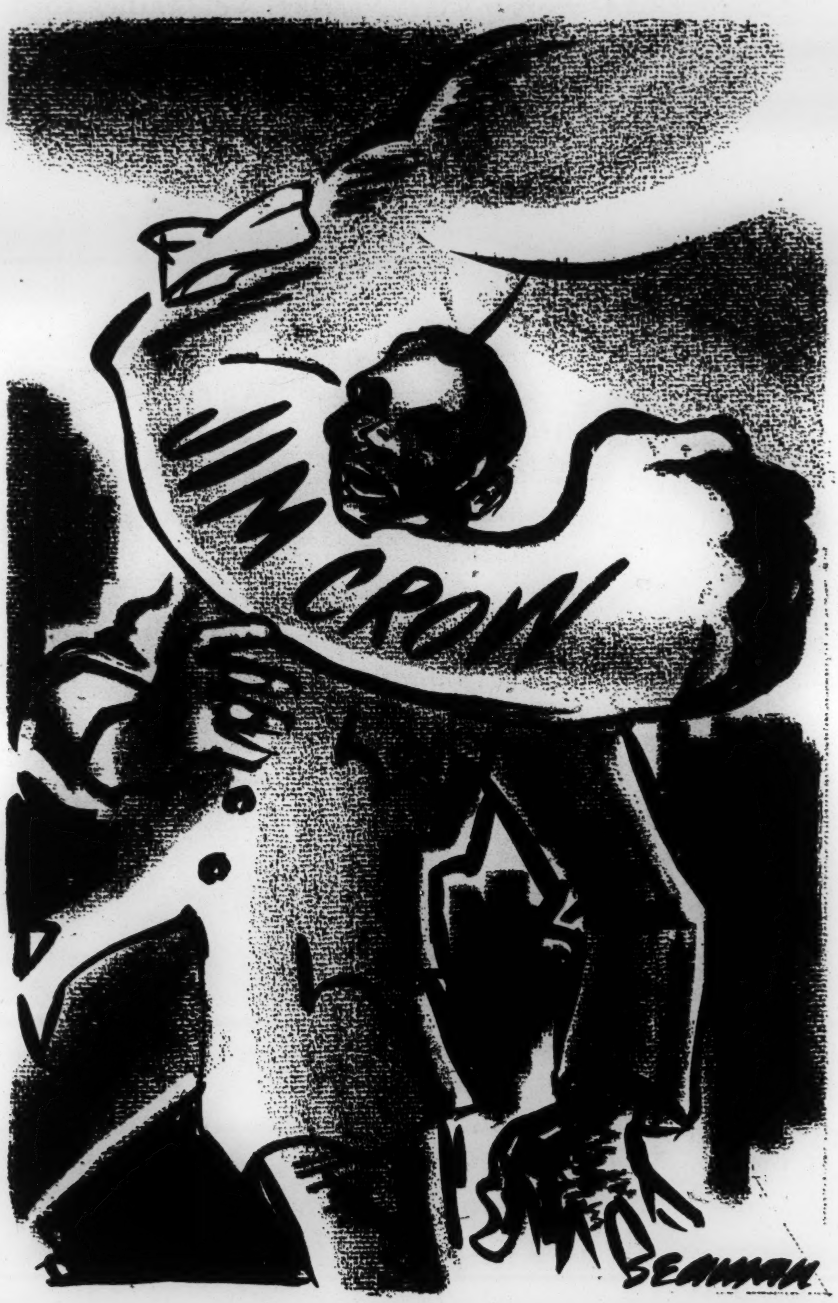
* * * *

UNEQUAL TREATMENT

He told of inadequately stocked PXs for Negroes, of how Negro soldiers had to sleep on canvas cots with one blanket, while white GIs had regular Army cots with enough covers to keep warm. And he told how at the Adjutant's School of Advanced Army Administration, not a single Negro had ever been enrolled, although many qualified. This biased treatment was by no means restricted to Army personnel. And Alton Levy's evidence was repeated over and over again by other witnesses and observers of the harsh inequality meted out to Negroes in the American armed forces. In the Navy the Negro had a virtual—and unsought—monopoly on messmen jobs, the most menial in that branch of service. The war's end found only a handful of Negroes who had been promoted to Ensign.

That Negro and white could work together and play together without damage to efficiency and without friction was brought out by Hoyt Haddock of the CIO Maritime Committee. Mr. Haddock testified before the Commission of Inquiry that on wartime merchant ships the Navy gun crews were exclusively white. He stated that these crewmen mixed freely with the civilian seamen on

WE PLEDGE ALLEGIANCE



"Twelve Negro soldiers, having no formal charge against them, were herded into outdoor barbed-wire pens at Fort Huachuca, Arizona, and kept there for days during March 1942, without hot food and without shelter, except mattress covers into which they were forced to crawl like animals in order to have any type of shelter."

—Grant Reynolds, testifying before the Senate Armed Services Committee, March 31, 1948 the merchant vessels—although an average of 17% of these merchant seamen were Negroes. Yet, rather than do the sensible thing and send mixed gun crews onto these vessels, the Navy issued strict orders against further fraternization.

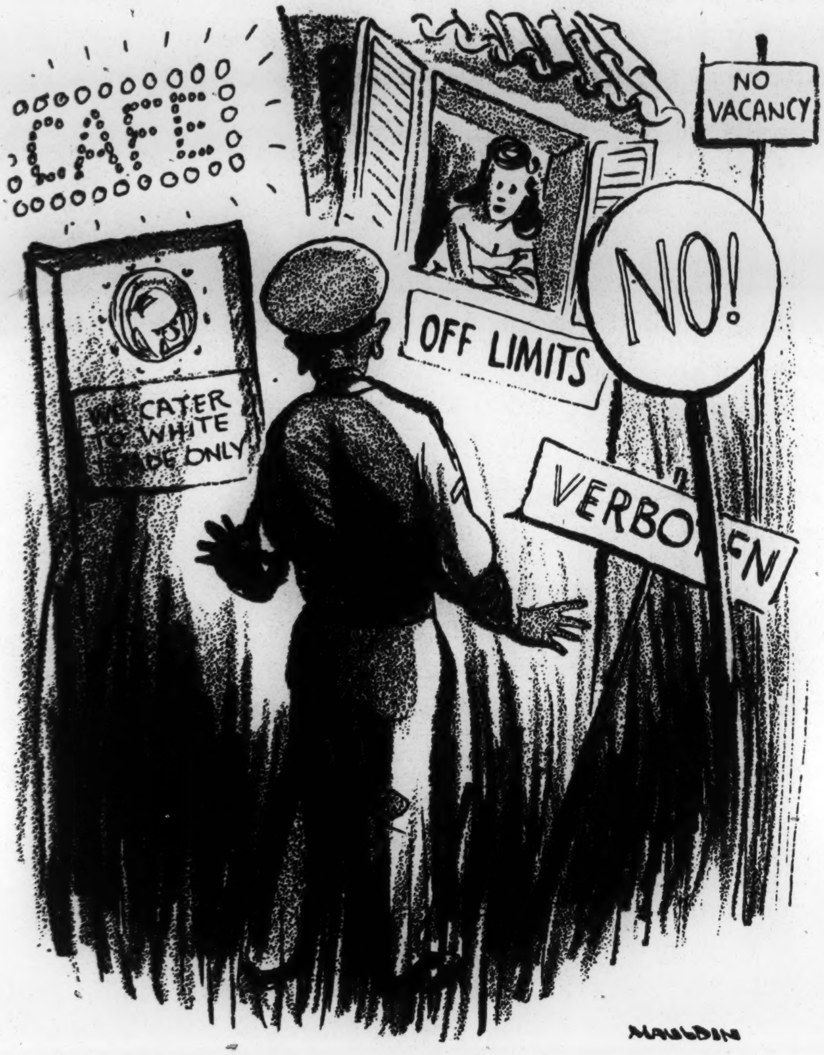
NAKED STUPIDITY

The hundreds of pages of testimony on discrimination and segregation reveal prejudice in all its naked stupidity. At a time when the Army desperately needed 10,000 meteorologists, all qualified Negroes were rejected. The Marine Corps imposed written barriers to promotion of Negroes: letters signed by the Commandant and marked confidential said that under no circumstances should colored non-commissioned officers outnumber or outrank white non-commissioned officers.

* * * *

The Experimental UMT camp at Fort Knox—hailed by brass hats as a chance to "unify" and educate youth—excluded Negroes. Testimony demonstrated that the Air Force "Jim Crowed" Negro pilots and that the Army often has gone out of its way to recognize and cater to the degrading Jim Crow laws of Southern communities. In Camp Lee, Virginia, in 1941, the only Army prophylactic station was "off limits" for Negro troops. And—supreme irony!—Negro soldiers were barred from eating in restaurants which served Nazi prisoners-of-war.

Is it any wonder that Jesse O. Dedmon, Jr., then veterans' affairs secretary for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, made the following statement before the Senate Armed Services Committee: "We gain little if now and in the future the military protects us from Hitler's brand of racism, yet itself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VERBOTEN
MAULDIN

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> *"In Czechoslovakia, which was then occupied by the Red Army, the Russians had been able to make absolutely magnificent propaganda out of our treatment of Negro troops. Every Czech who wanted to be pro-West would come to you for an argument and say, 'What can we say in reply to this?' There was no rational answer that any of us could give them . . . We can always be accused of hypocrisy because we are hypocritical."*
>
> —William Walton, former TIME and LIFE war correspondent — before Commission of Inquiry, January 8, 1949

exemplifies, and by its own organization, impresses upon the minds of our young men a domestic brand of racism equally at variance with democratic ideals."

* * * *

That's the problem in a nut shell. What are we going to do about it? Certainly in a nation such as ours the solution can be found. Certainly, in the hands of a people which has split the atom, which has constructed a faster-than-sound plane—certainly in our hands lies the skill, the human engineering, necessary to put an end to organized and sanctified race hatred in our armed forces.

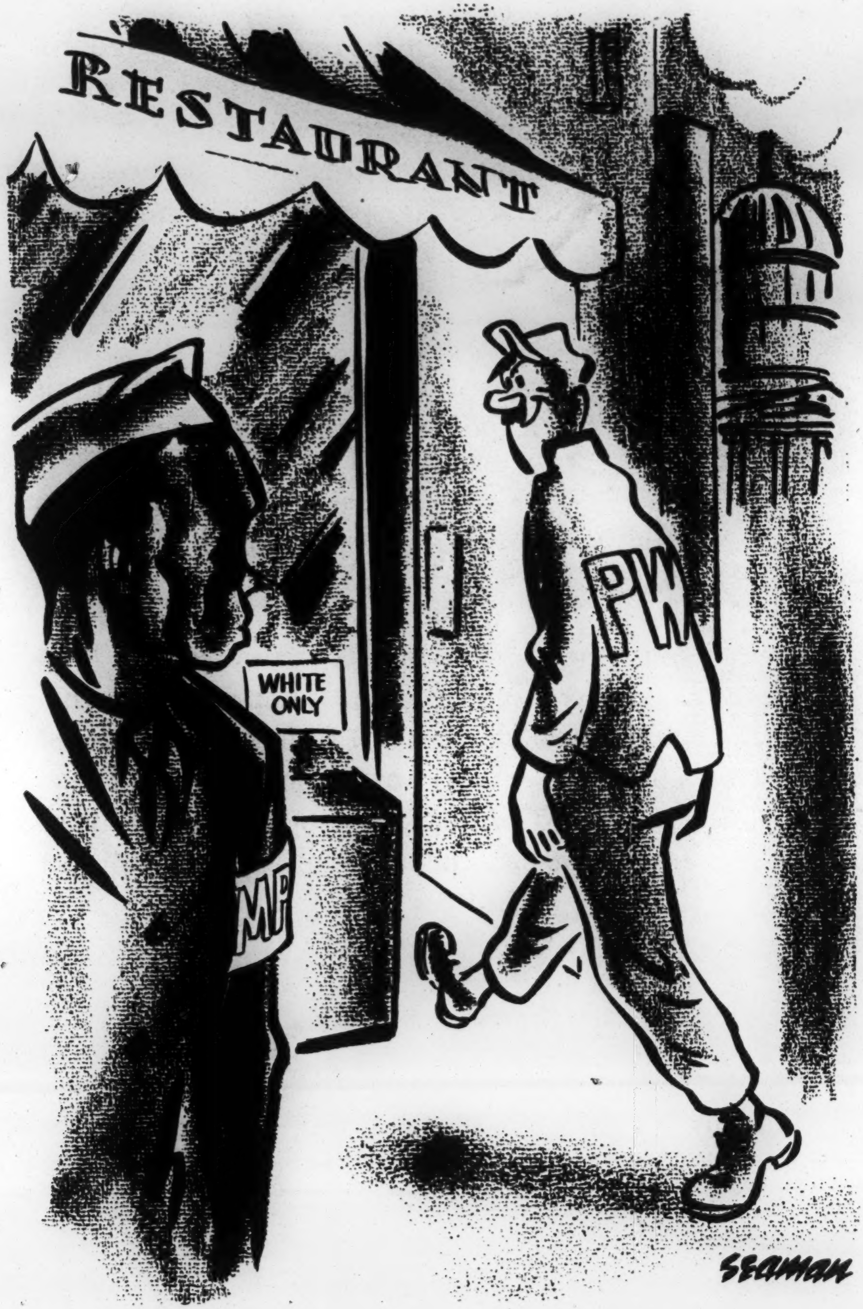
There are fourteen million Negroes in the United States and one million of them are veterans of both wars. One million Negroes have had the embittering experience of serving in a Jim Crow Army and Navy.

SERIOUS BUSINESS

It was scarcely surprising, therefore, when former Army chaplain Grant Reynolds, member of the New York State Commission of Correction, and A. Philip Randolph, president of the AFL Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, laid it bluntly on the line on March 31, 1948, before the Senate Armed Services Committee. They made it clear that Negroes could not be expected to accept a conscription law unless Congress included an anti-segregation provision or unless President Truman issued an executive order. They went further. They testified that many Negroes would practice civil disobedience and that they personally would urge Negro and white youth to boycott the registration and induction machinery.

* * * *

This was serious business, and a lot of senatorial eyebrows were raised in horror. But this firm "declaration of Negro freedom" came only after fruitless correspondence



> *"Because discrimination against Negro Americans in Washington, D.C. . . . is particularly odious when directed against Negroes in uniform, I shall introduce an amendment (to the 1948 Draft Act) which would ban discrimination and segregation in Washington public facilities for Negro servicemen and draftees."*
>
> —SENATOR WILLIAM LANGER (R., N.D.)—statement to Arthur Garfield Hays, counsel, Commission of Inquiry, January 8, 1949

with Capitol Hill and the White House. It followed numerous conferences with Congressional leaders and a lengthy conference, nine days before, with President Truman himself. No commitments had been obtained. Republicans and Democrats alike spoke in platitudes—but gave no assurance that military Jim Crow would be banned.

It was an excellent job of passing the buck, and for this reason Reynolds and Randolph reminded the Senate:

"Our grievances are being tossed around in Washington between the White House and Capitol Hill."

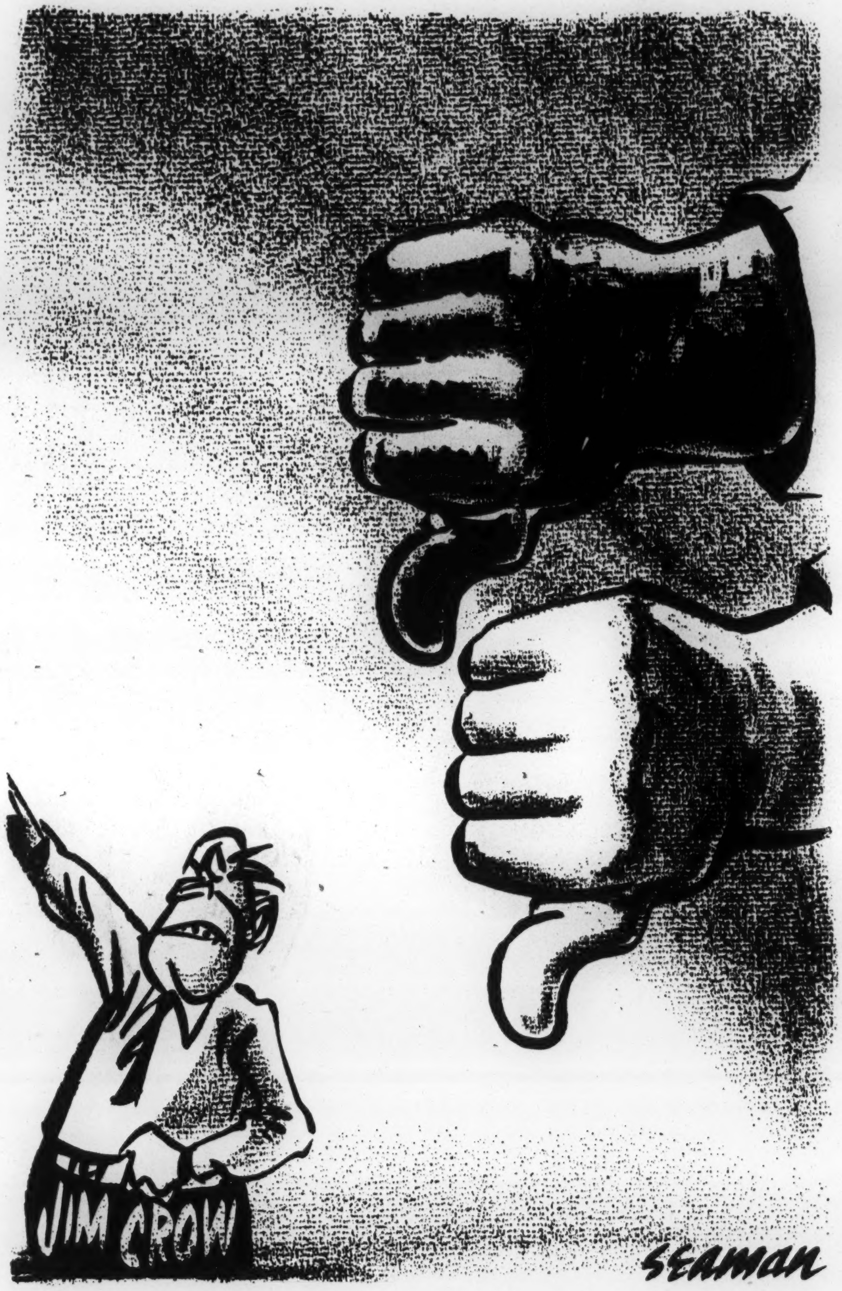
Yet, despite the validity of this testimony, the 80th Congress killed seven of the eight comprehensive civil rights amendments to the draft bill which were proposed in the House of Representatives by Jacob Javits and Helen Gahagan Douglas and in the Senate by Senator William Langer. Congress passed the anti-poll tax amendment (which applies only to draftees) as a sop to Negro voters.

Phil →

* * * *

On July 26, 1948, one month before draft registration date—and after Mr. Randolph had been publicly violating the law by counseling specific individuals not to register—President Truman issued an Executive Order. Under it he set up an official committee of seven civilians to advise him on implementing the new policy of nondiscrimination and what he termed "the eventual abolition of segregation in the armed forces."

As Mr. Reynolds and Mr. Randolph had publicly pledged, the civil disobedience movement was then called off in fulfillment of a moral commitment to discontinue the civil disobedience campaign in the event of a Presidential executive order banning discrimination and seg-



> *"The Stage Door Canteen's policy of non-segregation worked. It worked because the people who were responsible for it wanted it to work, and devoted time, energy nd thought to that end . . . It is more satisfying to take tand for racial equality than to continue shamefacedly ding to the illicit passion of the prejudiced."*
>
> —Margaret Halsey—statement to Commission of Inquiry, January 8, 1949

regation in the armed forces. The report of the President's Committee—on which sit two Negro leaders, Lester B. Granger and John H. Sengstacke—is due in the hands of the President by June 1949.

NEW ORDER IMPERATIVE

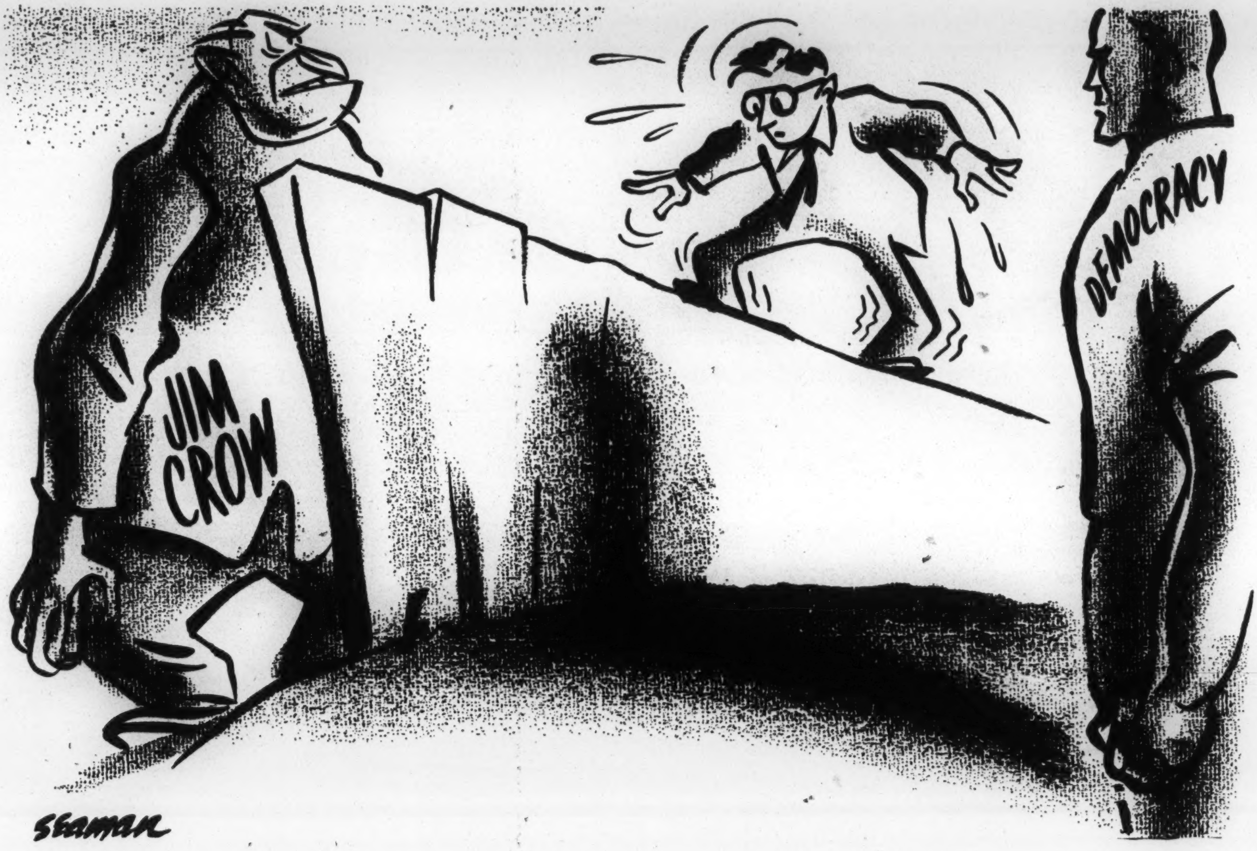
The evidence of the harmful effects of segregation makes it imperative for the President's Committee to recommend nothing less than another executive order. The order should clearly outlaw military segregation in all of its forms and manifestations.

* * * *

An executive order is one way of solving the problem of military segregation. The President, as Commander-in-Chief, can declare that henceforth segregation shall be eliminated. It can be that simple. Of course, despite such an order, Army brass may be expected to stall and sabotage its immediate implementation. But such an order would renew the faith of the Negro and give him confidence and hope.

Another possible and more effective solution is the outlawing by Congress of segregation in the armed forces. Certainly, Army and Navy brass would think twice before violating the law, regardless of prejudice.

The 81st Congress can take initial action at any time. By passing the Langer-Javits amendments to the Draft Act, Congress can safeguard Negro draftees from Jim Crow practices within military installations and within bigoted civilian communities. By protecting the uniform of Negro GIs from humiliation and attack, Congress can provide an entering wedge for the entire civil rights program.



"It's been our experience (at New York's Stage Door Canteen) that most Negroes are willing to go more than halfway with white people in whose good faith they believe . . . But how can they believe in our good faith . . . if we don't demonstrate it?"

—Margaret Halsey in "Some of My Best Friends Are Soldiers"

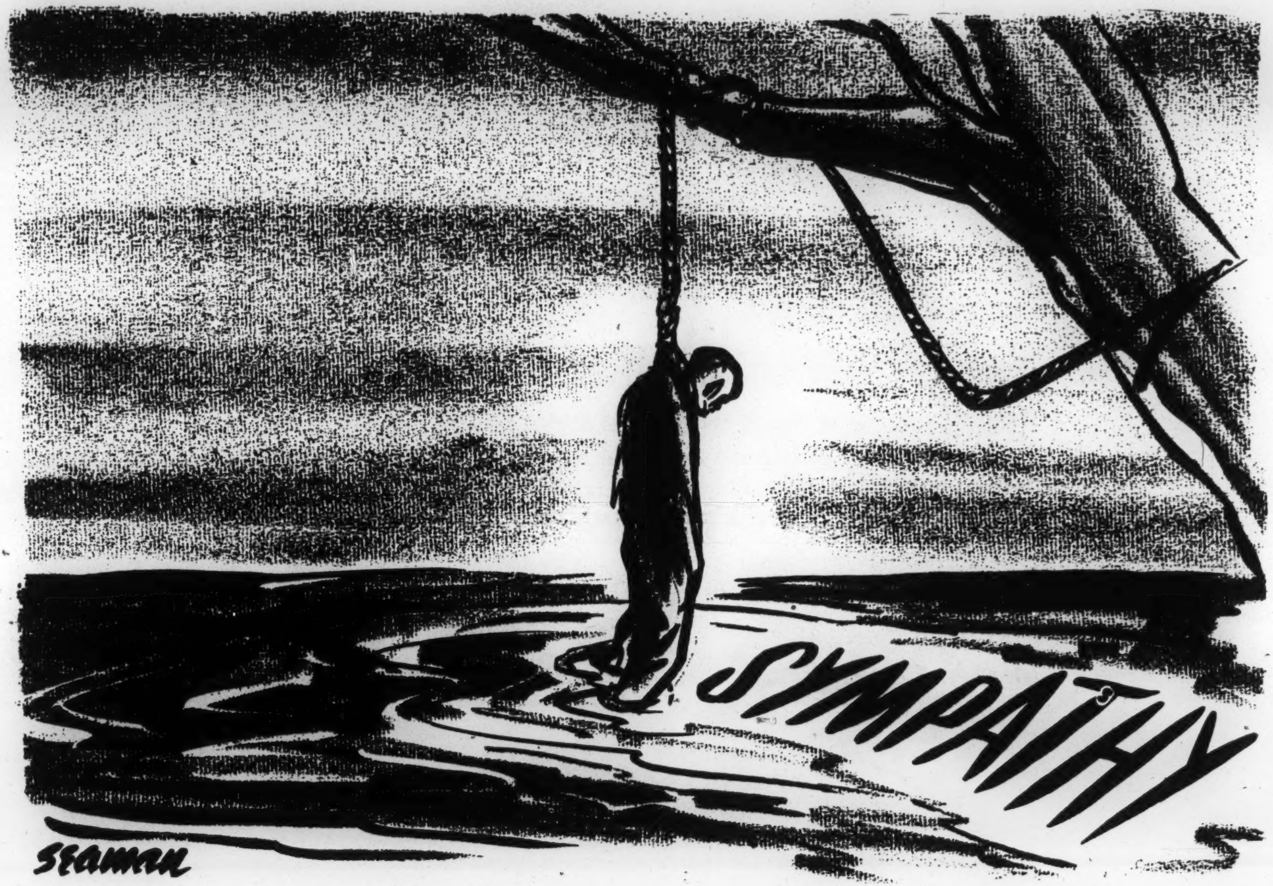
Nor does everything depend on far-away Washington. State legislatures can follow the example of New Jersey and abolish segregation in the National Guard. Army brass in the Pentagon at first threatened the governor of New Jersey and hinted that they would cancel federal recognition and federal funds for the Jersey Guard. But when the chips were down and the governor stood firm against Jim Crow, the Army retreated.

HOPEFUL SIGNS

Already champions of full democracy are pushing on the state and national fronts. Both in the AFL and CIO, as well as in church and civic groups, the fight is under way. Many of these groups have functioning committees dedicated to the elimination of Jim Crow wherever it is found. The United Automobile Workers, CIO, under the co-chairmanship of Walter P. Reuther and William H. Oliver, has a full-time Fair Practices Committee. In Atlanta, St. Louis and other cities, AFL and CIO unions subordinate other differences to sponsor jointly workers education programs on discrimination.

These are hopeful signs. The trends are progressive. In some ways it is now fashionable to *say* you're opposed to old Jim Crow. But what we need now is an end to fence-sitting and lazy liberals, an end to sympathy operating in a vacuum. Men of good will must put some good, old-fashioned pressure on the President; must goad their legislators and congressmen into action; must get after their unions and their other organizations—which rightfully support humane causes across the oceans and continents—to take a forthright position on *this* cause here at home.

The alternative to a winning fight on this question is a sorry one to contemplate. It will mean that the Negro, who faces limited opportunities in civilian life, may well



"There are very serious and narrow limits to what people can get if they depend on sympathy *and ordinary good manners. All you get is a* tear, *and it doesn't mean a damn thing . . . If you put up a racket and make a rumpus and create a nuisance, the brass hats have got to do something about you."*

—I. F. Stone, at Commission of Inquiry hearing, January 8, 1949 prove reluctant to enter an army where those limitations are enforced and magnified. It will mean that he will grow increasingly resentful and increasingly distrustful — and understandably so.

* * * *

Lethargic or downright prejudiced people will say that it is not "practical" or "realistic" to end Jim Crow in the Army and Navy.

But nothing is demonstrably unworkable until you have tried to make it work and have failed. Witness Robert Fulton and the steamboat, or the Wright brothers and the airplane.

In those very small areas in the Army where a sincere and intelligent attempt was made to operate on the basis of racial equality, the attempts *did* succeed.

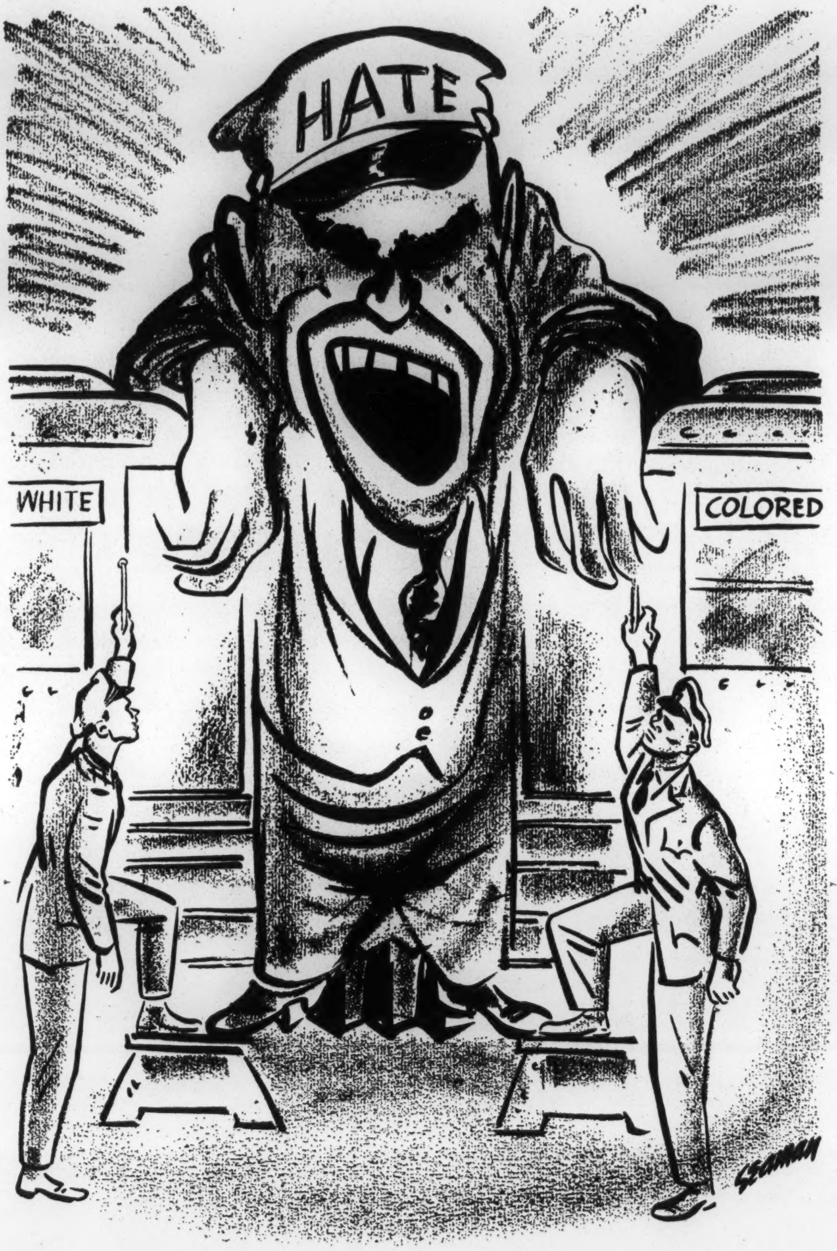
PRACTICES WERE NOTED

Three-quarters of the people on this planet are non-white. In the last war, our armies and navies went to all the seas and land masses of the world. Their discriminatory practices were instantly noted by the world's population and have not been forgotten.

* * * *

Another philosophy of government—and a very strenuous and energetic one—is competing with us for the loyalty of the world's population. From a "realistic" point of view, the simple and literal truth is that we can no longer afford Jim Crow in the Army and Navy.

Our account is overdrawn.



"After we had occupied Germany the few Germans with whom we could talk would merely say to us when the whole matter of anti-Semitism was brought up, 'Well, we have our Jewish problem, you have your Negro problem. We handled it our way. You handle it almost the same way'."

—William Walton, former TIME and LIFE war correspondent — before Commission of Inquiry, January 8, 1949

TO BE SPECIFIC:

A United Press dispatch on March 23, 1949, stated that Major General Lewis B. Hershey, National Selective Service Chief, will recommend that Congress extend the 1948 Draft Act when it expires in June, 1950. It is therefore imperative that the Act be amended:

1. To prohibit all *segregation* and discrimination in the entire Selective Service program. Provision should be made for injunctive relief and writs of habeas corpus in federal courts for a person subjected to any form of military Jim Crow.

2. To bar all Jim Crow in interstate travel for persons in uniform. Enforcement of *segregation* and discrimination on busses, trains, boats or planes should be made a federal offense, with a provision for civil suits for damages.

3. To make attacks on, or lynching of, a draftee a federal offense, with severe penalties. This provision should apply to local police (who gouged out the eyes of GI Isaac Woodard and went scot free) as well as to civilians.

4. To give draftees and other military personnel the option of not serving in states with pro-segregation and pro-discrimination statutes on their books.

5. To forbid federal dictation of *segregation* in the National Guard.

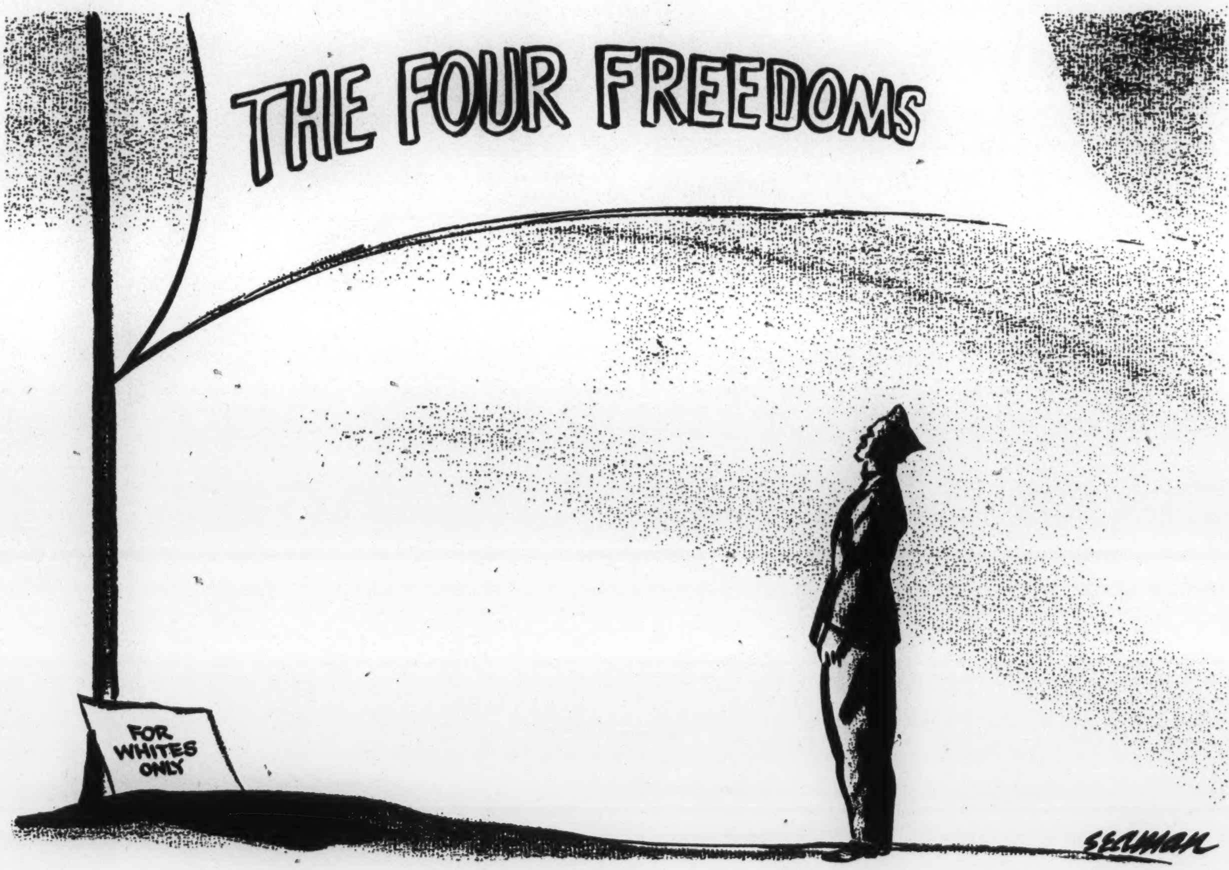
6. To provide (as recommended by the President's Committee on Civil Rights) that "no member of the armed forces shall be subject to discrimination of any kind by any public authority or place of public accommodation, recreation, transportation or other service or business."

7. To ban in the District of Columbia discrimination and segregation in public facilities for draftees and servicemen in uniform.

8. To require fair employment practices on the part of contractors or merchants holding government contracts under the Draft Act—a "Walsh-Healey Act" in race relations.

Contributions to help further this program may be sent to the Committee Against Jim Crow In Military Service and Training.

"Look Down, Look Down"


THE FOUR FREEDOMS
FOR WHITES ONLY
SEAMAN

"Before we will be slaves we'll be buried in our graves."

—Quoted from an old spiritual by A. PHILIP RANDOLPH before the Senate Armed Services Committee, March 31, 1946.

ABOUT THE ARTIST

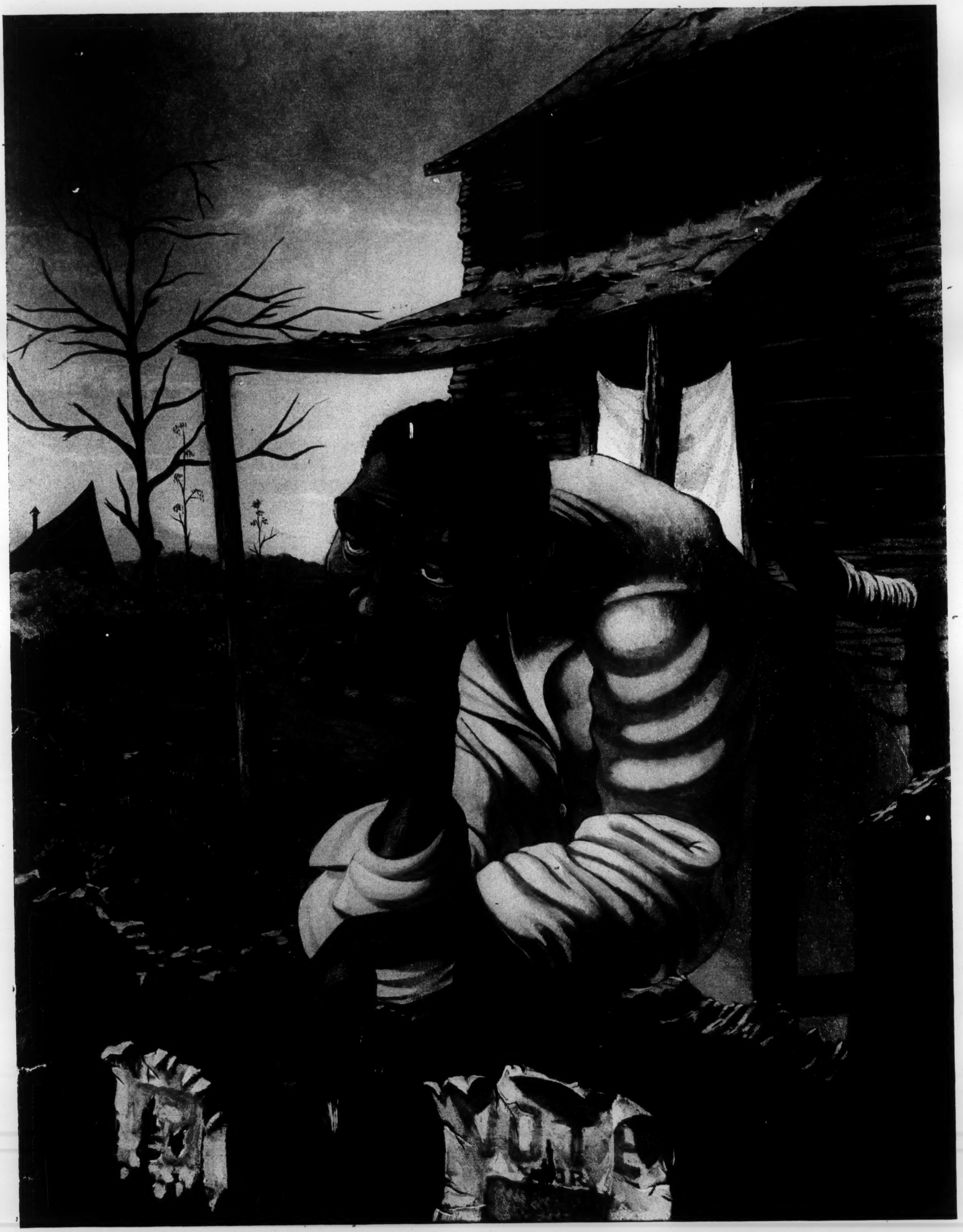
Carmelo González Iglésias was born in Havana, Cuba, July 16, 1920. In 1937 he entered the Free Studio for Painters and Sculptors and the government-sponsored San Alejandro Academy of Fine Arts in Havana. While studying at the Academy he won several important academic prizes and received one of the coveted government-sponsored travel-scholarships upon his graduation in 1945.

Iglésias chose to study in the United States and arrived here in August 1946. Most of his 18 months in the United States were spent in New York. In August 1948 he returned to Havana and since then has had successful showings of his works in Cuba, Mexico and the United States. His works are included in numerous private collections in Cuba and the United States and have been reproduced in important art and literature periodicals.

Carmelo González Iglésias is an artist of fine sensibilities. While in New York he became acutely aware of the "Negro problem" as it reveals itself to open-minded visitors to this country. In several drawings he has registered a vital reaction to the humiliating conditions of the masses of the Negro people. One of the finest expressions he has yet given to his conscious study of the American scene is the painting which appears on the cover of this pamphlet.

* * * *

For information on color reproductions of the original painting on the cover, write to: Committee Against Jim Crow in Military Service and Training—Suite 706, 112 East 19 Street, New York 3, N. Y.


VOTE

NO JIM CROW DRAFT

Drive Seeks to Ban Segregation in Bill On Universal Training

A campaign is under way today to seek an amendment to the proposed universal military training bill, which would provide adequate provisions against discrimination and segregation in connection with colored troops.

A. Philip Randolph, national president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and Grant Reynolds, New York State Commissioner of Correction, yesterday reported results of conversations with legislators and others on the matter. They told of their findings at a press conference in Slowe Hall, 1919 Third street N.W.

Mr. Randolph is national treasurer of the Committee Against Jim Crow in Military Service and Training, and Mr. Reynolds is national chairman of the group, which is seeking the amendment.

Reynolds Sees Reece.

Mr. Reynolds said that among those seen was Carroll Reece, National Republican Committee chairman, and that Mr. Reece expressed confidence the Republican plank of 1944 pertaining to the matter would be maintained.

The platform, Mr. Reynolds said, stated: "We unreservedly condemn the injection into American living all appeals to racial and religious prejudice. We pledge an immediate congressional inquiry to ascertain the extent to which mistreatment, segregation and discrimination against Negroes who are in the armed forces are impairing morale and efficiency and the adoption of corrective legislation."

Halleck Against Haste.

Mr. Randolph said he was informed by House Majority Floor Leader Halleck that the legislator feels this is an important question and should not be "railroaded through Congress" without being given proper consideration.

In addition, Mr. Reynolds pointed out that Representative Brown, Republican, of Ohio, and a member of the House Rules Committee told him he is opposed to discrimination in the armed services.

Chairman Andrews of the House Armed Services Committee was quoted by Mr. Reynolds as being "in favor of limited segregation."

WASHINGTON EVENING STAR
December 2, 1947

Brass Hats and Jim Crow

The drive for universal military training, backed by the War Department and the officer corps persists, and by admission of Chairman Walter G. Andrews of the House Armed Forces Committee, H.R. 4278, the bill to bring this about is an avowed jim crow measure.

The brass hats are determined that colored youth will be segregated in the armed forces as they were before and during World War II, and as they are today.

These men will do everything within their power to prevent any move to integrate young Negroes in all branches of the armed services, and most of the members of Congress seem to be willing to follow their lead.

Consequently, regardless of what colored citizens may otherwise think about universal military service as a means of national defense, they must fight it because, as currently conceived, it is a jim crow proposition which will humiliate and embitter our young men.

However, it is not enough merely to be opposed to this pending measure—we must let our legislators in Washington know that we are opposed to it.

This means that we must write letters and send telegrams to them, letting them know how we feel, and when hearings are held in Washington we must send delegations there to speak against the measure.

There is some doubt whether universal peace-time military training is necessary in this day of mechanized and push-button warfare, and certainly it will be a most heavy burden on the taxpayers of the United States for generations to come.

But there is no question about the ill effects of Federally sponsored segregation on colored youth which will surely follow the legalization of peace-time conscription as the brass hats have planned it.

If we do not stop this thing now, we shall have segregation fastened upon us more tightly than ever for years to come.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 10, 1948
THE PITTSBURGH COURIER

Martin Says He Will Fight Jim Crowism in UMT Measure

By OLIVER PILAT
Post Staff Correspondent

Washington, Feb. 5—Speaker Martin (R-Mass.) today declared he would oppose any form of universal military training which did not eliminate racial segregation.

The Speaker urged that the House Armed Services Committee, which reported out an UMT bill last year without giving more than a score of farm, church and educational groups a chance to testify, reopen hearings, to give these grtoups and particularly Negro veterans a chance to express their views.

NEW YORK POST, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 5, 1948

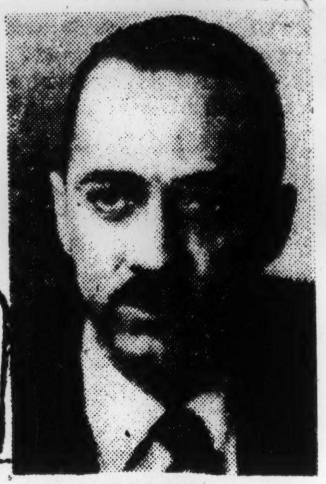
Washington Memo

UMT Has Not Been Bias-Proofed— Negro Segregation Apparently Slated

Washington, Jan. 16.

Continued discrimination against Negroes as a factor in American life is now threatening to reduce the already slim chances of approval of a system of universal military training which President Truman says is "vital to the security of this nation and to the maintenance of its leadership."

Negroes are justifiably determined that if UMT becomes national policy, they are not going to continue to be treated as second-class citizens-in-arms.



HASTIE

Preliminary steps toward segregation under UMT have been indirect, almost imperceptible. The President's Commission on Universal Training recommended no discrimination, but it did not bar segregation and in fact left the door open for the formation of separate Negro units.

The present UMT bill, which has won committee approval in the House, does not mention racial discrimination or segregation, but analysis of its provisions shows each boy would spend six months in a Jim Crow training camp.

After his first half-year, the boy could choose between the Regular Army, where there is segregation, a college ROTC unit or the National Guard. for his second half-year.

Many Negroes cannot afford college, and anyway most college ROTCs discriminate. As for the National Guard, that is up to the states. Most states have made no plans for Negroes in the National Guard and of those that have all but three require segregation, according to the War Dept.

That would leave most Negroes facing the choice between the Jim Crow Regular Army and an extra six months in Jim Crow UMT camps.

One straw in the wind was the fact that the War Dept. included no Negroes among the 600 trainees at its experimental Ft. Knox, Ky., UMT camp, the widely advertised model for the national program.

Brig. Gen. John M. Devine, in charge of the camp, explained that in such a small unit it was not practical to form a separate platoon of Negroes. In other words, he was thinking in terms of segregation.

A clergyman serving on the Ft. Knox advisory committee regretted the omission of Negroes but pointed out that "the South might oppose UMT if Negroes were included."

Congressional opponents of UMT have also not been slow to realize that Southerners are among the most enthusiastic supporters of the present bill. They have acted accordingly.

Chairman Taft (R-Ohio), of the G.O.P. Policy Committee in the Senate, outstanding Congressional opponent of UMT, promises he will support any and all amendments requiring racial equality—though he will vote against the eventual bill, even if so amended.

* * *

The lesson of World War II will not be quickly forgotten by Negro leaders. The Selective Service and Training Act of 1940 had a clause forbidding racial discrimination, but that clause was interpreted by the Army to permit segregation and the interpretation was upheld by the courts.

Men like William H. Hastie, now Governor of the Virgin Islands, fought a heart-breaking battle for equality within the War Dept. during the war before finally acknowledging temporary defeat.

The Committee Against Jim Crow in Military Service and Training recently was formed with New York State Commissioner of Correction Grant Reynolds as chairman and A. Philip Randolph, head of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, as treasurer, in an effort to spell out effective equality in any UMT law.

One amendment now being framed for Congressional consideration by the Reynolds-Randolph committee would prohibit segregation and discrimination in the entire UMT program, not only during the first six months of training, but also in the second six months, whether that involved service in ROTC, National Guard or reserve. Another amendment would bar all Jim Crow in interstate travel for UMT trainees.

NEW YORK POST. FRIDAY, JANUARY 16, 1948

Harlem Leader Hits 'Jim Crow' U. M. T. Plans

Grant Reynolds Sees Army and Congress Failing to Keep Abreast of Public

By Edgar T. Rouzeau

Congress and the War Department are not abreast of public opinion on the question of racial segregation in the armed services, Grant Reynolds, Harlem civic leader, said yesterday.

He said adoption by Congress of universal military training "under Jim Crow conditions" would be a grave mistake. He said it would be "a great disillusionment to white and Negro youths who are being taught everywhere to disregard outmoded theories of racial superiority."

Committee Opposes Bill

Mr. Reyonlds spoke as chairman of the Committee Against Jim Crow in Military Training and Service, 217 West 125th Street. The committee, backed by 200 Negro leaders and organizations, is opposed to Congressional passage of H. R. 4278, which provides for universal military training. Objection is based on the fact that the measure carries no provision for abolishing segregation.

According to Mr. Reynolds, the measure was shoved through the House Armed Services Committee "in a great hurry." He said Negro organizations did not receive opportunities to voice opinions. The measure is now in the House Rules Committee awaiting calendar assignment.

"The attempt by the armed forces to steam-roller conscription legislation through Congress, without even a mention of equality for Negro youths, has done more than anything else to revive the wartime resentment of Negroes," said Mr. Reynolds.

A group of Negroes, including Mr. Reynolds and A. Philip Randolph, treasurer of the committee, visited Washington last week to consult with Congressional leaders. Mr. Reynolds reports that they met with sentiment "hardly worthy of statesmen." He said Representative Walter G. Andrews, Republican, of Buffalo, N. Y., chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, besides refusing to recall the bill for public hearings, had informed the delegation that he was in favor of "limited segregation, in keeping with Army policy."

Buck-Passing Charged

To Mr. Reynolds, this was a case of passing the buck. He said it is a standard excuse of Army officials to say the Army is not a social-reform organization. He said he often has been told that the Army simply reflects civilian practices and that it is the business of Congress to decide whether this practice is in the country's best interests.

"If this is a representative sample of Republican thinking," Mr. Reynolds said, "then it is well that Negroes know it now. If compulsory military training is adopted without proper safeguards for Negroes, the Republican party will alienate the Negro vote beyond recall."

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE
DECEMBER 20, 1947

Group Seeks to Ban Jim-Crow UMT Program

KEY LEADERS IN NATIONWIDE
FIGHT AGAINST JIMCROW IN U.M.T.

Mary McLeod Bethune
Matthew W. Bullock
Horace R. Cayton
Rufus E. Clement
Charles R. Drew
William E. B. DuBois
Mordecai W. Johnson
Daisy E. Lampkin
Alain Locke
Rayford W. Logan
Z. Alexander Looby
Joe Louis
F. D. Patterson
Ira DeA. Reid
George S. Schuyler
Channing H. Tobias
Mrs. Robert L. Vann
Bishop William J. Walls
Philip Weightman
J. Finley Wilson
Carter G. Woodson

COMMITTEE AGAINST JIMCROW IN MILITARY
SERVICE AND TRAINING
Suite 301 - 217 West 125th St.
New York 27, N.Y.

Grant Reynolds, Chairman
A.Philip Randolph, Treasurer

Taft Pledges Jim Crow End For Military

A pledge by Sen. Robert A. Taft (R., Ohio) to support anti-segregation amendments in pending legislation for universal military training was released Saturday by Grant Reynolds, national chairman of the Committee Against Jimcrow in Military Service and training.

In a letter to the committee, composed of 200 Negro leaders, the Ohio senator stated: "I am opposed to the passage of legislation providing for universal military training, and I will support any amendment in that bill barring all racial distinctions."

Simultaneously, the Committee made public a statement by Dr. Channing H. Tobias, member of the organization and one of the two Negroes on the President's Committee on Civil rights. Citing the recent recommendations of the presidential body that there be "neither segregation nor discrimination" in any universal military training, program that congress may adopt, Dr. Tobias declared:

"Another recommendation urged congressional enactment of legislation providing that no man in uniform should be subject to discrimination of any kind by any public authority or place of public accommodation, recreation, transportation or other service or business.

"The pending bill for universal military training—H. R. 4278—is totally devoid of any of these essential recommendations. Indeed, the house armed services committee which approved this bill did not deem fit to hear testimony from the NAACP and has shown an unwillingness to hear the humiliating wartime experiences of Negro veterans.

"Negroes who came to realize the ineffectiveness of the anti-discrimination section of the Selective Training and Service act of 1940 will have confidence in nothing short of unambiguous anti-segregation amendments to prospective UMT legislation which can be enforced by civilian courts."

In line with the organization's campaign for a re-opening of hearings by the house armed services committee, Dr. Tobias concluded:

"A continued denial to Negro veterans of the right to testify on this legislation and any attempt to speed passage of what is now a jimcraw bill that would permanently touch every 18-year-old Negro and white youth would make a mockery of democracy at a time when America has its greatest opportunity to assume the moral leadership of the world."

AMSTERDAM STAR NEWS
January 3, 1948

VIEWS and Reviews

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

MOST AFRAMERICANS seem to be opposed to universal military service because of the well-grounded fear that it will also be jim-crow military service. That the chiefs of the armed services intended to segregate the colored from the white youths in all branches of the three services seems to be a foregone conclusion.

In all the innumerable statements from high officials and their civilian opposites about the alleged merits and vital necessity of conscription, there has been no word of assurance that there is to be no separation of so-called races. Consequently from the Negro viewpoint universal military service means that the Federal Government will join the Confederate South and the so-called border States in legally segregating colored and white people.

Thus, while we are slowly progressing in the battle to eliminate jim crow on the State level, we are about to lose the battle on the national level; and once we are saddled with this jim-crow conscription we shall never be able to shake it off.

* * *

WHILE WE are fighting at great expense in time and money to break down segregation in education, hospitalization and industry, the Administration is planning to take our tax money and finance the greatest segregation system of all.

Once we have this vast jim-crow system blessed by law and administration by the biggest and most powerful department in our Government which is spending the largest part of the Federal income, it will not be difficult to argue that since it works in one department there is no reason why it should not work in all.

There is certainly no consistency in fighting segregation based on color and "race" in the Post Office, Interior, Agriculture, State, Labor, Commerce and other departments and bureaus, while condoning and accepting segregation in the defense department which hires more people and spends more money than all of the other branches of Government put together.

* * *

WORSE, THE acceptance of conscription on a segregated basis will make it more difficult and illogical for this or any other administration, regardless of stated intentions, to lecture to the State, county and municipal governments and private industry about abolishing segregation.

And should a Federal FEPC law be passed, which is unlikely, the U. S. Supreme Court is going to have to turn more handsprings than a vaudeville gymnast when the NAACP law suits roll in against jim crow in the armed services.

If business firms in interstate commerce employing more than fifty persons must obey such a law, then certainly it is difficult to see how the Federal Government itself can be immune.

* * *

WITH THE armed services tremendously expanded by universal military training: i. e., conscription, we shall have segregation all over the country, including the numerous places where there is none now.

Pittsburgh Courier FEBRUARY 14. 1948

Taft, Martin, Allen Quizzed

GOP Leaders Condemn Bias in Army Training

(From Courier Press Service)

WASHINGTON—"I am definitely opposed to any segregation in Universal Military Training." This positive statement was made by House Speaker Joe Martin (R., Mass.) to a four-man delegation from the Committee Against Jim Crow in Military Training and Service here Thursday.

Headed by A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the delegation made the rounds of key Congressional leaders all day Thursday and came away with the conviction that UMT would not pass anyway, regardless of the jim-crow angle. Congress, they discovered, was not greatly interested in the bill.

TO REMAIN VIGILANT

Nevertheless, said Mr. Randolph, his committee "would remain vigilant" against the possibility that a UMT bill might try to get through Congress. The committee wants an amendment to prohibit segregation or discrimination in UMT because of race or color.

While talking to Representative Martin, the House Speaker hinted that he would favor reopening hearings in the House armed services committee on UMT legislation in order that Mr. Randolph's committee might present their amendment.

Although he knew that the House committee had concluded hearing last summer on this measure, Speaker Martin told the delegation: "I favor testimony by any Negro or veterans' groups on this matter before the armed services committee."

TAFT, ALLEN OPPOSE BIAS

Two legislators, who are opposed to UMT for other reasons, also agreed that non-discriminatory amendments should be attached to the bill. They are Senator Robert Taft and Representative Leo Allen (R., Ill.), chairman of the strong House rules committee.

Senator Chan Gurney (R., South Dakota), chairman of the Senate Armed Service Committee, told the delegation that if and when hearings were held on UMT, full opportunity would be accorded the committee against jim crow.

"BY-PASSED" BY TRUMAN

In a press conference held Thursday afternoon, Mr. Randolph said that the President by-passed the issue of jim crow in the armed services by directing the Secretary of Defense to handle the matter. "As Commander-in-Chief," said Mr. Randolph, "the President should have taken direct action himself."

Mr. Randolph was accompanied by Joseph H. B. Evans, Bill Worthy and Al Black, members of the committee.

—END JIM CROW IN WASHINGTON—

THE PITTSBURGH COURIER
SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 1948

Calls UMT Bill Public Enemy No. 1

NEW YORK (ANP)—Immediate action by colored mothers against possible Congressional enactment of a permanent jim-crow military draft was urged Saturday by Mrs. Emma Clarissa Clement of Louisville, 72-year-old American Mother of 1946, and first colored woman to be selected for this award by the Golden Rule Foundation.

In a Christmas statement released in New York by the Committee Against Jim-Crow in Military Service and Training, Mrs. Clement charged that pending legislation for universal military training would subject colored youth "to a year or more of 'service' in jim-crow Army camps, jim-crow battalions and jim-crow transportation through Southern States.

"To us who had sons in the last war," Mrs. Clement stated, "nothing could be more of a betrayal of the ideals for which they fought. To mothers who for the first time would see their sons dragged off in peace-time and exposed to various types of discrimination, this legislation is Public Enemy No. 1."

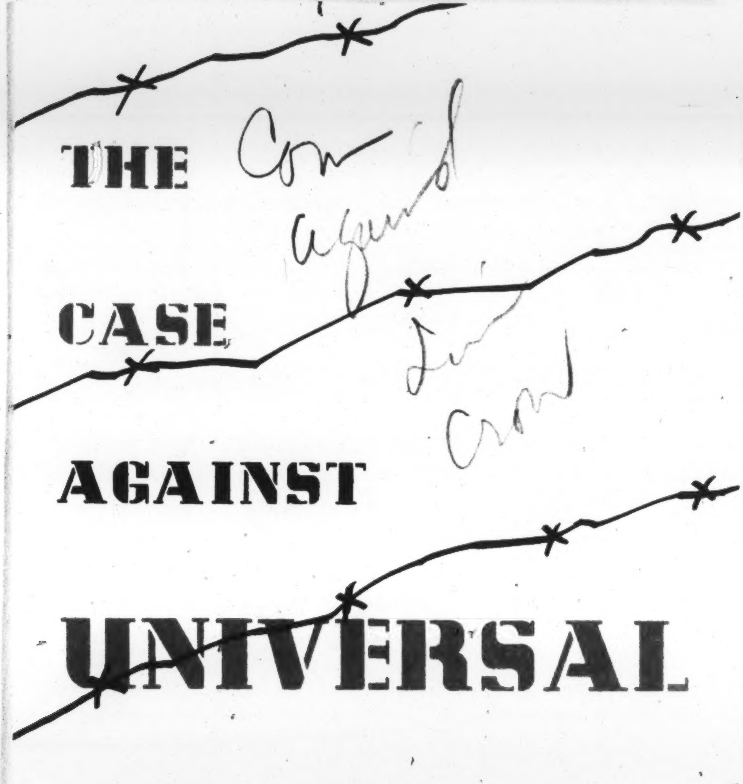
The Afro-American, December 27, 1947

Union's Chief Demands Fight On Draft Bill

Randolph Urges Army Advisor To Denounce Jim Crow Policy

NEW YORK — Charging that the Universal Military Training Bill as it now stands contains no assurances that Jim Crow shall not prevail in the peacetime draft, A. Philip Randolph, international president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, this week demanded repudiation of the legislation.

CHICAGO DEFENDER
Saturday, November 22, 1947



THE CASE AGAINST UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING

Con against [illegible]

UMT IS . . . . . . EXPENSIVE . . . . . . INEFFICIENT . . . . . MILITARISTIC . . . . . WAR-BREEDING . .

Universal Military Training, as it has been proposed to Congress and the American people, would be conscription—in peacetime—of every physically fit young man between 18 and 25. It would require these men to undergo a period of military training under the direct supervision and command of Army officers and non-coms, in camps or centers that could be hundreds of miles from their homes.

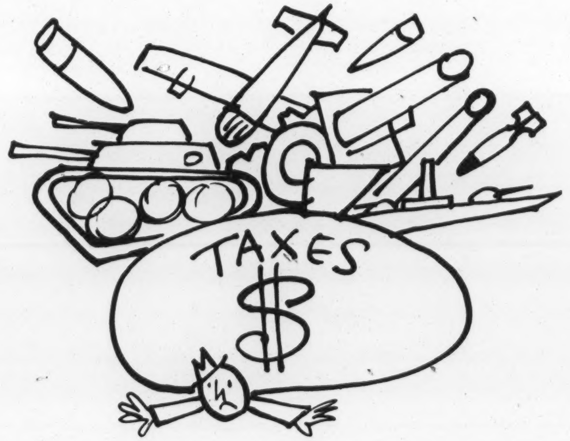
At the end of this camp training, each trainee would be required to "choose" one of the following:

1. An additional period of training;
2. Regular Army enlistment—at least 3 years;
3. Enlistment in the National Guard for as long as the President might direct;
4. Enlistment in ROTC for four years.

In each of the last three, the men would be subject to call for *immediate service anywhere* after the first six months, and would be held in the Reserve for *six years* after the training.

UMT would cost from $2 billion to $5 billion a year above present appropriations. This amount would have to be added to the already enormous budget—and equally enormous taxes!

Five billion dollars more spent for non-productive things—things that use up wealth but do not replace it. That means another big boost to the cost of living. Even rich America can't afford more billions for the military and still do the things that would really strengthen our democracy. UMT would mean sacrificing aid to education, health, housing, and the other social advances that make democracy a living force to millions all over the world.



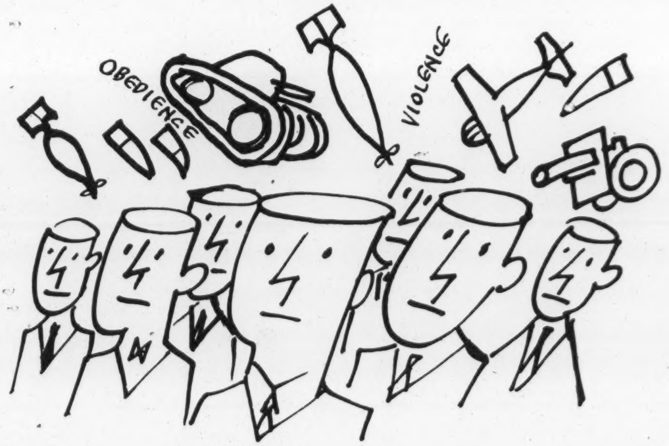
France, Poland, Belgium, Holland, Denmark and Norway sought military security in peacetime conscription too, but Germany's lightning war smashed their mass armies in a few weeks.

Another war would be suicidal, and must be avoided. But in any "next war," fought with atomic weapons, germs and poisons, millions of half-trained soldiers would be worse than useless. *If* there is to be another war, it will be fought with highly mechanized forces and teams of skilled technicians. Even in the last war, only 1½ million men were used as combat troops; the rest of the 14 million men were in non-combat jobs. For these, mechanical and similar civilian experience would be much more valuable than UMT.

UMT's real purpose is the indoctrination of American young men: instilling in their formative years the military "virtues" of unquestioning obedience to orders, indifference to human life, and reliance upon violence as a way of settling disputes.

Adoption of UMT would increase America's already too large officer class, put Army officers on virtually every college campus, and subordinate school, church and industry to the military.

UMT means exposing all our youth to the paraphernalia and propaganda of militarism: parades, medals, uniforms, and all the rest. It is a move in exactly the opposite direction from that in which most Americans devoutly want to go.



International tension, suspicion and fear are already far too great for comfort—or peace. America, most powerful nation in the world, needs to set an example of confidence in peace—not fear that will increase the tension.

Adoption of UMT not only would increase fear in other nations; it would also further weaken the United Nations, since it would demonstrate lack of faith in that organization. What the world desperately needs now is disarmament, and this is what our country should be urging, through the UN. Adoption of UMT would be a form of armament—another step, bringing forth countermeasures, in the arms race already so far along.

EXPENSIVE . . . . . . INEFFICIENT . . . . . . MILITARISTIC . . . . . . WAR-BREEDING . . . . . . UN-AMERICAN . .

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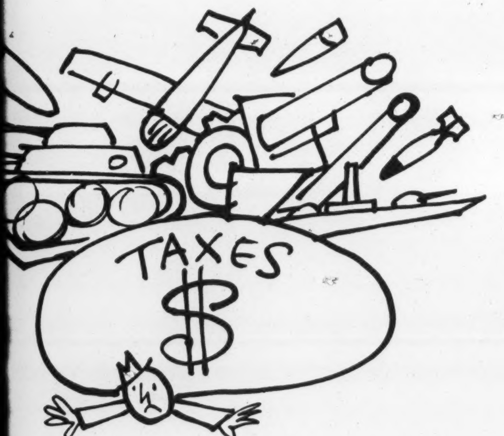

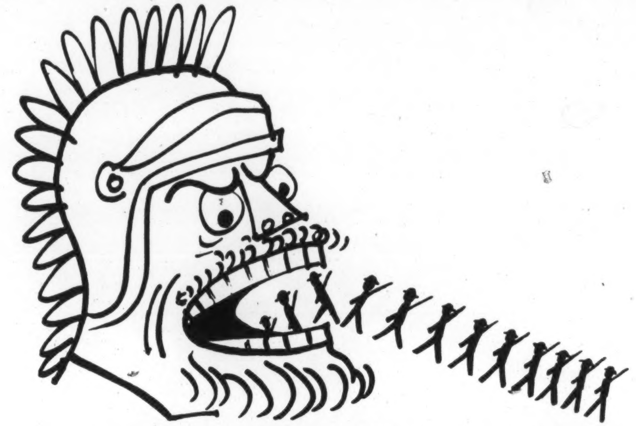

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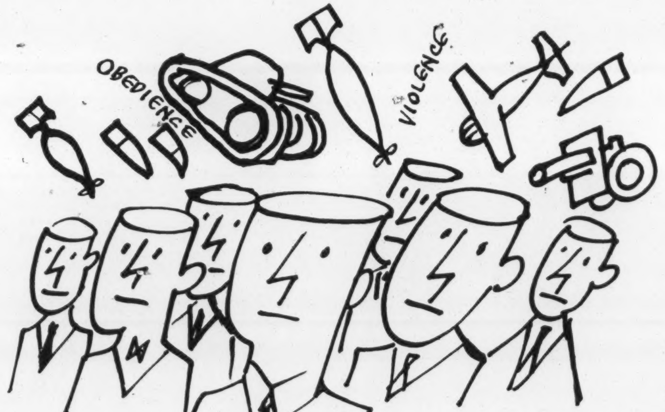

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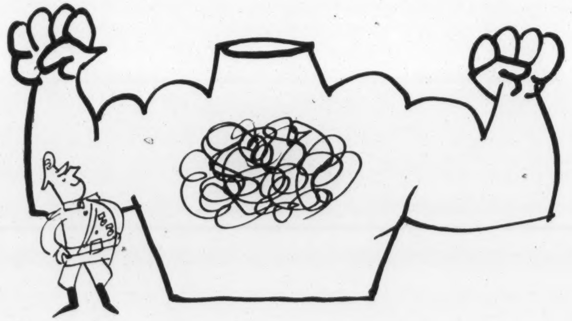
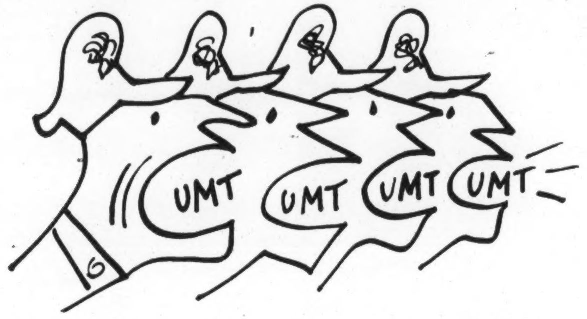
America was settled by brave men and women sick of the tyrannies of the old world, and determined to keep the military influence of their new country to a minimum. Their feelings persisted in their dependents, so that Americans hated the sight of the armed children under Hitler and Mussolini. UMT, taking boys of 18 for such military training, is the first step toward militarism in grade schools as well.

The American ideal is the self-reliant man, capable of making his own decisions and standing by them, alone if necessary against the whole world. The military ideal is the human automaton, unthinking, willing to kill or be killed as his superior officer orders. Since the military may be called out for such domestic duty as strike-breaking, this could mean shooting his own friends and relatives.



UMT WILL NOT . . AID EDUCATION . . . IMPROVE HEALTH . . . RAISE MORALE . .

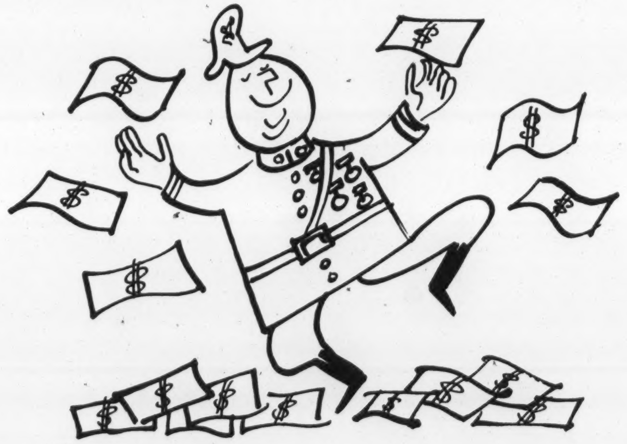


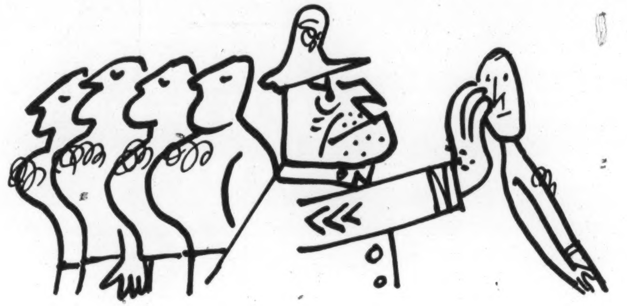
Every effort so far to fasten Universal Military Training on the United States has been frustrated by the sturdy refusal of farm, labor, educational, religious and other groups, as well as millions of other American citizens, to be stampeded by hysterical warnings and manufactured "crises." Since the argument that UMT would help avert war (or help win it if it came) has been proven so weak, the military and military-minded supporters of UMT have put forward several other claims that are fantastically untrue.

These assert that UMT would vastly improve American education (with classes that would be available to trainees *in their spare time*); that it would raise the standard of American health; and that it would strengthen democratic attitudes and improve morals in the young men who participate in it.

The state of education in America is a matter for serious concern. At its heart are the low salaries paid most teachers and the inadequate appropriations for schools and related services made by the states and the federal government.

Estimates of the cost of UMT, which would train about one million men a year, run from $2 billion to $5 billion a year. *All appropriations for the public education of 33 million American boys and girls below college level total less than $4 billion!* If one-half, *or even one-quarter*, of the money UMT would cost were made available for education, think how much more that would do for our boys and girls!





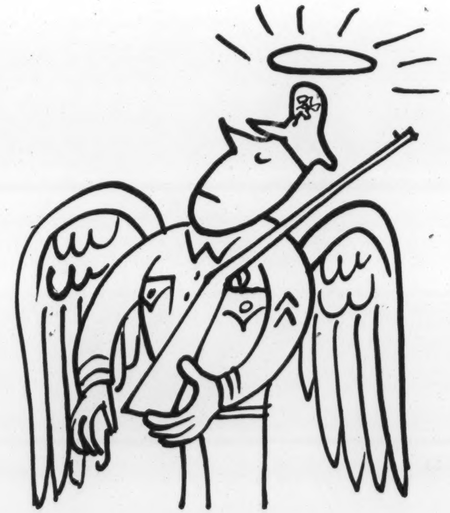
Supporters of UMT frequently cite the large number of rejections in the wartime draft as proving the low state of America's health and the need of something like UMT to improve it.

America's health needs improving, all right, but the claim that UMT would help is patently absurd, since UMT, like the Army, *would reject the physically unfit.*

The late wartime Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox pointed out that most draft rejections were caused by illnesses that stemmed from childhood. The obvious solution for such illnesses is not a few months of military training in adolescence, but improved medical services for children. *One-fifth of the possible cost of UMT, or $1 billion, would be enough to establish a modern child health center in every county in the country.*

Most exaggerated of all claims for UMT is that it will improve the morals of American young men. No one who has ever been in or near an army anywhere will believe such a statement.

The report of the Surgeon-General of the United States in the period just *before* the last war revealed, for instance, that the VD rate in the *peacetime Army* among men of college age was *37 times* what it was among the same age group in college.



choose your company

Much can be told about the character of a measure by those who come to its support and those who oppose it. Here is a list of some of the more important groups and organizations on both sides of the UMT argument:

FOR	*AGAINST*
The Hearst Press	National Education Association
American Legion	Roman Catholic Council of Bishops
U. S. Chamber of Commerce	Federal Council of Churches
Veterans of Foreign Wars	Rabbinical Assembly of America
Dept. of Defense	National Farmers Union
	National Grange
	American Federation of Labor
	Congress of Industrial Organizations

Some supporters of UMT have tried to frighten away the opposition by labelling it "subversive." Don't believe it. There is nothing subversive about trying to defend and strengthen the very principles that made America great. Register your opposition to all forms of peacetime conscription now.

For further information and literature on UMT
or for additional copies this leaflet

($5 per 100)

write to

NATIONAL COUNCIL AGAINST CONSCRIPTION
1013 18th Street N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

Com Journal
Inverson

NAACP Poll on Attitudes of Young Negro Men Towards the Randolph-Reynolds Proposal

The NAACP is interested in finding out how you feel about the recent proposal made by A. Philip Randolph and Grant Reynolds that Negroes, and any sympathetic whites, should refuse to cooperate with any proposals for draft or UMT until the armed services abandon their present policies of segregation. They called for non-violent resistance to any such military service. This proposal is of the most serious import both to Negroes and to the nation as a whole and, since you are the ones most directly involved, your attitudes are of the greatest importance. Your frank answers to these questions will give us vitally needed information.

Please mark one answer to every question in the boxes provided. If the question does not provide you with the answer you want to make, do not hesitate to write in your own answer under the question. There is no need to sign your name.

---

1. Had you heard of the Randolph-Reynolds proposal?

☐ **Yes** ☐ **No** ☐ **Not sure**

2. Are you inclined to favor this proposal?

☐ **Yes** ☐ **No** ☐ **Not sure**

What are your reasons?

....

....

....

....

3. If called today to register for a draft into segregated armed forces, what would you do?

☐ **I'd register and serve.**
☐ **I'd register but would not serve if called.**
☐ **I'd refuse to register.**
☐ **I am not sure.**

4. How strongly do you feel about your answer?

☐ **Very strongly** ☐ **Fairly strongly** ☐ **Not too strongly**

5. In case of a real war emergency, would you be willing to serve?

☐ **Yes, whenever called, even if segregation is not abolished.**
☐ **Yes, but only if segregation is abolished.**
☐ **No, not at all.**

6. What is your age?................ 7. Are you a veteran? ☐ **Yes.** ☐ **No.**

If you have additional comments or remarks please use back of this page.

15/4/48

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH SUBJECT FILE BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS

Pullman Porters and Maids
Digest and Arguement for

Undated

DIGEST OF AN ARGUMENT PRESENTED BY THE BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS IN SUPPORT OF THEIR RECOGNITION BY THE PULLMAN COMPANY AND IN SUPPORT OF A WORKING AGREEMENT GRANTING IMPROVED CONDITIONS AND INCREASED WAGES TO THE PULLMAN PORTERS AND MAIDS

I. INTRODUCTION

The history of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, short though it be, is already replete with the details of a stirring and momentous effort of one group of workers to achieve a better life. Launched on August 25, 1925, this new organization within the space of little more than a year has won over half of the employees of the Pullman Company to its program. The demands embodied within this program are in themselves immediate testimony to the almost pitiable conditions under which the Pullman porter today must work and live. That any group of workers at this date, in this country, should have to struggle for the realization of such moderate demands as a living wage, a tolerable working day and week, just compensation for all work performed, provision for sleep on the road and recognition of basic manhood rights, is in itself strong indication of the existence of serious maladjustment. No citizen concerned over the future of our country, no student occupied with the trend of American industry and economic well-being, no democrat anxious to see the establishment of real democracy in American society, can afford to miss the significance contained in this new conflict between the organized porters and maids and the powerful Pullman Company.

Since February 22, 1867, the present Pullman Company has been selling the services of its Pullman porters and maids to the traveling public. During the course of the years, it has waxed rich from the proceeds of this sale. During 1925, the last year of record, it paid over $10,800,000 in dividends to its stockholders. There can hardly be any question of the important role played by the Pullman porters and maids in the accumulation of this huge income. For it must always be remembered that the Pullman Company, in spite of its close association with the railroads of the country, does not sell transportation. It provides more comfortable accommodations to the traveling public while enroute. It offers passengers chairs more comfortable than those of the ordinary day coaches, cots for sleep, club rooms, wash rooms, dining cars, compartments. As has been well said, it is "a rapid transit hotel organization." Now it is difficult to see how this rapid transit hotel could function at all without the service of the porter. The porter it is who makes up the folding beds upon which the passenger sleeps, who insures to the car that cleanliness essential for health and comfort, who provides the passenger with whatever equipment he desires, who guards the car at night, who protects the passenger's health by insuring the socially safe transportation of sick persons, who sees that the car is properly ventilated and properly heated, who insures to the passenger whatever details are required for a safe, comfortable and satisfactory trip.

Yet while the Pullman Company was announcing its division of a $10,000,000 dividend - a dividend that in good measure had been made possible by the services of its porters and maids - it was offering these porters and maids through a revised agreement the following compensation and working conditions: From a minimum of $67.00 for the labor of a full month, it raised its porters during February, 1926 to a minimum of $72.50 for a full month's work. Even men who worked for the Pullman Company for fifteen years and more, in many cases as long as forty years, could not look forward generally to an increase over their starting wage of more than some $12. Seventy-two dollars and fifty cents could at no time be regarded as an adequate wage for a month's labor; but when we realize what that month's labor comprises in the Pullman service, the inadequacy of such a wage appears even more startling. The Pullman porters are paid on a mileage basis. They must cover 11,000 miles, or complete almost 400 hours of road service before they can earn any overtime. In addition, they are charged with the duty of getting their cars from the yard, receiving passengers, and if the trip is a night trip, with making up berths several hours before the train leaves its depot. This so-called preparatory time, often involves many hours of work which is never paid for, since the porter's wage is based on mileage. Similarly, the porter must contribute what is known as "terminal time", a period of labor devoted to putting his car into shape after its trip has been completed. When he enters the service he must often work for years as an "extra", the name given to any porter who has not yet been assigned to a regular route. Although the extra must report regularly for service, thus interfering with any opportunity to take on other work, he receives no regular wages, being paid only for the work performed on those runs to which he is assigned during the absence for any cause of the porter regularly assigned to them, or when extra men are needed, or when any similar emergency arises. On the road the porter cannot depend upon receiving any regular sleep. He must incur various, and by no means light, expenses entirely incidental to his work. For instance, until he has completed ten years of service he must buy and pay for his own uniform. He must at all times buy and pay for the shoe polish with which he shines the shoes of the Company's patrons. He must buy his meals on the road. He frequently pays for sleeping accommodations at the outlying termini.

It is to eliminate these and many similar grievances that the porters are now seeking to organize in an independent union which can act as their spokesman freely and without fear. Through such an organization they hope to achieve and maintain a trade union agreement which will assure them of decent wages and working conditions. For such reasons, then, the Pullman porters are asking the Pullman Company to recognize an independent organization of porters, just as they have already recognized the independent organization of sleeping car conductors.

As soon as the porters breached this program in the summer of 1925, the Pullman Company launched a strenuous campaign against them. At the outset its officials sought to stem the progress of the new Brotherhood by tactics of repression. They sought to dismiss all porters whom they suspected of active support of the new organization. They stressed what they called its "dangerous Communist sympathies." They added to their employment rolls new men recruited from among the Filipinos and Southern Negroes. They sought to enlist the sympathies of as many newspapers and of as many prominent Negroes as they could. News releases began to appear throughout the country in various newspapers warning porters against affiliation with the new organization. So prominent a Negro leader as Mr. Perry Howard, a Republican politician from Mississippi who is on the payroll of the department of Justice of the United States as special assistant to the Attorney-General, was added to the payroll of the Pullman Company as spokesman against the new union.

Later tactics of the Company in opposition to the new organization have pursued a different strategy. As the number of porters affiliating with the new organization steadily increased, dismissals and repressive tactics abated. The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, of course, can in no way prove beyond a question of doubt that the trivial improvements granted the porters since its inception have been due to the Company's fear of its advance. Nevertheless, the Brotherhood would call attention to the coincidence of the granting of these improvements with the period of the Brotherhood's first activity. During February, 1926, the Company conferred with representatives of the porters elected under its own Plan of Employee Representation to consider wages and working conditions. To these representatives who asked a minimum wage of $100, a basic monthly mileage of 9,000 miles, the establishment of various differentials for special types of work, and who implied their desire for a basic month of 240 hours and pay for preparatory and terminal time - to these men the Pullman Company granted a minimum wage of $72.50 and six changes in working conditions of which only three directly affected the porter's task, and then only in a minor way. Similarly, the Company has recently introduced a trivial improvement in its Plan of Employee Representation. The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters believes that the course of the argument it is now presenting will make clear the basis of its belief that even these improvements so recently granted by the Pullman Company may be directly attributed to the Company's fear of the headway independent organization is now making among its service employees.

The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters looks with pride upon the outspoken sympathy which its program has elicited from the public. It is indeed encouraged by the many sympathetic reports of its progress and its aims which have appeared in important newspapers throughout the country, by the outspoken praise given to it by prominent men and outstanding organizations in both colored and white communities, by the proffers of sympathy and aid tendered by trade unions of the American labor movement, by the notice taken of its program even in the Congress of the United States. The Brotherhood indeed finds even more than just pride in this widespread sympathy; it sees in it also a significant recognition of the justice of its cause. Heartened by the implications of this sympathy, stirred by the unexpected and rapid response it has won among the porters and maids themselves, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters desires nothing more than a fair chance to be heard. It stands ready to submit its case to any test of justice that may be put to it. It stands ready to compare its demands with the conditions granted workers by enlightened employers throughout the United States. It stands ready to measure the standards it asks by the standards upon which organized labor anywhere in the country insists for similar work. It stands ready to submit its own program to the standards established by government agencies as minimum standards for American workers. Indeed, the Pullman Porters, through the Brotherhood which represents them, desire only to have their present dispute with the Pullman Company submitted to the accepted standards of fair play and justice which we have come now to know as truly

American.

It is because the members of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters feel so strongly armed by the justice of their cause, that they have sought fearlessly and relentlessly to gather all the facts pertinent to their dispute with the Pullman Company. Admittedly only those who have something to conceal fear a presentation of all the facts and nothing but the facts; the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters stands only to gain by such a presentation. Consequently the Brotherhood has sought at its own expense to collect and present these facts. The whole story makes a bulky report crammed full with historic analyses, present conditions in all their ramifications, the figures and summary facts descriptive of these conditions. The Brotherhood offers here merely a digest of this full report. Within the brief present compass of this paper, it seeks to summarize the salient points of its argument for recognition, increased wages and improved working conditions.

II. THE PARTIES TO THE DISPUTE

The parties to this dispute which we would now outline are the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and the Pullman Company. The issues of the case center upon the Pullman railroad porter, the Company, and the relationships existing between these two. To understand this case, therefore, it is essential to have some clear-cut notion of these parties to it.

Of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters we have already spoken. Probably no individual worker has become more familiar personally than the uniformed porter who watches the comforts and needs of the traveling public. According to the 1920 census, there are 22,513 of these porters employed on the steam railroads of the country, of whom, 22,486 are male and 27 are female. It is a tremendously important fact, as we shall show in the course of this argument, that no less than 20,224, or over 9/10ths, of these workers are Negroes. The Pullman Company obviously does not hold all the porters and maids engaged in this railroad service. But the Pullman Company does hold a majority of them. For, according to recent estimates, there are from 10,400 to 12,000 men and women engaged by the Pullman Company as porters and maids. The remainder are in the service of those railroads who maintain an independent parlor car, sleeping car, and dining car service. The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters has been so constituted that it can and hopes to include within its membership eventually porters employed on these independent lines as well as those employed by the Pullman Company. But, because the Pullman Company holds a majority of such employees, because it is the largest single unit with which the Brotherhood will ever have to deal, and because the standards of wages and working conditions prevailing within the Pullman service are most in need of reform from the porter's point of view, the Brotherhood is concentrating its present efforts upon the task of winning recognition and an improved working agreement from the Pullman Company.

For employment purposes the Pullman Company has divided the United States into eight operating zones. These are the Atlanta zone, the Central zone, the Detroit zone, the Houston Zone, the New York zone, the Philadelphia zone, the San Francisco zone and the St. Louis zone. Each zone in turn is divided into districts and agencies, of which there are today 77, unevenly distributed among the eight operating zones according to their respective sizes.

The "party of the second part" in this dispute is, of course, the Pullman Company itself. Incorporated on February 22, 1867 as the Pullman Palace Car Company, the Pullman Company has grown until it represents today one of the wealthiest and most powerful corporations in the United States. According to its report to the Interstate Commerce Commission in 1914, the total cash investment in the Pullman company has been only $32,601,238. The reinvestment of surplus earned and the issue of stocks as dividends and in exchange for tangible property has brought the present capitalization to $155,000,000. Even this does not tell the whole story. For in 1921 the Pullman Company greatly expanded its manufacturing capacity and operations by the purchase of all the property and assets of Haskell and Barker Car Company, Inc., for which it paid 165,000 shares of its own stock (par $100). In 1924 the entire car manufacturing end of the Pullman Company was placed in a separate corporation - The Pullman Car and Manufacturing Corporation - the entire capital stock of which is owned by the Pullman Company. This subsidiary pays six per cent dividends annually to the parent corporation, retaining the remainder of its earnings as surplus in its own treasury. Thus, this negotiation of 1921, not only assures the Pullman Company of an added income each year, but has increased the number of stocks upon which the Company itself must pay dividends. The financial strength and power of the Pullman Company, now a strong vertical trust, will be discussed more fully in a later connection. It is enough at this point merely to indicate the nature and strength of this "party of the second part" who now confronts the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters by remarking that the Pullman Company since 1897 has distributed the huge total of $245,675,000 in cash dividends and $60,000,000 in stock dividends. To give the figures in detail for more recent years, from 1921 to 1925, the Pullman Company earned a gross income of $396,000,000; a net income of $56,000,000. Over $52,000,000 of this net income has been paid out in dividends, thus yielding stockholders more than $10,000,000 on the average each year.

Fortunately it is not necessary for the porters themselves to insist upon the strategic part they have played in winning for the Company these huge returns. No better judge of the value of their services or of the fine type of men who render them could be asked than the Pullman Company itself. It is a significant fact, therefore, that testimonials to the porter from the Pullman Company have been both frequent and hearty. Mr. L. S. Hungerford, Vice President and General Manager of the Company put its opinion in no unmistakable terms when he said, "The reputation of the service depends as much upon the efficiency of the employees as upon the facilities provided by the Company for the comfort of its patrons." Mr. Edward F. Carry, President of the Pullman Company, in presenting to the stockholders his report on the splendid earnings and financial condition of the company in 1925, reminded them that - "Without the efficient help given by its loyal employees the Pullman Company could not have made the splendid record it did in the year just closed. . . . ." The opinion of Mr. George M. Pullman on the Pullman porters is now written in the records of the company: "You would have to go a long way to find a finer body of men than the Pullman Porters." And month after month, the *Pullman News*, the magazine published by the company for its service employees, carries among its regular features two that are known as *Courtesy's Honor Roll* and *Honesty's Honor Roll*. On these "Honor Rolls" are inscribed month after month the names of those porters to whom an opportunity has come to reveal openly and markedly the honesty and courtesy which are general attributes of the group as a whole. Obviously both the Company and the public are agreed upon the strategic nature and the quality of the services rendered by the Pullman porters and maids.

The complexity and the real difficulties of the porter's task make it at once evident why he must be a high type of man and worker. The loose leaf booklet issued by the Pullman Company on January 1, 1925 and containing its instructions to porters, lists no less than 217 matters to which the porter must give his always detailed and often continuous attention. These matters are of the utmost importance, not only to the reputation for service of the Pullman Company, but also to the health, safety and comfort of the passenger. They have been grouped under nine large headings. These embrace in their serial order rules known as "general instructions and rules", covering such specific duties as the care of linen, blankets and pillows; rules pertaining to the preparation and putting away of berths; to the handling of baggage; to the guarding of cars; to the care of cars and equipment; to ventilation; to heating and lighting the cars; to insuring the safety of passengers; and to the maintenance of all necessary sanitary regulations. Can there be any dispute over the essential character of the porter's work? His duties are far more than those of a domestic meeting the personal needs of the traveling public. He is also, and at the same time, a policeman who guards their belongings on the road, a health officer by proxy who safeguards their health, a house superintendent who insures them proper ventilation, heating, lighting and sanitation, while they use the rapid transit hotel which is the Pullman train; and finally and always, an employee of the Pullman Company who may be called upon to "double out" on a fresh trip as he leaves the car upon which he has just completed his old trip, or to perform "deadhead" duty or to undertake whatever other task may be required for the Pullman service at any time, even as he is called upon to contribute continuously that efficient service on the cars upon which "the reputation of the service depends." All good workers are worthy of their hire; who would question that the Pullman porter is a good worker?

These then are the parties to the dispute which we are now discussing: The Pullman Company and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, spokesman of the Pullman porters and maids. On the one hand, the Pullman Company has delegated important and strategic duties to the Pullman porter - duties, the performance of which play an important part in accumulating the huge earnings made by the Company. Moreover, the Company has frequently and publicly recorded its satisfaction with the manner in which these duties are performed and in the type of men who perform them. But on the other hand, the Pullman porter has frequently in the long history of his employment by the Company expressed deep dissatisfaction with the wages he receives from the Company for this labor, and the conditions under which he is made to perform it. It is to this dissatisfaction and to the facts underlying it that we would now turn.

Before taking up these facts, however, we would call attention to one peculiarity of the Pullman service in the light of which we feel all facts on wages and working conditions should be viewed. The Pullman Company has made its porter service a closed industry. In hearings before Government Commissions, representatives of the Pullman Company have explicitly admitted that no chance for promotion out of its porter service is open to the men in it - that it is a "blind alley" job. On the other hand, while the Company by openly professed and established policy provides no avenue of promotion for the Negro porters it employs, it is most anxious to obtain Negroes for this service. It has maintained recruiting agents and representatives in the South at the sources of supply of Negroes. The census figures showing the racial composition of the occupation of Pullman porters, already quoted, demonstrate the extent to which the service has been made a Negro occupation. The desire of the Pullman Company to keep its porter service a Negro industry may be gathered from the fact that the Pullman Porters Benefit Association of America, endorsed and cooperatively maintained by the Pullman Company, restricts membership by its Constitution to Negro male persons of good character and good general health in the active service of the Pullman Company. In addition, the object of the Association as stated in its Constitution is, among other things, to render the service and employment of porters in the Pullman Company "attractive to the best elements of the Negro race."

In other words, the Pullman Company obviously both intends to draw its porters predominantly from among the Negroes and also intends not to promote them out of the porter service. This fact holds a basic importance for the whole consideration of the case of the Pullman porter. For, if the Company by its stated and accepted policy offers to the porter no promotion out of the service because he is a Negro and at the same time desires Negroes for that service, the wages and conditions it offers the colored men within its employment become a strategic matter. For as its General Manager has himself admitted, there is no possibility open to the porter for increasing his wages save through the advancement won by faithful and prolonged service. It is the range and amount of wages provided by the Company, therefore, that becomes the ultimate measure of how it meets this self-created situation. But even more important, this policy ties the case of the Pullman porters to the whole general problem of the Negro in the United States. And in the United States today that fact possesses real importance.

~~For~~ in the first place, it has become gradually evident to the American public that the Negroes living amongst our people are today entering upon a real social renaissance - a renaissance born of the cessation of immigration, the Negro migrations from the South, the entry of Negroes in large numbers into Northern industry, the consequent widening of employment opportunities, the creative and artistic stir among them. It is this Negro rather than the Uncle Tom of old days, this Negro of widening opportunities, increasing racial self respect, and a growing irritation against discrimination with whom the Pullman Company will now have to deal.

But on the other hand it must also be remembered that the prejudices by which the Negro has been hampered in the United States dies slowly. Throughout the country the colored man must still pay more for what he gets and get less for what he pays. For the sake of his well-being, his health, his future, and the ultimate good of the entire community, the question of his earnings and conditions are of the utmost importance. It is in the light of these facts - the facts that the Pullman Company wants Negro porters and can offer them no avenues of promotion, that the Negro is still in an unfavorable position in the United States, and that nevertheless a new Negro is emerging - that the relationships between the company and its porters must be viewed.

III. THE DOCUMENTS FORMULATING THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE PULLMAN COMPANY AND THE PORTER

Until 1920 the relationships between the Pullman Company and its porters had been at no time formulated or explicitly stated through formal records to which the men could go at any time to ascertain their exact rights and obligations. Any porter, dissatisfied with any condition, was informed that he could appeal directly to the Pullman Company for redress - in reality an unworkable and unsubstantial right indeed. By the fall of 1920, however, the Pullman Company formulated its Plan of Employee Representation for District Employees. Effective October 1, 1920, first revised November 11, 1924, and since then amended in various ways, this Plan was drawn by the Company to offer its service employees some formal machinery for handling grievances that arise in the course of their employment. During its argument on this present dispute, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters will wish to recur to the actual significance of this Plan in the working and industrial relationships of the Pullman porters and maids. At this place, however, it will be sufficient merely to summarise briefly the actual machinery it provides. At the base of the Plan is the employee representative, annually nominated and elected from among the ranks of those Pullman porters who have been in the service of the Company for not less than two years. These employee representatives continue their employment as porters, continue to receive wages from the Pullman Company, and attend committee meetings on leave granted by the Pullman Company and under conditions the Company sets. The unit of the grievance machinery provided by the Plan is the Local Committee, consisting of not less than three employee representatives or one representative for each two hundred employees in the district involved. Serving on each Local Committee with the employee representatives are an equal number of management representatives drawn usually from the supervisory forces of the district. Each Local Committee in turn elects one member to represent the district on the Zone General Committee of which there is one in each of the eight operating zones. On this Committee also, there are an equal number of employee representatives and management representatives. Finally, at the head of this machinery is the Bureau of Industrial Relations, headed by a specially appointed superviser whose sole duty it is to guide the functioning of the Plan. This Bureau of Industrial Relations, the highest unit of the representative machinery, until August 1928 was made up entirely of management officials. At that time, however, a porter was appointed to serve on the Bureau. Even after this recent change had been made, however, it should be noted that on the Bureau alone there is no equal joint representation, management representatives being in a majority as contrasted with the equal representation prevailing on the other units.

This representative machinery, it should be observed, constitutes a sort of judicial hierarchy, charged with "the purpose of handling expeditiously and settling promptly and fairly all questions which arise as to wages, working conditions and such other matters as may be of importance to the welfare of the employees." Grievances arising on any of these matters are first heard by the Local Committees. If the decision of the Committee is not final, that is, if management officials and employee officials vote on opposite sides, thus creating a tie, the case may be appealed to the Zone General Committee. Once again the presence of an equal number of employee and management officials on this "court of appeal" makes possible a decision only when either the management or the employees vote counter to their respective sides in the case involved. If the vote on the grievance is tied here also, the case is next appealed to the Bureau of Industrial Relations. In the Bureau of Industrial Relations, the highest unit within the plan, management officials are today in a large majority. If the porter involved in a given grievance is still dissatisfied when the decision of the Bureau is announced, he has the theoretical right to carry his case to the President of the Company; and if still dissatisfied after this appeal, to the agency established by Federal law (now the Board of Mediation of the Watson-Parker Bill), The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters calls this last right a theoretical one because it seems difficult to percieve how untrained porters could take the time from their work and meet the expense that might be required to plead a case before a government agency, at any rate when they are opposed by the powerful Pullman Company who has at its disposal an specially trained representative, as well as a legal staff skilled in the art of presenting cases.

It seems to us a highly important point that the formal Plan of Employee Representation makes no provision for the machinery by which wage rates are to be established. Obviously grievances may be more or less local, although major working conditions must be established for the entire service. Wage rates at all times must be considered not for one district as against another but only for the service as a whole. The Joint Conference Machinery by which the nationwide working conditions and wage rates are to be established apparently exists outside the scheme of Employee Representation as formulated by specific record. Upon petition from employees, or from the majority of the employee representatives serving in the prior Joint Conference, the management may call for an election for a new Joint Conference. At this Joint Conference, management and employees have equal voting power and devote themselves to the task of formulating a revised working agreement. Employee representatives while occupied with these duties are paid by the Pullman Company. The Company also furnishes meeting places, prints the minutes of the Conference and the agreement.

This, then, is the machinery which has been offered to the porters by the Pullman Company for use in the settlement of grievances and the negotiation of wages and working conditions. The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, to repeat, is merely outlining formally recorded relationships in this place;

it leaves to a later time, consideration of the accomplishments and significance of this representative machinery. Since the machinery has been established in 1920 two working agreements have been drawn. It is immediately noteworthy that these agreements cover only working conditions. There is nowhere any formal record of the wage rates current in the Pullman service during a given period. The first agreement between the Pullman Company and its porters and maids became effective April 1, 1924. The first revision of this agreement was made effective February 15, 1926. It is this revised agreement that embodies the working conditions now prevailing in the Pullman service. Let us, therefore, summarize briefly the major provisions it makes.

The employees covered by the agreement are hired at monthly rates of pay. Eleven thousand miles constitute a basic month's service, including both deadhead and service mileage. When a porter is assigned to perform conductor's duties as well as porter's duties on a car of which he is "in charge", he is paid a differential over his basing rate; assigned to such duties for two or more cars, he is paid the minimum compensation allowed conductors. An instruction period of one working week is given all new employees and paid for at the minimum monthly rates. The first six months of his employment are regarded as a probationary period during which the Company determines his competence. All regular porters are granted four relief days per month, and stated rest periods after a certain number of round trips. If he is called upon to perform extra road service on these layovers or reliefs, he receives extra compensation.

Porters are allowed various overtime and special allowances. For instance: They are paid 60/100ths of a cent for each mile made in excess of eleven thousand miles. They are paid the same rate for each hour the train carrying their car is delayed, after the first hour of delay, on the basis of thirty miles per hour. They are paid for station duty and for car cleaning at outlying termini, if such cleanings may be regarded outside the scope of their regular duties. They are paid a special expense allowance of one dollar per day if required to move "deadhead", or empty cars to or from service or shops. Porters or maids serving as Employee Representatives and withheld from regular line service to attend meetings are paid $2.50 per day in addition to their monthly wagefor the actual time they lose. When such Committee service occurs during their layover periods they receive twenty-five cents per hour for their Committee work. The Pullman Company accepts the principle of seniority insofar as it can be applied without causing undue impairment of the service. When new runs or vacancies occur, they are bulletined for a period of ten days in the district in which they occur. Employees may bid for them during this time and appointments are made on a basis of seniority, fitness and ability.

If an employee is absent from his regular run, he must notify his immediate supervisory officer in advance, if possible, or as early in advance as practicable. If he fails to comply with this rule, absence from work for more than seven consecutive days constitutes a break in service record. The usual method of wage payment prevailing in the Pullman service is a semi-monthly pay check.

The agreement of 1926 provides that suggestions, recommendations and grievances shall be handled under the Plan of Employee Representation. The Company agrees not to discriminate against committeemen or representatives in any way. Finally, the current agreement may be revised or terminated. Either party upon giving written notice to the other party, may request the termination of the agreement within sixty days after this notice is given. If revision is desired, conference must be held within ninety days after such revision has been suggested in writing by ~~one~~ either party to the other.

In addition to this machinery for handling grievances and this working agreement, the formal relationships existing between the Pullman Company and its porters and maids are embodied in various welfare schemes. Before considering these schemes it should be noted that the wage records of the Pullman Company can be obtained only from its own payrolls. We can say that the minimum wage paid porters in standard cars is $72.50. After men have been in the service two years they receive an increase amounting to three dollars. Another increase of the same size is granted men after five years service. A slightly larger increase is granted after fifteen years service. In all there is a range of some ten dollars within which porters may advance in salary according to their years of service. These rates are considered basing rates. Differentials over them are paid to tourist car porters, composite and broiler car porters and swing men. Higher rates are paid to porters operating private cars and "in charge" of standard sleepers, parlor and tourist cars. Maids receive rates of pay slightly below those paid to standard car porters.

The welfare policies of the Pullman Company include four types of welfare work. Perhaps the most important is constituted by the Pullman Porters Benefit Association. Porters who affiliate with this Association pay an annual assessment of twenty-eight dollars in four equal installments, if they are less than forty-five years, and of thirty-two dollars if they are more. In return, the Association provides a method of providing for members in times of sickness, incapacity or death. The Association has functioned since February 1, 1921. The Pullman Company has at all times maintained a close connection with this Association, participating in its management, cooperating in paying its expenses, and playing a most important role in determining its policies. We shall discuss more fully the provisions and functioning of this Association when we consider the accomplishments of the mechanisms of industrial relations now current in the Pullman Company.

Since 1914, the Pullman Company has maintained a non-contributory pension plan for retiring superannuated and incapacitated employees. Men who have been in the service of the company for more than twenty years and who have passed the age of seventy are granted, under certain conditions, a monthly allowance equivalent to one per cent of their annual salary for the last ten years of their service, multiplied by their total years of service.

During February, 1926, the Pullman Company announced that it would sell stock to its employees at reduced quotations on an installment plan. Each employee is entitled to purchase one share per year for each five hundred dollars of his annual salary. Obviously, under the wage rates now current in the porter service, no employee even if he so desired could purchase more than one share per year.

In addition to these three specific welfare policies, the company carries on regular welfare work of a more general nature. For instance; in 1922 the employee magazine known as the Pullman News was established. During the same year, choruses, bands and orchestras were established among the porters. Welfare officials are maintained on the Company's payrolls. Entertainments of various sorts are frequently offered. In general, these various types of welfare work are designed to produce "a markedly beneficial effect upon the esprit de corps of these employees."

IV. THE REALITIES BEHIND THE FORMAL DOCUMENTS

Without question, the formal documents containing the details of the relationships between the Pullman Company and its service employees, seem an impressive exhibit. Apparently specific conditions of work and wages have been formulated; a plan providing machinery for negotiations between the Company and its men has been drawn; sickness, disability, death and accident benefits are provided in some measure; pensions are paid to superannuated employees; opportunities are offered for financial participation in the business of the company; various types of welfare work have been adopted to promote esprit de corps among the working ranks. This is the testimony of the documents.

But obviously, such formal testimony must be translated into the realities of the porter's life and work before any judgment can be formed upon the significance of these relationships existing between the Company and its men. Indeed, the question of the realities behind these formal documents assume added importance from the very fact that so many porters have seen fit to join the new Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. If so many men in the employ of the Company have risked secret affiliation with an unrecognized and bitterly opposed union, if they have rallied around leaders asking wages and working conditions quite different from those granted by the Company, there must be considerable dissatisfaction and unrest in the ranks of the Pullman porters and maids.

A mere enumeration of the demands presented by this new union with the support of its ever-growing membership, is striking indication of the apparent gulf between what the Company offers and what the men seem to want. Let us for a moment set these two series - conditions existing and conditions demanded - side by side. The Company grants its porters today a minimum wage of $72.50, its maids a minimum of $70.00, per month. The new union asks a minimum of $150.00 per month. The annual wages thus granted the porter by the Company reaches a minimum of some $870.00. The new Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters asks that this minimum be increased to $1,800.00. Obviously $870.00 a year falls far short of a living wage. Even $1,800.00, measured by the standards advanced by the United States Government, as we shall see, is by no means too generous a wage. But in answer to the implied criticism of such an argument, which, let it be said in passing has been advanced many times even before this, the Pullman Company has pointed to the tips which its porters receive from the public. In reply to this counter-argument, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters demands "no tips but a living wage." This plank, occupying so prominent a place in the platform of the union, has many ramifications. Its demand that tips be abolished ties the case of the Pullman Porters up to the immediate economic interests of the consumer, the human and economic position of the porter, and the ultimate responsibility of the Company.

Similarly, the porters through their Brotherhood are demanding various and long overdue changes in working conditions. For instance, at present their monthly rates of pay are based upon a basic service mileage of 11,000 miles. This, at the standard reckoning of 30 miles to the hour, equivalent to almost four hundred hours of labor per month. The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters asks that wages be based upon a month's service of 240 hours or less work. They are asking that "service time shall be computed as continuous for each trip from the time required to report for duty until released. . . ." Such computation of work performed would yield the porters compensation for preparatory time, terminal time, delays, and overtime allowances after the equivalent of 240 hours work has been completed. To make formal and definite provision for sleep during road service, they are asking that continuous service time be subject to a reduction of four hours for the first night and a maximum of six hours for each night thereafter for rest when sleeping space is reserved.

The final major demand voiced by the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, asks, of course, that this organization rather than the machinery of employee representation instituted by the Pullman Company be recognized as the spokesman of the porters and maids in the negotiation of agreements, the handling of grievances, and the transaction of whatever concerns may arise between the management and its men.

Certainly the wide support given by the porters and maids to this program and these demands of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, makes imperative a thorough investigation into the realities of the current relationships existing between the porters and the Pullman Company. The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters feels that it has made an approach to such an investigation by accumulating the facts and figures which it is now summarizing. Its members would be glad to see at any time an even more thorough and more complete investigation. They give their hearty approval and support to the resolution introduced by Mr. Emanuel Celler in the 69th Congress, first session, House of Representatives, calling among other things, for an investigation into the wages, hours, and conditions of employment of the Pullman porters and maids. The Brotherhood feels, however, that the results of its own investigation may safely be tested by any impartial agency for the fundamental truth of its findings. It has spared neither time nor expense in its effort to collect this pertinent information; it has left no stone unturned in its effort to make a full analysis of existing conditions.

In pursuing these ends, the Brotherhood has tapped four separate sources of information. In the first place, questionnaires containing detailed queries on the work, the earnings, and the living conditions of the porters and maids have been sent to employees throughout the country. In the second place, special interviews have been arranged with various porters whose stories constitute, in a way, case studies amplifying the mass information contained in the questionnaires.

Documents and various other sources of information, in the third place, have been drawn upon to obtain data pertinent to the problems at hand. For instance, the railroad companies employing porters on their own account have been asked to supply information on the wages and working conditions given them. The documents studies have been of three different types. There have been, firstly, the official and semi-official documents issued by the Pullman Company itself. Secondly official government reports have been utilized from which have been drawn such various data as the history of the Pullman porter, general wage standards for industry as a whole, the movement of the cost of living, etc. Finally, because of the fact that the Pullman Company has practically restricted its porter service to the Negro and at the same time has not been able to offer this Negro porter any avenues of promotion within the industry, data bearing upon the general Negro problem in the United States have also been used.

What light, then, has this investigation conducted by the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters thrown upon the actualities of the porter's life and work? What do the provisions written into the formal documents mean in terms of the life the Pullman porter is enabled to lead? Where in the range of the various wage scales do the majority of the porters fall? How much do porters actually receive from tips? What are the actual earnings which the porter can bring each month to the task of providing a livelihood for himself and his family? Under what actual conditions do the porters and maids perform their work? How do their wages and working conditions compare with those enjoyed by other workers, by porters doing similar work in the employ of other companies, by the Pullman conductors? What is the history of the industrial conditions of the Pullman porter? What are the economic ramifications of the tipping system from the viewpoint of the porter, the traveling public, and the Company? How does the Plan of Employee Representation function as a method of industrial cooperation between employer and men? What are the net benefits won for the porters by the various forms of welfare work? Can the Company afford to grant its employees the changed wages and working conditions demanded for them by their spokesman, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters? Let us see.

V. THE EVIDENCE OF THE QUESTIONNAIRES - A CROSS-SECTION VIEW OF THE PULLMAN PORTER TODAY

The information supplied through the answers submitted in the questionnaires offers a rounded, bird's eye view of the conditions in which the Pullman porter now works and lives. The questionnaire itself contains thirty-one separate queries. These were so drawn that the answers to them would yield data of three large types: data on those personal characteristics of the porter which bear directly on his relationship to the company; on the conditions under which the porter works, and the wages, tips, and net income he earns, and on the living conditions he is enabled to enjoy. In its report of its investigation, the Brotherhood presents full details on these questions, the manner in which the data were collected, the statistical methods to which they were submitted and the final results obtained in each category of desired information. In this place, we can do little more than present a summary of the picture of the Pullman porter yielded by these questionnaires.

Undeniably the picture is a significant one. It reveals a group of men of substantial character, steady, respectable, hard-working. Special credence can be given to the information upon them supplied through the questionnaires, because the men who answered them are by no means predominately young men, or men of only a few years' service with the Pullman Company. They are instead men whose average is close to forty years ; and who on the average have given almost nine years' service to the Company.

Seven hundred and seventy-seven questionnaires were filled out and returned with the information requested. The answers came from every part of the country, distributed in a manner closely parallel to the actual distribution of the Pullman porters within the service of the company. The men returning answers worked on forty-seven different roads, held many various runs, gave for every category of information requested, an impressive range of replies. Thus, the data yielded by the questionnaires possess all the earmarks of a representative sample. There seems every reason to believe that the picture they draw is typical of the entire Pullman force.

For purposes of analysis, those returning answers to the questionnaires have been divided into three groups - regular porters, extra porters, and maids. There were within this sample, 673 regular porters, 104 extra porters and 4 maids. The extra porters were considered separately in this way, because of the fact that their employment is too intermittent to make possible definite statements upon their wages or upon the details of their working conditions. For each of these three groups, the questionnaires have uncovered data of real importance relative to the personal characteristics, the wages and working conditions, and the living conditions of the men and women involved.

The personal characteristics of the 673 regular porters included in the sample of the questionnaires, mark them off as belonging to a respectable, steady type of worker. Their ages range from nineteen years to over seventy; their years of service from several months to over forty years. Only two maids are included within the sample; the remaining 671 are thus porters. Almost three quarters of these regular employees, or 532 of them, are married; 136 are single and 5 are widowed. The average family of these porters appears surprisingly small. Although many among them are responsible for the support of other adults, and although there are naturally children within the families of the group, the average family per mabried worker in the group as a whole, including the man himself, his wife, his children, and the full dependent adults is only 3.31 individuals.

The work conditions enjoyed by these 673 regular employees, as revealed by the questionnaire, brings us at once to the heart of the problem we are considering. Long runs appear to predominate among these porters. The average mileage per run recorded by the group as a whole is 1,282.38 miles. The men and women involved make on the average 14.6 runs per month, each of which takes them on the average 38.6 hours. But it is when we come to translate these characteristics into the monthly employment they make for the porter that we arrive at some indication of the sources of unrest now stirring their ranks. For these men hold runs which make each of them contribute on the average 295.36 hours of road work alone per month. Even this large figure, moreover, representing as it does only the monthly hours contained within the road service itself - mileage hours - does not tell the whole story. Each porter gives in addition some three hours each trip of preparatory time (preparing his car for its run and receiving passengers) and something over one hour of terminal time. He thus adds to his mileage time per run, some four hours of regular labor for which he receives no compensation whatsoever. This extra unpaid time increases his monthly labor by almost fifty hours, so that each porter on the average really works in regular monthly assignment 343.43 hours. Since this is an average figure it is true that many porters put in less time than this per month; but it is equally true for the same reason that many porters put in more. That these representative regular workers should labor on the average 343 hours each month, or the equivalent of almost twelve hours a day for seven days a week, is unquestionably a significant fact.

The monthly mileage accumulated by these men and women in regular assignment averages at a comparatively high level. Thus, on the average, they make 10,402.5 miles. Even this average figure, however, drawn as it is from a sample of workers among whom long runs appear to predominate, is still below the eleven thousand miles upon which the monthly wage rates are based. Thus at least one-half of the workers within this sample accumulate a monthly mileage which makes it difficult to earn overtime. However, the predominance of the long run within this sample does make more than due allowance for earning overtime rates within the Pullman service and for amassing that sizable income from tips which the long run especially is theoretically supposed to make possible. Consequently, we may safely regard any figures on income presented by the men within this sample as more than fair to the company.

But the analysis of the indome earned by these porters as a result of their labor again uncovers many startling conditions and disproves many notions which have been generally held. The Pullman Company at all times has asked that their admittedly low wage rates be measured against the substantial tips given the porters by the patrons of the Pullman cars. The findings of this analysis, however, would seem to establish that total income from tips is not at all as large as has been generally believed or claimed; that even the additions to the basic wage rate made by the tips do not provide the porters as a whole with a living wage, and that finally even the combined income from wages and tips represents only gross earnings from which must be regularly subtracted definite occupational expenses that serve to decrease invariably the amount of earnings that the porters can actually bring to the family budget.

The presence within this group of so many men who have known long service with the Company results naturally in placing many of them within the higher wage levels established by the Company. The average wage received by the group as a whole from the Pullman Company is $78.11. In other words, from the findings of this survey, the Pullman Company would seem to pay its porters an annual wage in the neighborhood of $935 on the average. Of course, there are men who earn more than this just as there are men who earn less, but the wage range established by the Pullman Company is so narrow that there is no reason to look for a very wide variation of individual wages about this average figure. Income from tips, of course, does increase this wage. But the strategic question, of course, is the amount of this increase.

To ascertain that amount the figures given by porters who kept definite records of their earnings from tips were analyzed separately from those given by porters who did not keep such records. It was interesting to observe that the average income from this source as well as the range of that income for these two groups within the sample showed little material difference. Taken together with other checks which we shall discuss later, this fact makes it seem safe to regard the figures yielded by the questionnaires on tips as a valid estimate of the actual earnings of the porters as a whole from this source. On the average, then, the 673 regular porters and maids included within this sample received $7.56 in tips during each run. Their total tips for the month averaged $58.15. To ascertain the gross earnings made by the porters, then, the income from tips each month was added to the payroll wages. When this was done, it was revealed that the regular employees within this sample accumulated gross earnings, on the average, of $152.18.

But it must be said at once, and emphasized strongly, that this figure cannot be taken to represent the average return to the porter for his 345 hours of labor every month. From it must be subtracted first the costs of his uniform until he has been ten years in the service, the cost of sleeping quarters at outlying termini (frequently, and of meals (always), while on the road, as well as the shoe polish which he must purchase for shining the shoes of the Company's patrons in accordance with the Company's orders. These expenses mount to no inconsiderable item in the total budget. When we include into the reckoning even those men who do not have to purchase their own uniforms, as well as those men who make use of the sleeping quarters supplied by the Company, the total expenditure per month reported by these porters for work expenses are by no means inconsiderable. Four hundred and seven of the porters within this sample report that they provide private sleeping quarters for themselves at outlying termini, paying on the average $1.25 per night for such accommodations. The average expenditure for shoe polish amounts to some thirty-three cents a week. Most porters while on the road buy their meals in the Pullman dining cars. They are charged at half rates for all food obtained there, and in addition, are required by custom and by the exigencies of their situation which brings them into continuous contact with the dining car waiters from whom they must obtain whatever food they get, to tip the waiter at every meal. The cost of eating thus on the road averages for the regular employees within this sample $1.62 per trip. Of the 675 regular employees considered in the sample, 241 were furnished with free uniforms since they have been in the service of the Company for more than ten years. But even when this fact - that these long service men incurred no cost whatsoever for uniforms - is included, we find that the group as a whole has to pay $4.28 each month out of their income to cover the cost of their uniforms. For most of the men recorded that they purchased the equivalent of two uniforms per year at an average cost of something over $30. Distributing this total cost over the year, we must in all justice include an expense of at least $4.28 to defray this item of the porter's occupational expense.

To summarize, then, these occupational expenses, which must be regularly incurred by the Pullman porter as an essential concomitant of his labor - that is the combined cost of shoe polish, uniforms, meals on the road and sleeping quarters when the men feel that they wish to provide private quarters for themselves - these occupational expenses make a total inroad into the gross monthly earnings of the porter of no less than $33.82. Thus we must subtract this amount to realize what are the actual net earnings which the porter obtains from his month's labor. When this is done, we find that the actual income which he derives as a wherewithal to meet living costs is only $90.25. He makes annually, then, something between $1,000.00 to $1,100.00; weekly, only some $22.00. And this income is the product, let it be remembered, of both the admittedly slender wage rate and the theoretically large tips.

The kind of life this actual net income enables the porter to provide for himself and his family is indicated to some extent by the findings of the questionnaires. The men and women of this group reported the payment of comparatively high rentals for the homes in which they lived. Even when lodgers were taken into the home, the income thus earned often made no material decrease in the rental cost. The expense of heating and lighting the home naturally adds to what may be called the "fixed charge" which the porter must meet each month in defraying the cost of his family budget. Thus we find that on the average, these regular employees pay for rent, (after the income from lodgers has been considered) for fuel, and for light, something over $51.00 per month. This leaves them a little less than $40.00 on the average from their net wages ($90.25) with which to purchase food, clothing, amusements, education and the other miscellaneous requirements of their families and themselves.

So much then for the evidence presented by the questionnaires on the conditions and earnings of the regular porters and maids replying to them, who, as we have seen, may well be regarded as representative of the entire Pullman service. The evidence presented on the status of the extra porters within this group, reveals even more unsatisfactory conditions. It is difficult to present summary figures for conditions which at best are indefinite and irregular. But this much at least is certain: irregular employment within the service, inability to supplement earnings by taking other employment outside of it, scanty tips, piece-rate wages, possible assignments to runs throughout the country, make the earnings and lives of these men and women indeed meagre and precarious.

As for the four maids who replied to the questionnaires, two were working as regular employees, and two as extras. Their conditions and earnings thus may be regarded as part of the evidence presented for these two types of employees as a whole. However, because they are so few in number, and because the problem of the maid possesses in some respects peculiarities of its own, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters has undertaken to give a separate presentation also to the information supplied by these four women employees. This separate analysis throws interesting light upon the conditions of the maids in the Pullman service. On the whole, the stories they tell bear the familiar earmarks of all the stories of Pullman workers. The fact that the Pullman Company apparently provides no sleeping quarters for its maids at outlying termini, and that the opportunities of these women to earn tips are limited does, however, give certain unusual turns to the evidence they present. We cannot but feel, therefore, that the full and detailed analysis of their conditions presented by the Brotherhood in its full report holds a real significance.

Of such nature, then, is the evidence of the questionnaires.

VI. THE EVIDENCE OF THE CASE STUDIES.

The evidence thus obtained from the questionnaires may be regarded as mass data. To produce such a "mass" picture of the situation as a whole, individual figures were submitted to tabulations, calculations and combinations; in the entity that results peculiar details are necessarily lost. The porters stand forth, not as rounded personalities, but rather as a group of men whose conditions and traits are concentrated at certain average levels and are distributed over certain ranges of variation. It appeared, therefore, that it would be undoubtedly helpful and illuminating to supplement this mass view by attempting to show the individual Pullman porter as a distinct personality. Any case studies however limited must yield an understanding of the porter's life more intimate, more graphic than can be obtained from a mass survey. For, they enable us to see not the disjointed characteristics peculiar to the whole group, but the complex, rounded personality that is the entire man. Men actually speak through them to reveal their backgrounds, their aspirations and hopes, their reactions to their work.

The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters can undertake to present only a limited number of such case studies through this current investigation. More, of course, can be collected and presented whenever specific need arises. Ten stories of the sort are here presented. Seven give the "life histories" of workers who are now numbered among the rank and file of the Pullman porters. Three present similar "life histories, of men who formerly worked in the Pullman service and who now are leading the movement for independent organization. The Brotherhood seeks to offer in these intimate studies of rank and file porters a concept of the actual men and women who are involved in this present dispute. It offers, in addition, the story of the present leaders of the Brotherhood who came to their new task from the service ranks of the Pullman Company in order to show the manner of men who today lead the movement for independent unionization.

The details of the story in each case were obtained through interviews. For various and obvious reasons, the names of the present employees who told their stories to the Brotherhood investigator are not given in the report; in the case of the leaders no such reasons for secrecy exist. All of the names, of course, are on record and are always available if it should prove desirable to establish the absolute authenticity of the stories presented, and be possible to do so without harming the employees involved.

To summarize the details of these life histories would be, we fear, to lose much of their essence. Suffice it to say that the testimony they yield in every way supports and substantiates the evidence of the questionnaires. The full length portraits of the rank and file porters that emerge from these case studies show individuals of steady, industrious bent, who devote long hours of hard labor to the Pullman service and who receive in return an inadequate, uncertain livelihood. They show how these men remain in the service because of certain personal advantages that may accrue to them from it, or because they are only too conscious of the fact that their black skins still restrict their employment opportunities in the United States, or because they hope that amelioration of the conditions from which they feel they now suffer will eventually be won. Most of the men also stressed the continuing responsibilities they had to numerous people beside themselves; such realization always makes a worker chary of relinquishing the job he holds. And thus there emerges from these case studies the individual emotions, ideas, and hopes that enter into the group unrest and determination lying behind the work of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

The portrayals of the three leaders of the Brotherhood who came to their new work from the Pullman ranks possess a many sided significance. It is always important to know the kind of men who lead a given movement. For although the place of any movement in the social life of a community must, in a final analysis, be determined by its rank and file, leadership exerts an important influence in directing its activity. Again, during long years of service in the Pullman Company, these men participated in all the activities which the Company launched in the name of its employees. Two of them served as employee representatives under the Plan of Employee Representation. Two of them were officers in the Pullman Porters' Benefit Association. Always active, these men made a real attempt to obtain from the mechanisms of industrial relations established by the Company whatever good they might hold for the rank and file of the porters and maids. They have at all times been trusted and respected by their fellow employees and by their employer. They have much to tell, therefore, about the realities of industrial relations in the Pullman service. The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters cannot but feel that their case will win added dignity in the eyes of the American public from the fact that Roy Lancaster, William H. DesVerney, and Ashley L. Totten have been willing to leave the established positions which they had won for themselves in the Pullman employ; in two instances to forfeit whatever advantages in seniority might accrue from serving the Company for thirty-eight and seventeen years respectively; in a word, "to burn their bridges thus completely behind them" because they felt after more than fair trial that justice and bargaining equality for the Pullman porters and maids lay only in independent organization.

Of such nature, then, is the evidence of the case studies.

VII. AMERICAN STANDARDS OF LIVING AND THE PORTER

Data on the porter's income and real earnings assume significance only as they are measured by certain recognized yardsticks. To hear that the Pullman porter earns on the average from his 343 hours of labor each month a net income of only a little more than $90.00 is to be almost immediately startled. But his sense of amazement arises only because we have come to realize that $90.00 under current conditions will not satisfy those standard needs which admittedly enter into the American worker's standard of living. Scientific analysis of the content of this American standard of living has become increasingly abundant and accurate. Attempts to measure and define the American standard, to grade it for various levels of social living, to measure it by costs prevalent in various localities, are being constantly made. The Bureau of Labor Statistics of the United States Department of Labor, numerous official state agencies, employers' organizations, labor organizations and academic organizations have worked and are working toward establishing the current meaning at given times of the American standard of living. We have at our disposal, therefore, a vast mass of material which may serve as measuring rods of the adequacy of the earnings made possible to the workers in the service department of the Pullman Company.

As our first step in this process of measuring and testing the porters' income, we would seek first to establish the fact that our estimate of the size of that income is a fair one. Obviously, the first element in the porters' earnings are the wage rates paid by the Company. From the evidence submitted in the questionnaires we find that this rate averages somewhere in the neighborhood of $78.00. The estimate of total tips by which this income is supplemented, according to the findings of the questionnaires, is about $58.00. Various considerations, which we would advance in summary here, make us believe that this estimate is more than fair:

For instance, in considering the earnings of the Pullman porters in 1918, the National War Labor Board accepted an estimate of $40.00 in tips as fair approximation of what porters actually earn from this source. On July 19, 1926, again, an apparently inspired release in the Wall Street Journal presented, among other things, interesting figures on income derived from tips by the Pullman porters and maids. According to this release, the Pullman service carried during the preceding year 22,470,751 sleeping car passengers and 13,655,052 seat passengers. The release also stated that it seems fair to estimate that each of these sleeping car passengers tipped the porter 25¢; and that each of the seat passengers tipped him 10¢. This would give a total tribute in tips from the traveling public of $6,923,193. If we figure the number of porters in actual service, as this article did, at 10,400, it would point to an average income from tips for each of them of about $55.00 per month. This estimate comes remarkably close to the $58.00 average income from tips derived from the evidence in the questionnaires.

It seems safe, then, to regard the figures on average gross income from wages and tips presented by the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters as the finding of its questionnaires a fair picture of the actual situation. We do not believe that any strong challenge can be made to the practice of subtracting from this gross income the total expenses incurred by the porters in the regular course of their work. True, men must not buy their own uniforms after they have been ten years in the service, But until that time, and just during the period when the porter stands in the lower wage levels, he must purchase his own uniform. True again, the Pullman Company does provide sleeping quarters for its porters at outlying termini. Nevertheless a large portion of the men reported to the Brotherhood that, for various reasons which may be discussed later, they prefer to provide private quarters for themselves. There is an interesting parallel to this preference offered in the following: Although the Pullman Company provides similar sleeping quarters for its conductors also, the President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Conductors writes us that about fifty per cent of the conductors prefer to provide their own accommodations.

Need we argue at all that the cost of shoe polish is a true occupational burden placed upon the meagre earnings of the porter? The Pullman Company makes the shining of its patrons' shoes one of the recognized duties of its porters. When this same patron is not on the road, he frequently pays ten cents plus tip to a bootblack for this service. On the road the Pullman Company wishes its porters to give this same service to whichever of its patrons may desire it, but with the polish purchased out of the slender earnings of the porter rather than out of its own full coffers. And similarly consider the meals that must be purchased by the porter in the course of his trip. Dining car rates, even discounted by half, are not low. Precedence for the provision of road expenses for traveling employees by their employers are by no means few. One need only mention the expense accounts of the traveling salesman. But the poorly paid Pullman porter buys his own meals out of earnings that hardly make possible even discounted dining car rates.

But whatever may be the arguments for or against the payment of these occupational expenses by the porter, the fact remains that he must pay them. Thus he must take on the average some $33.00 from his already inadequate earnings in order that he may continue to work as a Pullman porter. Thus, many porters have reported to us that their income from tips usually does little more than cover their expenses on the road. For the group as a whole, the need of defraying work expenses leaves them with an average net income of only something over $90.00 as a result of a long and hard month's labor. It is this net income of $90.00 a month, apparently, as we have now seen, an entirely fair estimate - these annual earnings of from $1,000 to $1,100 on the average - that must be measured against the cost of living, against the cost of providing a recognized American standard of life.

In attempting to accomplish such measurement, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters has studied all the various estimates that have been made of the cost of maintaining a workingman's family in the United States. These studies may be divided into two large types. In the first place, there have been investigations made into the actual family expenditures made by American workers throughout the United States. The Bureau of Labor Statistics in 1919 published the results of an extensive budgetary study of this sort from figures collected among numerous families in 92 cities throughout the United States. The National Industrial Conference Board, a research organization supported by various associations of employers, compiled similar figures in 1924. In the second place, attempts have been made to establish the annual expenditures made necessary to support an American family in accordance with various accepted standards. These budgets consider the quantity and cost of food, shelter, clothing, and various other expenses required to maintain a normal family in accordance with certain accepted principles of dietary, clothing, housing and general family needs. The basic study of "standard budgets", of course, has been those furnished by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the United States. The Bureau has established certain norms of quantity and quality needed to maintain a family of five - husband, wife, and three minor children - in health and decency according to the normal standards of life prevailing among clerical Civil Service employees in Washington, D. C. In addition to this, the Bureau has set up what is known as a quantity budget, which can be priced at various times to yield "a minimum health and decency budget" for a "standard American family." Similar budgetary studies have been made by various official state agencies, by employers' and labor organizations, and by various academic agencies.

These budgets set up various levels of life. There are, in general, three of these levels within which the standard budgets are made to fall. At the bottom of the list stands what is known as the "minimum of subsistence" level, on which a man is barely able to maintain physical existence in a civilized community. When those decencies are added which enable a workingman to maintain dignity and self respect in the community in which he moves, we attain what has been designated by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics as "the minimum of health and comfort level." The Brotherhood is considering only these two levels because it hardly feels that any argument would be made for the "pauper or poverty level" which "represents roughly a standard of living just above where families receive aid from charity or where they run into serious debt." The Bureau of Labor Statistics itself has figured the standard budget for the family of a clerical worker in the Civil Service at the "health and decency level." Since this budget has been widely used as a standard of reference, the Brotherhood also in its full report has placed major emphasis upon its contents.

It is important to realize, therefore, that even this budget, in the words of the Bureau itself was "in no way intended as an ideal budget. It was intended to establish a bottom level of health and decency below which a family can not go without danger of physical and moral deterioration. This budget does not include many comforts which should be included in a proper 'American Standard of Living.' Thus no provision is directly made for savings other than insurance, nor for vacations, nor for books and other educational purposes.

"On the other hand, a family with the items listed in this budget should be able to maintain itself in health and modest comfort. It would have a sufficiency of food, respectable clothing, and a minimum of the essential 'sundries'".

Modest as even this standard budget is, it represents the most generous standard used by the Brotherhood in this investigation. The other standards presented either use the calculations of the Bureau of Labor Statisties as a basis, or represent levels which are lower than those urged by the Federal Bureau. In order to bring the budgets (actual and standard) presented up to date, the Brotherhood has, of course, submitted the original figures to various statistical techniques which are generally used for purposes of this sort. The cost of the budget considered at the time of original pricing is adjusted in accordance with the decrease or increase in the cost of living that has taken place since that time in the territorial center in which the prices were originally obtained. In the full report of its investigation, the Brotherhood presents a detailed description of these methods. In this place, it is necessary merely to offer the results obtained.

The budgets against which the porters' wage is measured have been classified according to the class of worker for whom they have been devised. Thus, in addition to the figures for the actual family expenditures by workingmen throughout the United States, we have budgets which have been calculated for: (1) Laborers, (2) "Workmen", (3) Clerical workers. In considering these budgets, let us remember that the average net earnings of the porters and maids are about $1,100.00.

ESTIMATE OF THE COST OF VARIOUS FAMILY BUDGETS IN JUNE, 1926

Kind of Budget	By Whom Calculated	Center in which originally priced	Date of Original Pricing	Cost at Date of Original Pricing	Cost June, 1926
Actual	Bureau of Labor Statistics	92 cities in 42 states	July 1918 - Feb. 1919	$1,434.57 (average)	$1,519.00
	National Ind. Conf. Board	Based on above	Dec. 1924	$1,418.70	$1,462.66
Clerical Workers' Standard	Bureau of Labor Statistics	Washington, D. C.	Aug. 1919	$2,262.47	$2,119.93
	Bureau of Municipal Research	New York	April 1921	$2,172.00	$2,069.46
Workingman's Standard	Labor Bureau, Inc.*	10 cities*	1920 1922		$2,433.93 (average)
	Reed College*	Portland, Oregon	Jan. 1924	$1,859.98	$1,910.20
	Phila. Bureau of Municipal Research	Phila. Pa.	Aug. 1918	$1,636.79	$1,741.54
	National Ind. Conf. Board	Detroit, Mich.	Sept. 1921	$1,697.95	$1,667.39
	Nat. War Labor Board	Eastern Cities U.S.	June, 1918	$1,760.00	$1,959.52
Laborers' Standard	California Civil Service Comm.	San Francisco, Los Angeles, Sacramento	Nov., 1921	$2,049.57	$1,998.33
	New York City Board of Estimate	New York	Feb. 1917	$980.42	$1,460.83

*In each case, these Agencies priced the tentative quantity budget drawn up for a workingman's family by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, in 1920. The Labor Bureau obtained the costs of this "minimum quantity budget necessary to maintain a worker's family at a level of health and decency" in New York, Measured against these standards, from the highest to the lowest, the wages earned by the Pullman porter from tips, as well as actual wage rates, loom small indeed. For instance: from the point of view of every provision of life which should be made for an American worker, the budget devised by the New York City Board of Estimate for unskilled laborers in its employ is the most meagre of all these budgets - a mere subsistence budget for unskilled laborers. Yet even this budget could not be met today without an annual income of $1,460.83. The Pullman porters and maids on the average obtain a net income from their labor each year of only some $1,100.00, even when tips have been included in the reckoning. It should be emphasized, however, that the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters is by no means willing to accept the most meagre standards extant as a measure of the wages that should be earned by its members. It urges strongly the acceptance of the standard quantity budget devised by the Bureau of Labor Statistics to assure a worker's family a minimum of health and decency as a measure of just earnings. This budget as priced by two agencies requires today an income of at least some $2,000.00 in the various large cities of the United States before its requirements can be met. Similarly the standard quantity and cost budget calculated by the Federal Bureau itself for Washington civil service employees demands an annual income of over $2,000.00 before its requirements can be met. It should be noted that even the minimum rates now demanded by the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, $150.00 a month, would yield the porters an annual income of $1,800.00 - an income by no means too high once the modest standards set by the Government for American workers are accepted. But the present wage of the porter, tips and all included, enables him to meet no standard requirements at all, whether

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(Footnote continued from page 40) *Philadelphia, Chicago, Schenectady, Rochester, San Francisco, Reading, Minneapolis, Los Angeles and Brooklyn. The Reed College survey obtained similar prices for the budget in Portland, Oregon.

they be of the lowest level or of the highest.

One argument may still be urged against this practice of measuring the porters' earnings by standard budgets. Practically all of the standard budgets calculated base their calculations on the needs of the census family of mother, father and three minor children. The use of this sized family in budgetary studies has been defended not only because it attempts to translate census population into a rough family distribution, but also because every workman should be able to maintain and rear such a family if American civilization is to survive. However, as we have seen, the average sized family which the Pullman porter must support, according to the findings of the questionnaires, numbers only 3.27 individuals. The Brotherhood, of course, feels that this can by no means be considered an ideal condition. It is, however, an actual condition; the Brotherhood throughout wishes to give full weight to all the facts. Can we, then, obtain any conception of the income required to maintain such a family at a minimum of health and decency?

Fortunately, we have ready to our hand a standard devised to meet an exactly similar situation. In preparing its own cost of living survey, the California State Civil Service Commission, interestingly enough, discovered that the average family supported by workers in the employ of the Civil Service, is also smaller than the standard census family. Its average size, including employee, wife, children and full dependent adults was found to be only 3.31 individuals, a figure remarkably close to that representing the average sized family of the porters. To meet this situation, the California Commission calculated the cost of its budgets for families of various sizes among the different grades of workers in its employ - laborers, clerks and executives. Calculations were made for employees who are still single, for a family composed only of man and wife, for a family of man, wife and one child, two children, and three children. The Brotherhood has taken from the

California report the budget requirements of a laborer, wife and child as the size family approaching somewhat more closely the actual situation found to exist among the porters. Today, such a family would require an income of $1,621.76 in California to live with a minimum of health and decency.

Measured by every test to which they may be submitted, then, the earnings of the Pullman porters, even after their tips are included in the reckoning, are inadequate. They are below the average maintenance expenditures which are actually made by families throughout the United States; they are below the standards which have been set by reputable agencies of all kinds for laborers, for "workers", and for clerical workers; for the "subsistence" of an unskilled laborer and for the achievement of a minimum of health and decency for any worker; for the maintenance of the actually small family of the average porter or for the maintenance of the standard "census" family.

VIII. AMERICAN STANDARDS OF LIVING AND THE PORTER AS A NEGRO

It seems indeed regrettable that there should be even a possibility of any argument against the comparison of the porter's earnings with the requirements of the American worker's standard budget, on the ground that the porter is a Negro. Yet there is still an undoubted tendency abroad in the country to feel that the American worker who is a Negro should not expect to achieve as high a standard of living as the white worker. Moreover, lower wages for colored workers tend too frequently to be accepted as a matter of course on the ground that the actual prices they must pay for their budget requirements are lower. Convinced that no viewpoint could be less justified by the facts, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters wishes now to show why the American "standard of living", as defined by recognized budgetary studies, must apply to all American workers regardless of race or color.

No sooner do we actually examine the contents of the Negro's cost of living than we discover that he must pay not only as much as the white worker for most items of his budget, but often more for many of them; and that, in addition, he runs greater health risks when exposed to the dangers of an inadequate standard of living than do even the white workers. Let us consider first the testimony on this score of experts who have wide experience with Negro workers. Perhaps no one has stated the first aspect of the situation more graphically than Mr. George Edmond Haynes, director of the Bureau of Negro Economics of the United States Department of Labor, when he said:

> "It may be well to remember that this danger of paying Negroes lower wages exists not because Negroes want lower wages than other workers, but because, as in the case of women, there is a prevalent idea that Negro wage earners should be paid less than white wage earners for the same work . . . .
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> "Those who accept this notion overlook the fact that the Negro buys his bread, butter and beefsteak in the same market as other purchasers, that investigations have shown that he pays higher rent for similar houses, and that his clothing must be bought at current prices in about the same quantity as other workers. It would seem that the Negro is expected to produce from his dark skin some alchemy which will transmute smaller pay than white workers receive into equal standards of food, shelter, and clothing in spite of similar demands from grocer, landlord and clothier."

In our opinion this truth cannot be emphasized too strongly. When we recall that the majority of the porters live in large cities, as their distribution within the operating zones of the Pullman Company reveals, we realize how such a view of the whole situation makes the American standard of living especially applicable to the Negro porter. Who, when all is said and done, knows of any retail markets in these cities that offer Negroes cheaper food, cheaper clothing, cheaper goods of any kind than they do the white workers in general? When the Negro worker pays less he gets a poorer quality of goods. In this, too, his status as a consumer is entirely similar to that of the white worker.

Moreover, the evidence upon which Mr. Haynes bases his statement that Negro workers pay even more for housing than do their white brethren is wide and convincing. Specific studies of housing conditions among Negro workers have been undertaken by specially constituted bureaus in Chicago, in Philadelphia, in Pittsburgh, in Texas, and in Missouri. In practically all of these places it was seen that the Negro, of all other workers, today finds it most difficult to obtain decent housing, that he suffers from crowding, insanitary conditions, high rentals for poor accommodations, discrimination with its resulting herding in "Negro quarters", and lack of the improvements and facilities which are essential to a minimum of healthful shelter. Official and welfare agencies everywhere are seeking to discover some remedy for these conditions; the Negroes themselves are making strenuous efforts at self-help. However, poor and insanitary housing conditions at relatively high rentals are still one of the difficulties confronting the average Negro worker and thus the average porter.

Poor and insanitary housing conditions, inadequate food, unsatisfactory standards of life exact their toll from every worker whose misfortune it is to be subjected to them. But the Negro worker must pay an even greater price for them than must workers generally. It has long been known that the Negro population of the United States exhibits a greater morbidity than the white. The testimony on this subject shows them to be especially susceptible to diseases of the lungs, and of the skin, and to epidemic diseases. The explanation usually given for this greater susceptibility may be summarized under four major causes: In the first place, Negroes have not yet acquired immunity to certain new diseases. For instance "it is well known that in his native state the Negro is free from tuberculosis and that this was true also prior to his liberation. In common with other infectious diseases, tuberculosis is especially prone to become widespread among those who lack an acquired immunity . . . ." In the second place, the insanitary conditions of home life under which a large portion of the race must live have frequently been held responsible for its greater morbidity rates. Similarly low wages with all their consequences to physical and nervous well-being have been regarded as contributory to this heavy sickness and death rate of the Negro. Finally, the Negro's ignorance of preventative measures have made it difficult for him to win protection against the ravages of these underlying factors of ill health.

In the full report of its investigation, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters demonstrates how such an analysis of the second aspect of this whole matter is substantiated by the opinions of such authorities as Dr. H. R. M. Landis and Dr. Royal S. Copeland, and by such an agency as the Whittier Center. Perhaps the most startlingly convincing proof that can be adduced in support of it, however, lies in the figures themselves. According to the 1920 Census, for instance, the mortality rates in the total registration area show that 1259.5 deaths per 100,000 of the population occur from all causes among the whites, while 1800.0 deaths per 100,000 occur similarly among the Negroes. While the death rate from tuberculosis of the lungs among the whites is 87.7, that among the negroes is 259.6. While the death rate from pneumonia among the whites is 131.3, that among the negroes is 201.3. During the year of the influenza epidemic after the war, the death rate from influenza and pneumonia among the whites was 569.57, while among the Negroes it was 799.88. Figures of this sort could be multiplied almost indefinitely to show how Negroes in the United States suffer more from most of the diseases the spread of which is furthered in good measure by poor living conditions.

May we not conclude, then, that the American standard of life is unquestionably a measure of the Negro porter's earnings - this Negro American worker who must pay as much and more for what he needs and who suffers so heavily in sickness and early death from any lowering of his living standards. At the very outset of its argument, it will be remembered, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters called special attention to the fact that the porter service was a Negro industry; that the Pullman Company desires to draw its porters and maids from the Negro race, at the same time that it is unwilling to offer them any chance for advancement save that alone presented by the inadequate wage scales of the service itself. The Brotherhood feels that it has clearly revealed some of the significances residing in this aspect of the porter's case.

IX. HISTORY OF THE PORTERS' WAGES AND WORKING CONDITIONS

Thus far, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters has limited its argument to the present status of the Pullman porter. It is important from many points of view, however, to inquire into the history of this status, to trace the steps by which the Pullman porter achieved even those wages and working conditions which he now enjoys. The sources from which to draw information pertinent to such an inquiry are limited. As we have already pointed out, it is only within very recent years that the Pullman Company has placed on formal record any part of its working relationships with the porters and maids. Until the end of 1915 there was nowhere any record drawn which may now be culled for such a purpose. But in 1915 employees and officials of the Pullman Company testified before the United States Commission on Industrial Relations created by the Act of August 23, 1912. Consequently, Volume X of the Final Report and Testimony submitted to Congress by the Commission contains 150 pages upon conditions in the Pullman Company, which transcribe the testimony directly offered at the hearings of the Commission. The next formal record of changes in the conditions and earnings of the Pullman porter appears during the war. Supplement 7 of General Order #21 of the Railroad Labor Administration, contains facts on the new conditions established at that time for the porters. Since 1920, we may turn, as we have seen, to the transactions of the Company and its employee representatives under the Plan of Employee Representation. In addition to the documents, of course there is always the memory of the porters who have grown old in the Pullman service. Valuable as their recollections may be for general purposes, they are often and naturally unreliable as far as specific dates and specific changes are concerned.

The testimony of these sources of information on the development of the porter's work and wages reveals, in the main, how few have been the major changes written into them. The duties laid upon the porter's shoulders have varied over the years, as the technical equipment of the service was changed. In the late eighties, when the cars were lit by lamps and heated by the so-called Baker's coils, the duties of the porter in tending the car naturally showed certain variations from their duties today. But basically they were even then the same type of duties that are today exacted from him. Some changes there have been, some additions on the one hand and some eliminations on the other, but on the whole the porter service in 1926 is easily recognized in the picture of that service as the records describe it for earlier years. Through the testimony presented in 1915 before the Industrial Relations Commission are scattered the details of a more or less complete picture of the porter service at that time - a picture that bears out the truth of the foregoing generalization.

Briefly summarizing these details, we find in them mainly a picture of grievances presented by the porters and attempts by the Company to explain or justify the conditions complained of by the porters and questioned by the investigators. Thus in 1915 porters were paid by the month for long and arduous labor. Apparently that wage was paid on a day basis. We find the porters complaining then as now that they received no compensation for the toil they gave as "preparatory and terminal time." This extra labor, it would seem, has always been exacted without any compensation to the porter. Many complaints also were made before the Commission against the lack of provision for sleep on the road. The nature of the work and the existence of long runs has always made the problem of sleep en route a pressing one. Similarly the porters complained against the practice of "doubling out" - of going out on a new trip as soon as they return from an old one. In 1915 the men received no pay at all for time consumed by delays in the schedule of the train/in which their car ran. (Today they are paid for all delays beyond one hour). Then again, as now, they incurred various work expenses. Many of the porters paid for sleeping accommodations at outlying termini; practically all of them bought their meals in the dining cars. All of them furnished shoe polish at all times and provided their own uniforms until they had been ten years in the service. Finally, then as now, the porters guarded the car, tended the passenger's every need, kept sick passengers isolated if they were in any way a source of contamination to others, safeguarded the equipment of the car and the personal property in it.

In return for these manifold duties and this long and hard labor, the porter received at that time $27.50 on standard sleeping and parlor cars. Porters in service over fifteen years were allowed an annual bonus of five per cent of their wages. Even then the porters complained against the tipping system and petitioned for its abolition. Such was the service in 1915.

The Railroad Labor Administration made an attempt to grant the Pullman porters certain long desired improvements in working conditions. Thus it ruled that when the porters had completed more than three hundred hours in regular assignment during the month, or had received less than six days relief at home, they were to be paid at the rate of twenty-five cents per hour for all "preparatory and terminal time" more than one hour in duration. General Order 27, again formally recognized the need for "providing for rest and sleep en route" in the porter service without stating the amount of time which should be so provided. It was also provided that the men should receive extra compensation when required to "double out" or to perform any work outside of their regular assignment. Thus the Railroad Labor Administration attempted to assure the Pullman porters of some compensation for the extra labor of preparing their car for its trip and putting it into shape after the trip, of some definite provision for sleep on the road, and of some safeguard against "doubling out." Finally, it established minimum wages of $60.00 per month.

Since we have already reviewed the changes instituted by the working agreements of 1924 and 1926, we are now in a position to say that most of the conditions against which the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters is now protesting in the name of its members have long constituted grievances in the Pullman service. From the records of 1915 and after, and from the memories of veteran porters, we know that service employees have long sought payment for preparatory and terminal time; that with the exception of the war period they never received any such payment, however many hours of such time they were required to give; that today they do not have even that slight compensation that was awarded by the Railroad Labor Administration; that the men have always found the heavy work expenses incidental to their employment an onerous burden on their always slender earnings; that they have always protested the fact that their wages are based on labor equivalent to a twelve hour day and a seven day week; that tips have always constituted an indefinite and unsatisfactory source of earnings; that "doubling out" has always been a drain on their health; and that wages have been at all times pitiful and entirely inadequate compensation for the work performed.

It may be worth while to present a tabular representation of the movement of wages in the Pullman Service from 1897, the closing years of the last century, to the present. In such a tabulation we are enabled to present a birdseye view of the wage history of the Pullman porter over the last thirty years.

MONTHLY WAGE RATES OF THE PULLMAN PORTERS
JUNE 1, 1897 TO DATE

Date wage rate established	Monthly Minimum Wage	Increase with years of service	Monthly Maximum Rate for best paid grade of Service	Special Bonuses
June 1,1897	$20.00	None	$40.00	None
June 1,1901	25.00	None	40.00	From 1907 through 1918 porters with a clear record for the year received an extra month's salary* 10% bonus in 1917
June 1,1911	27.50	From July 1,1913 to June 30,191 6 5% of annual salary to porters of over 15 years' service	47.25	
Jan. 1,1916	30.00		50.00	
Jan. 1,1918	47.50	15 year service wage grade established July 1, 1916	71.50	None
Jan.1, 1919	60.00		75.00	None
Feb.1, 1924	65.00		95.00	None
Apr. 1,1924	67.00	2, 5, 15 year service wage grades	96.50	None
Feb.15,1926	72.50		104.00	None

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* The bonus paid for "clear record" from 1907 through 1918 was based on the system of "book suspensions". Under this system porters lost no pay when "suspended." Instead, reprimands or suspensions effrom five days to fifteen days were entered on the books for derelictions of duty. A reprimand or such a "book suspension" against a porter's record could be erased by subsequent clear service, that is, service marred by no penalizations under the "book suspension" system. A reprimand required three months clear service for erasure; a five day suspension was erased by six months clear service; a ten day suspension by nine months, and a fifteen day suspension by a year's. Since a book suspension could be erased only by clear service earned within the same year, Pullman employees often complained that they would be "written up" close to the end of the year and thus lose any chance to earn the extra bonus even though they might have given over eleven months of "clear record" service.

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

SUBJECT FILE Conference of Negro Leaders

Jan. 1965
&
Undated

In attendance at Conference of Negro Leaders

Ella Baker - Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
Timuel Black - Negro American Labor Council
Theodore E. Brown - American Negro Leadership Conference on Africa
Rev. Frank E. Churchill - A.M.E. Zion Church

Hon. E. Harrison Clark, Grand Master of N. Y., Conference of Grand Masters, Prince Hall Masons

Dr. Kenneth Clark - The City College of New York
Rev. Joseph C. Coles - Christian Methodist Episcopal Church
Courtland Cox - Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
Gloster Current - National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

Robert Curvin - Congress of Racial Equality
Ruby Dee - Actors' Equity, SAG, AFTRA
Ossie Davis - Actors' Equity, SAG, AFTRA
Ivanhoe Donaldson - Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

Rev. Walter Fauntroy - Southern Christian Leadership Conference
James Forman - Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
Rev. Julio M. Garcia - United Presbyterian Church

Lawrence Guyot - Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party
Dr. Anna Arnold Hedgeman - United Church Board
Dorothy Height - National Council of Negro Women
Daisy C. Hicks - Committee for United Negro Relief
James Hicks - National Newspaper Publishers Association

Norman Hill - Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO
William R. Hudgins - Freedom National Bank
Sallie Edward Johnson - National Council of Negro Women
Reginald A. Johnson - National Urban League
Dr. Dorsey Edward Lane - Howard University

Dr. J. Oscar Lee - National Council of Churches
Hon. John H. Lewis - Grand District Deputy - I.B.P.O.E. of W.
Dr. John A. Morsell - National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
Henry Moon - National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
Edward Murrain - National Newspaper Publishers Association

Pauli Murray - Yale University
L. Joseph Overton - Negro American Labor Council
Guichard Parris - National Urban League
A. Philip Randolph - Negro American Labor Council
Cleveland Robinson - Negro American Labor Council

Horace Sheffield - Negro American Labor Council
Andrew Tyler - Harlem Lawyers Association
Dr. Charles L. Warren - The Methodist Church
George Wiley - Congress of Racial Equality
Roy Wilkins - National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
Arthur Wright - Catholic Interracial Council
Rev. Andrew Young - Southern Christian Leadership Conference
Whitney M. Young, Jr. - National Urban League

SCHEDULE

Conference of Negro Leaders

Saturday and Sunday, January 30 - 31, 1965
National Council of Churches
475 Riverside Drive
New York City

SATURDAY

9:00 AM - Registration

10:00 AM - Remarks by A. Philip Randolph followed by three papers to stimulate discussion.

1. The Job Problem - Whitney Young, Jr.
2. The Forces on the Left and Right - Bayard Rustin
3. General Strategy for 1965 - Roy Wilkins

12 Noon - Lunch

1:30 PM - Comments on the three papers listed above by a representative of each of the following organizations:

1. Southern Christian Leadership Conference
2. Congress of Racial Equality
3. Student Nonviolent Coordinating Council

3:00 PM - General discussion

5:00 PM - Dinner

7:30 PM - Workshops: The Conference will divide into workshops for more intense discussion of the three papers and related matters suggested by the general discussion.

SUNDAY

10:30 AM - 1. Reports from the workshops
2. Discussion

1:00 PM - Lunch

2:30 PM - Plenary Session

This final session is designed to provide for all an opportunity to present any resolutions, propositions, projects or proposals that may seem relevant for the movement. However, no action can be taken by this session since such proposals would of necessity have to be referred back to the various organizations. It is further understood that the ultimate acceptance of such proposals would be by unanimity.

5:15 PM - Summary statement: A. Philip Randolph

Conference closes at 5:30 PM sharp

Note: The press will not be present at any of the Conference sessions. Whether or not a statement will be made to the press following the Conference will be determined by the Conference at the final plenary session.

Inquiries should be directed to
A. Philip Randolph
217 West 125 Street
New York, N. Y. 10027
MOnument 2-5080

Invitation to a Conference of Negro Leaders
from A. Philip Randolph

The Civil Rights Revolution has entered a new period. Following increasing pressure from our movement, expressed in direct action and demonstrations culminating in the historic March on Washington, Congress finally passed the landmark Civil Rights Act of 1964. Yet, in the midst of this victory, we are conscious of problems more complex and acute than perhaps any we have faced before.

The time has come for those who believe in the struggle for racial equality and integration through democratic and nonviolent means to come together to analyze, interpret and evaluate the forces and direction of the Civil Rights Revolution in the year 1965.

At its Fourth Annual Convention, the Negro American Labor Council asked me to issue a call for such a conference and to invite representatives of Negro civil rights organizations, churches, fraternal groups, women's groups, etc. In keeping with that earnest request I have called such a conference.

The Conference will convene on Saturday morning, January 30, 1965 at 10:00 A.M., and will conclude on the following Sunday afternoon at 5:00 P.M. It will be held at the headquarters of the National Council of Churches, 475 Riverside Drive, New York City.

Your organization is invited to designate or send not more than ___ delegate(s). I believe that it would be little short of criminal to urge you to attend this conference if it were to result in no more than another exchange of views. At the same time, it would be misleading to suggest that we hope to come out of it with a new Grand Strategy, to which everybody will have to be committed.

Our purpose, instead, is to examine the principal areas of goals and strategies to which the Negro community is, or should be, devoted for the year ahead; and to clarify the alternatives we face, so that those who must choose alternatives can do so with the assurance that others in the community understand where they are heading. In other words, we do not seek a surface "unity" where none is feasible (or desirable); we do expect to make various courses of action possible in an atmosphere of mutual confidence rather than suspicion.

Shortly, I will be sending you an outline of the Conference program. There will be a few brief presentations by persons in a position, we hope, to set facts before us in succinct and objective fashion; followed by intensive discussion whose results will be summarized at a final session.

No working press will be admitted to the Conference. The Conference itself will decide at its conclusion whether there will be an official statement to the press.

The number of persons invited will be kept small enough to be manageable while still being representative. We do not anticipate that there will be more than sixty conferees all told. Invitation is by organization, and the number of organizational representatives is strictly limited to the figure given on the first page.

In order to cover the Conference expenses, we are asking each delegate to pay a $5.00 registration fee. Each participant will provide for his own meals and housing.

Thank you for your interest. I hope to see you on January 30.

NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL

217 WEST 125th STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10027 • MOnument 2-5080

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For Release: Friday, January 29, 1965

CONFERENCE OF NEGRO LEADERS

A. Philip Randolph today announced that 50 Negro leaders, representing the major civil rights, labor, church, fraternal, professional, and business groups in the Negro community will confer on strategy and tactics at a conference in New York, Saturday and Sunday, January 30 and 31.

The conference will be held at the headquarters of the National Council of Churches, 475 Riverside Drive, New York City.

Those national groups that are dedicated to democracy and integration through nonviolent means have been invited to attend.

No working press will be admitted to the sessions; the conference itself will determine at its conclusion whether or not there will be a statement to the press.

Enclosed you will find a copy of the invitation to the conference which will provide some information on purpose and details.

- 30 -

STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

Conference of Negro Leaders
January 31, 1965, New York, N.Y.

The Conference of Negro leaders was initiated in order that those who are involved in the struggle for racial equality and integration might come together to analyze, interpret and evaluate the resources and the direction of the Civil Rights Revolution in 1965. Recognizing the diversity of emphasis with respect to programs, strategies and tactics among the various civil rights organizations, the Conference sought to clarify the courses of action possible in an atmosphere of mutual concern.

The Conference recognized that the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Economic Opportunity Act make possible a new climate in which the first responsibility of civil rights groups is to consolidate the political consciousness of Negro Americans gained through the effective use of their vote in the 1964 Presidential campaign. Of equal importance is their responsibility for undertaking an intensive educational campaign to acquaint Negroes with their rights and expanded opportunities under the new legislation. It is a fact that, despite its gains, the Negro community is still faced with the crushing burden of disproportionate unemployment, low wages, inadequate and segregated education, police brutality, the miseries of slum living and continued stubborn resistance to the right to vote.

It was therefore the consensus of the Conference that the major tool for correcting these evils lies in maximum application of political power and that political action should be the major point of emphasis of the civil rights movement during 1965. This means the acceleration of voter registration and voting in all elections, federal, state and local; the widest possible political education through involvement and through an understanding of the issues. It means pressing the issue of the right to vote and of Federal responsibility for guaranteeing that right where it is denied. It means the vigorous exercise of the constitutional rights of freedom of speech, assembly and petition through peaceful demonstrations. It means the exploration and utilization of new and creative challenges by all groups, including student groups, to racial barriers in the political process. It means the pursuit of further Federal legislation in those areas where it is needed, as for example, removal of barriers to voting, increase of the minimum wage and the extension of coverage to all workers, public works for immediate employment opportunities, etc. It means the development and use of techniques for more realistic desegregation of all public educational institutions and more effective education of Negro children in all public schools in the North and the South. It also means the adequate representation of Negroes at all levels of policy making and administration of government as well as in the administration of programs, both public and private, designed to correct inequities. It finally means the need for creative social intervention to reverse the vicious circle of deprivation to which Negroes have been subject and to enable them more quickly to overcome the special disabilities of this historical experience.

We confidently expect that we shall pursue our objectives with the ever expanding support and cooperation of all liberal forces of the nation; that is, labor, organized religion, civic associations, women's groups, professional groups and the enlightened business community.

* * * *

The Influence of the Right and Left

In the Civil Rights Movement

I was asked to discuss the "influence of the Right and Left in the Civil Rights movement."

To anticipate some conclusions, it seems to me that many of the old definitions and distinctions about "Right" and "Left" no longer apply. In general, the problems which do exist do not result from infiltration by tightly disciplined agents of an outside organization, or other organizations. Rather, they spring in large part from the honest, confused frustrations of sincere people. Consequently, a program to deal with this situation cannot be based upon organizational measures - expulsions, membership screenings, etc. Instead, it is necessary to get to root causes, like the slow pace of integration in a time of accelerating aspiration - as in the state of Mississippi.

But even if there are these subtle aspects to the problem, it is important that we discuss it. First of all, the Rightists and reactionaries continue to utilize the charge of Communist domination and have even spread some suspicion in our own ranks. Only candid discussion can deal with such an attack. Secondly, internal confusion has arisen around the issue, and we must be clear on exactly where we are. Thirdly, by approaching the question of "Left" and "Right" seriously, we can confront the real, and often new issues under the old labels.

The American Right

In the Twentieth century, Southern racism was quite distinct from Northern ultra-conservativism with its Rightest economics. Many a Dixiecrat - the virulent race hater Bilbo among them - championed both white supremacy and positive social welfare programs.

During the post-War years, this traditional pattern broke down. In the 1964 elections, the new trend came to a head with the coalition of racist politics and Rightest economics under the banner of Barry Goldwater. The Goldwaterites now claim that 26 million Americans proved themselves conscious, ideological conservatives on election day. That, as the various polls have demonstrated, is untrue. Yet, the fact remains that the Rightest-Racist coalition succeeded in capturing one of the two major political parties in America.

Moreover, there is a very real sense in which the racist political appeal is greater than appears at first glance. Nationally, the voter was given a choice between Johnson and Goldwater. If an individual shared Goldwater's hostility to the Civil Rights Act of 1964, or feared a Negro moving into the neighborhood or getting a job, he could vote for Goldwater and express these sentiments, but at a price; i.e., he would be casting his ballot for a man who was also utterly irresponsible on the question of

-more-

war and peace, whose primitive, contradictory economics threatened economic crisis and depression, and whose mental powers seemed to be those of an amiable incompetent. Thus, many Americans suppressed, but did not give up, their "backlash" feelings and voted for Johnson.

This can be clearly seen in California where although Johnson scored a notable victory, Proposition 14 was carried and Pierre Salinger lost the election, in part because of his stand on the Referendum. And on local issues during the next four years, when the price of a backlash sentiment is not a vote for Goldwater, we can be sure that the Right will have a powerful appeal.

This Rightest threat basically comes from outside the movement. As November demonstrated, Negro voters and organizations were overwhelmingly anti-Goldwater. Thus, taking Rightist in this Goldwaterite-Ultra sense, there is no internal threat within the movement but a most serious, and in many ways new Rightist challenge to the nation as a whole.

Secondly, and this illustrates the imprecision of the old definitions, where on the old Right-Left spectrum does one place the nationalist trends in the movement?

In one sense, the anti-integrationist ideology of some of the nationalists has led to a programmatic agreement between them and some of the segregationists. There have even been occasional public alliances of black and white race separatists. On the other hand, many nationalists insist that they are much more radical than the "middle class" leadership of the established organizations, and they attack from the "Left." So, once again, it is necessary to see the new reality which the old terms can no longer contain.

First of all, let me distinguish four different strands in the phenomenon of nationalism.

There is a healthy nationalist emotion, a race pride, a total psychological rejection of white supremacy. It expresses itself in hair styles, African art and history, and in a new elan. It is positive and it is good. Secondly, there is a kind of nationalism which seeks to build black, middle class enclaves and to solve the issue of race by avoiding it. It amounts to an abstention from the struggle and is a negative, if not too widespread, strategy for withdrawal. Thirdly, there is a literary nationalism, often expressed in neo-Marxist terminology, which has captured a section of the Negro intelligentsia. It is intense, contradictory (some of its best known advocates have inter-racial marriages) and of considerable importance since it involves some of the most talented Negroes whose intellectual abilities are needed by the movement.

Fourth, and finally, there is the organized nationalist movement in all of its forms. The programs of these groups are often confused yet certain themes persist: Buy Black; a Black state or enclave; an identification with the new African nations; a hatred of the "white devil." Underlying all these points is the conviction that there are no present alternatives, within a framework of democracy, non-violence and integration, for the Negro. Out of this despair, there comes an identification with the most violent and extreme tendencies of African nationalism, like the Mau Mau. Sometimes even the African history is distorted, as in the assertion that Jomo Kenyatta was exactly the kind of brutal terrorist that his British persecutors and their perjured witnesses said that he was when they jailed him. But, more importantly, the nationalists advocate the guerilaa strategies which may have made sense when a 90% or 95% African majority was seeking national liberation from a colonial minority but have little relevance to the plight of that 10% of America which is black.

Clearly, this fourth type of organized nationalism poses a problem to the movement. Yet, the source of its strength is not conspiratorial or foreign. The nationalist emotion first really appeared right after World War I when Negro migrants from the South found in northern cities, not a promised Land, but a de facto racist economy and society. Similarly, today, the influence of the various forms of organized Nationalism is greatest among the ghetto poor and workers who experience the contradiction between the talk of a "Negro Revolution" and the reality of Negro unemployment, housing and schools in their daily lives.

The Nationalists will not be won to our cause because we maneuver shrewdly. Neither will they be convinced by scholarly analyses of their errors. As long as the intolerable conditions of ghetto life continue and worsen, the Nationalists cannot be written off. And conversely, the minute we begin to really move on the issues of unemployment, slum housing, and slum schools, we have the most powerful anti-Nationalist argument in the world.

Let us turn now to the "Left." I put the term in quotation marks because it has been used to mean so many things. And I think it important that we distinguish between three phenomena which are often carelessly lumped together under the single label of "Left." There is, first of all, the traditional Communist Left; secondly, the "Ultra Left"; thirdly, the "Unaffiliated Left".

I. The Traditional Communist "Left"

Since the end of World War I, the most successful organization proclaiming itself to be part of the Left was the Communist Party. By "Left", the Communists meant unquestioning subservience to the Soviet Union. In domestic American political terms, the Communist Party was fairly early transformed from a revolutionary and insurrectionary movement into the American propaganda agent for Moscow's line of the movement. In pursuit of this aim, Communists acted as disciplined, and often secret, members of a Party "fraction" within other organizations. They took the Civil Rights cue, not from the situation of the Negro, but according to the needs of Moscow. So it was that the Communists attacked the March on Washington Movement of 1941 and charged those who sought the "double V" of victory at home and abroad over racism with being disrupters; so it was that they fought against the struggle for Fair Employment Practice legislation during the War.

Since this mode of operation posed the problem of an organized, coherent group taking orders from outside, many Civil Rights, liberal and labor organizations were forced to build counter-fractions to deal with the situation. The basic tactic was that of "in fighting", and usually no holds were barred on either side.

In 1956, a Communist Party which had already lost three fourths of its peak, 1944, membership, was shattered by the Khruschev revelations about Stalin and by the Polish October and the Hungarian Revolution. Entire sections of the Party quit in disgust, including almost the entire staff of the Daily Worker. More recently, the orthodox Moscow Communists expelled supporters of the Chinese Communist position and further weakened themselves. As a result, the Communist Party is now at a historic low point within the Civil Rights movement.

Therefore, the problem of the traditional "Communist" Left is not that of combatting a disciplined "fraction" by organizational means. And, as will be seen, such a strategy would not only ignore the real problem, it would exacerbate it.

II. The "Ultra Left."

There are other organizations -- "Chinese" Communists, Trotskyists, etc. -- which criticize the Communist Party for being too moderate and which retain the Communist mode of factional struggle within other other organizations. However, these groups do not have a significant following among Negroes: they are even smaller than the Communist Party; and they do not occupy any positions of organizational power within the Civil Rights mainstream. By far and large, such groups have concentrated on an appeal to the nationalist sentiment among Negroes.

The foregoing analysis of the traditional "Communist" and the "Ultra" Left does not mean that there are no Communists of any kind infiltrating the movement. There are. But it does mean that people like J. Edgar Hoover, who have a vested political interest in maximizing the strength of the Communists, have distorted the problem. I suspect the complex reality can best be put in terms of the Harlem riot last summer.

As even the FBI admitted, no group, not the Communists nor anyone else, "organized" that upheaval. It grew out of the intolerable conditions of the ghetto and the hatred of police brutality; it involved many socially desperate youth who, as drop outs, are without a future at the age of sixteen or seventeen. Various elements attempted to sieze on the situation, among them criminals whose main concern was looting and some "Ultra" Left organizations. The latter organizations could not start the riots, nor control them. They could only seek to try to fan existing emotions. If, once again, there were an adequate program and struggle against the ghetto conditions, such groups would become utterly irrelevant; and if there is not, there is no way of stopping them from trying to capitalize on the situation.

III. The "Unaffiliated Left."

By the "Unaffiliated Left" I mean groups of people within the movement who are bound together, not by membership in an organization, but by sharing common experiences, emotions and politics. There are two types of thinking on this "Unaffiliated Left" that are most important.

a) The Thirties Veterans. One encounters people who went through the Thirties together (or sometimes their children), who were in or around the Communist or fellow-traveling movements but who no longer belong to any organization. These people often act in common, yet they are not under orders from any Central Committee. They usually regard Communist totalitarianism as "progressive" but proseletyzing this point of view is not their main activity. They believe that white liberals, the Negro middle class, the union bureaucrats and many other participants in the movement can, and should be, bluntly criticized; but to talk of "Communist" or "Ultra" tendencies within the movement is "red baiting." Thus, anyone with Communist or pro-Communist leanings is granted a privileged sanctuary where, immune from criticisms, he can criticize everyone else.

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The distinguishing political characteristic of the Thirties Veterans is that they have no concept of coalition and alliance with the major forces in the society. Most of them did not understand, for instance, that Johnson, for all his faults, was infinitely better than Goldwater. In their America, there is nothing to choose between LBJ and Goldwaterism which means that the overwhelming majority of the American people are politically hopeless. From this despairing vantage point, the Thirties Vererans come to think of a Genocide resolution at the UN as more important than the Civil Rights Act and to engage in an elitist politics of maneuver.

The Thirties Veterans are not a numerically large group in the movement. But they are sophisticated, organizationally skilled, and their significance is in terms of their influence rather than their strength. They obviously cannot be dealt with by any organizational means since they are not themselves formally organized. The problem which they represent can best be confronted by dealing with those to whom they attach themselves: the "Spontaneous Left."

b) The Spontaneous Left. This is perhaps the most important group on this spectrum and the hardest to define. It is not organized and it contains considerable differences within itself. The Spontaneous Left is critical of "white liberalism," the established Civil Rights leadership, and prides itself on "militancY," which is defined as intransigeance and the refusal of all compromise. While calling for a mass movement, the Spontaneous Left tends to isolate itself because of its rejection of all possible allies: labor, the churches, the liberals, etc. On many issues, the political positions taken by this tendency are the same as those urged by the "Ultra" Left, by the Thirties Veterans or even by the Nationalists. This has led many people who are familiar with the facts of life in the Thirties and Forties to assume that this must be the result of conspiratorial, Communist-type infiltration. This is not the case.

The Spontaneous Left appeals to young people who, first of all, are convinced that Civil Rights and genuine equality will require significant changes, not simply in Southern prejudice of bigotry generally, but in American society and the American economy. I share this point of view.

But then these people go on to despair -- and they sometimes do not themselves know that this is what they are doing. They reject all allies within and without the movement, black and white. Racism, they say, is not a negotiable issue; it is absolutely wrong and therefore any compromise, and demand sort of total and immediate freedom, is a sell-out. Of course racism is absolutely wrong, but the effective implementation of the moral rights of a 10% minority requires allies and politics. The Spontaneous Left does not see the necessities and complexities of the struggle. It therefore accentuates the negative: "social dislocation" as the only tactic (social dislocation is, as I have so often pointed out, one of the most important tactics, but not a panacea); the refusal of partial and limited victory. Sometimes a positive program is put forward, but it is usually a fantasy about guerilla strategies, or a revolutionary upsurge of the black and white poor against the whole society, the Civil Rights and labor movements included.

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As critical as I am of this point of view, I insist that we distinguish its extreme, and oversimplified, abstractions from its genuine insights. This is necessary because the spirit and the people of the Spontaneous Left are very important to the movement. Our progress is slow; sometimes our allies drag their feet; and sometimes we ourselves fail in leadership and imagination. What is not true is that democracy and non-violence have irrevocably failed. If they have, so then has the Negro failed for there is no other way to win. And the only way to prove that democracy and non-violence still have meaning is to demonstrate their effectiveness in action by achieving significant change.

The key to the phenomenon of the "Spontaneous Left" is not in Moscow, Peking, or Havana. It is in Harlem and Mississippi. And the only effective answer to blind-alley approaches is solid progress which makes a tangible difference in the daily lives of Negro citizens.

That the Civil Rights Act was an historic step forward is undeniable. Indeed, historians will record that the decade between the Supreme Court school decision and the Civil Rights Act witnessed the destruction of the legal foundation of Jim Crow. This achievement, of course, has been registered in response to the massive pressures generated by the Negro and his white allies. I am not in sympathy with those who would decry the Civil Rights Act as an opiate, ignoring the possibilities it opens up for us - possibilities of shifting our focus to new problem areas. The Act has been rightly described as a prologue - it sets the stage.

But we must be ready for the first act - ready with the program and the actors. Here I want to be brief, but it is pointless to outline the problems posed by the Right and the Left without suggesting solutions.

Possible Solutions

A. The Civil Rights Movement Alone:

1. Throughout the country, but particularly in the South, massive voter registration campaigns must be mounted. An estimated 3.6 million Negroes of voting age remain to be heard from in Dixie. Their potential political power must be mobilized - through a variety of techniques: demonstrations, litigation, or whatever seems appropriate in given situations. Above all, I am convinced, the civil rights organizations must be unified in this effort - in Mississippi and elsewhere - combining our various specialized skills and techniques. We simply cannot afford disunity and divisiveness in this critical area.

2. I believe we must begin now to prepare the Negro community for vigorous enforcement of the fair employment section of the Act, which will take effect in July. I understand that the Civil Rights Department of the AFL-CIO has already begun to prepare local labor bodies for full compliance. We have an obligation to educate and mobilize our community on this issue, so that they will be ready to demand their rights - again, through a variety of techniques, including boycotts

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3. Police brutality, North and South, is another area in which the civil rights movement as such can make progress. We must everywhere be part of the cry for civilian review boards - not in the naive belief that they are a panacea but in the conviction that police conduct is not the exclusive responsibility of commissioners and politicians. Police must be answerable to the citizenry they presumably protect, and if they have been educated to any other concept of their role, now is the time to re-educate them.

B. The Civil Rights Movement and its Allies:

These, then are some of the major areas in which the Negro community, relying on a diversity of means, can push forward. Let us frankly admit, however, that there are limits to the progress that the civil rights movement can achieve on its own. After all, the fundamental limitation of the Civil Rights Act is precisely that it is a Civil Rights Act, whereas the most serious problems confronting the Negro community today are not, strictly speaking, civil rights problems. They are social and economic problems deeply rooted in our economic life. They are problems of employment, housing, and education. The Civil Rights Act does not abolish slums, create jobs or provide decent housing.

To achieve these goals requires an alliance between Negroes and organized, progressive forces in the white community. This principle governs the second group of programs I would advocate.

1. We have to develop employment policies which go beyond the placing of individual Negroes into professional jobs. It is not enough to exhort Negro youth to stay in school. We must insist on a sufficient degree of economic planning to enable us to know what jobs will be available for them upon graduation. We must have answers for the mass of unskilled and semi-skilled Negroes who are imperiled by structural changes in the labor market as a result of the technological revolution.

2. Full and fair employment and the upgrading of wages are essential if civil rights are to be meaningful. The voice of our movement should be loud in demanding implementation of the proposals of the Senate Sub-Committee on Manpower and Employment for an additional $5 billion in social investment per year as a means of creating jobs and beginning the elimination of slums.

3. We should be joining with labor, liberals, and others in a campaign to extend coverage of the Fair Labor Standards Act to all workers;

4. And to increase the minimum wage to $2.00 per hour.

5. We should be demanding immediate passage of an accelerated public works program and repeal of Section 14 b of the Taft-Hartley Act.

6. We should be in the front ranks of the fight for Medicare and medical programs for poverty-stricken children as steps toward a

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national health plan.

7. We should be mobilizing support for the expansion of the Economic Opportunity Act, insisting on the rights of the poor, black and white, to be involved in the decision-making process.

8. We must be open to new ideas - to the proposals, for example, that youngsters be paid to go to school.

9. Finally, we need to be demanding of government - at all levels - a serious timetable for the elimination of slums.

Conclusion

Automation and the like are not exclusively Negro problems. Nor is the educational crisis, or the growth of slums. Of course, we cannot take all of society's burdens on our shoulders. On the other hand, enlightened self-interest dictates that we come up with some far-reaching answers or find ourselves stymied. For in a modern, automating society, there are limits to self-help.

And in such a society, the economic realities are such that, in seeking answers for the Negro, we will in fact be refashioning national policies for the benefit of the white dispossessed as well. We can help stimulate motion in sections of the white population - in the labor movement, among liberals, religious groups, and so forth. Whoever doubts this need only ask why we have a "war on poverty" today, if not for the civil rights movement and its reverberation throughout the country.

We need to stimulate such motion for another reason. We cannot talk about the democratic road to freedom unless we are talking about building a majority movement in America. This means we need white allies. It means we must be united with them in demanding a program for reconstructing American life.

Such a program in my view, will not only answer the frustrations which breed no-win policies; they will also undercut the danger on the right - or at least its political potency. We must create a situation in which backlashers are politically neutralized by having to pay too high a price for the exercise of racist impulses. The program for racial equality must be so intertwined with progressive economic and social policies as to make it impossible to choose one without the other. I know of no better educational technique.

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Prepared by Bayard Rustin
for the
Negro Leadership Conference
January 30-31, 1965
New York City

OPENING REMARKS BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
AT CONFERENCE OF NEGRO LEADERS,
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, NEW YORK, N.Y.
JANUARY 30-31, 1965

CRISIS OF VICTORY

The Civil Rights Revolution has been caught up in a crisis of victory; a crisis which may involve great opportunity or great danter to its future fulfillment.

This victory consists in the winning of civil rights, through the enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, for which Negroes have struggled over a hundred years.

OPPORTUNITY TO MOVE AHEAD

There is, therefore, opportunity for the civil rights movement to mount and carry out a vigorous program of implementation of the Act, and also to look beyond civil rights to the larger goal of human freedom - political, social, industrial and economic. While civil rights is a phase of freedom, it is not to be equated with basic freedoms. Negroes enjoy civil rights in the North but they do not possess basic freedoms.

The socio-ethnic dynamism generated by the struggle for civil rights may be made available to help attain the goal of full freedom as a way of life, namely, freedom from poverty, freedom from ignorance, freedom from disease and freedom from fear, freedom from racial bias, religious bigotry, freedom from war - freedoms, the attainment of which will involve basic structural changes in our society and institutions.

But let me hasten to add, the achievement of these freedoms is far beyond the power of any single segment of our society for it is a fundamental challenge to the American Establishment.

However, unless the fight is waged and won for the larger freedoms, civil rights, like civil liberties in times of war, may not be permanently secure.

It is difficult to find a social group which has been in possession of civil rights and civil liberties over a long period of history without economic rights, economic freedom, economic citizenship and public power. Thus, Negroes have no alternative except to seek as a major objective the enlargement and broadening of the base of civil rights to involve the basic freedoms.

DANGER OF FAILURE

Moreover, there is danger the crisis of victory may plunge Negroes into a debilitating state of psychological and emotional relaxation which may not only undermine the morale of the civil rights activists and the rank and file civil rights workers, but weaken the entire organizational structure of the civil rights movement. Already, the membership of every civil rights organization has begun to decline. This is probably as inevitable as the night following the day.

But this behavior pattern of weakness following a showing of strength is not peculiar to the civil rights movement. Let us take a look at the behavior patterns of labor, organized labor.

During the early Roosevelt era in the 1930's, a veritable second labor revolution broke upon the country in a blitz of sit-down strikes in the automobile industry and a paralyzing wave of strikes in the mass production industries, resulting in a bloody massacre in south Chicago in the Republic Steel plant, sparked and directed by the C.I.O. composed of a group of unions which had split from the A.F.L.

The year 1937 brought the Wagner Labor Disputes Act, hailed by labor and liberals as the Magna Charta of the workers. Next came the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 which gave recognition, for the first time in Federal law, to the principle of the minimum wage and the shorter workweek.

Within the frame of reference of this pro-labor climate of the New Deal, union membership grew into Big Labor, for confrontation with Big Business and Big Government. But it lost its evangelism and could no longer claim to be the conscience of the country, fighting the battles of the unskilled workmen, neglected migrant farm laborers, and the Jim Crow, underclass black laboring masses.

And, withal, the American labor movement became richer in body but poorer in spirit.

Thus, ten years following the winning of the historic Wagner Labor Disputes Act organized labor became the victim of the Taft-Hartley Act which included Section 14B under which "right-to-work" laws limiting the right of collective bargaining were enacted in some twenty states, more or less. In 1959 the anti-labor Landrum-Griffin Bill with its varied restrictions and regulations became Federal law.

While increased union membership has brought affluence and strength to Labor, the growth of membership has been practically arrested by the spread of right-to-work laws, especially in the South and Middle West. Without compulsory union membership required by Federal law, Big Labor might not be so big.

My point is that Labor, too, has been caught up in the crisis of the victory of Federal law legislation, which provoked a sense of relaxation and weakened the will to struggle and resulted in the loss of much of its freedom.

COUNTERREVOLUTION

Besides, a counterrevolution, which follows a revolution as reaction follows action, is already under way, as shown by the defeat of a California fair public housing act and the victory of Proposition 14, with a vote of 2 to 1. Fair housing ordinances have also been struck down in Detroit and Akron. These developments may be a signal of the beginning of an erosion of the national consensus for the Civil Rights Revolution which was chiefly responsible for the enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Any severe loss of public approval of the cause of the Negro freedom movement can constitute a grave threat, not only to the implementation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 but to the struggle to improve and strengthen it . . . indeed, even to its maintenance without emasculating amendments.

FATE OF BLACK FREEDMEN

Look at the black Freedmen! Though the Union forces won the war and the slaves were emancipated, when the roaring thunder of the Revolution of Abolitionism was no longer heard virtually every vestige of freedom and citizenship status of the Freedmen, including the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments and the Civil Rights Act of 1875, were swept into political oblivion by the angry winds of the Confederate Counterrevolution. The brief period of the Reconstruction democracy came to an ignoble end. The Federal Government withdrew its support of the cause of the Freedmen and they became the victims of a new plantation feudalism, as sharecroppers, peons and tenant farmers - landless, voteless, moneyless and friendless, if not hopeless and helpless.

Black Freedmen no longer held the center of the stage of American history. The Farmers' Revolt of the 1870's, 80's and 90's, reflected by the Populist political movement,and the Workers' Revolution, marked by bloody and devestating strikes by the Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor, together with the glittering tinsel of the gilded age of American capitalism, tended to make the ex-slave the forgotten man of the period. He continued thus until the rise of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1910, the U. S. Supreme Court decision on the desegregation and integration of public schools in 1954, and the coming of the Civil Rights Revolution.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

BRIDGE THE GULF BETWEEN THE NEGRO MASSES AND CLASSES

First, the psychological and social gulf between the Negro masses and Negro classes - the professionals and intelligentsia such as teachers, students, doctors, lawyers, preachers, businessmen - must and can be bridged. This gulf is here . . . it is widening instead of narrowing. It is marked by a sense of skepticism and cynicism,by many employed and unemployed, skilled and unskilled and unemployable Negro workers and some of the so-called middle class, when approached by Negroes of the leadership class, unless the leaders are rabble-rousers spitting fire and brimstone of black nationalism and anti-whiteism. This climate of black racism, which is created by white racism, presents a major problem.

Negro masses must be won to the civil rights movement by Negro leadership; the survival, strength and progress of the freedom movement depend upon the unity of these two forces. The masses must supply the manpower for mass activities, moral witness to the Civil Rights Revolution for their own freedom, and the money with which to carry on the liberation movement. This is not an easy task. However, significant progress has been made in this direction by the NAACP, SCLC, CORE and SNCC . . . . but not enough. But it can only be done by participation of the Negro masses in the fight to carry on and maintain the civil rights movement, including mass demonstrations of various kinds and voter-registration in the North and South.

Inspiring the Negro masses to play a creative role in the Civil Rights Revolution is extremely difficult without the development of huge, massive demonstrations in which they can be involved since all that is required is energy and the will to march. But, the day of demonstrations of tremendous dimensions for civil rights, such as the great March on Washington, August 28, 1963, like the big strikes by Labor, are practically over. There is hardly enough of the spirit of evangelism in the civil rights movement today, following the Congressional Civil Rights Act, to stage another great march or Birmingham nonviolent uprising.

In fact, a transition from the politics of confrontation of the civil rights forces with the anti-Negro freedom forces in the streets, to the politics of confrontation in the market places of ideas of the conference, is under way.

While Negroes will and ought to take to the streets in demonstrations against pockets of outrageous racial bigotry as objective socio-racial realities dictate, (such as the Selma, Alabama voter-registration drive) the increasing complexity and difficulty of de facto ghetto schools and housing segregation, which require complex remedies, demand professional, qualified and specialized talent successfully to grapple with these problems around the conference table. Dedication, which is indispensable, is not enough. In our socio-ethnic spectrum of our community life,more of the luminous and less of the thermal rays is essential to racial progress.

REEXAMINING THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENTS

Verily, the civil rights organizations, facing new and different tasks and problems incident to a great historic legislative victory, must undergo a basic and comprehensive reexamination, not only involving tactics and strategy but policies and objectives.

The freedom movement cannot any longer build strength around the traditional, classical concept of civil rights which has served as its major goal for a hundred years. The reason for this is the advent of the revolution of radical technology which has wrought a fundamental change in the processes of production and exchange of goods and services.

FUTURE OF NEGRO LABOR

Because of the Revolution of Automation, sometimes called Cybernatics, the future of Negro workers is by no means promising.

While an unrelenting fight must be waged to break down all barriers to apprenticeship training courses in order that Negro workers may get an opportunity for training in the crafts, apprenticeship training is no answer to the problem of unemployment and poverty among Negroes. Nor is selective placement of the Talented Tenth of Negroes in the higher echelons of administrative and executive responsibility in the great corporations an answer to the problem of Negro unemployment.

Although Negroes have fought for a Federal Fair Employment Practice Act for a generation, the present fair employment section of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 will not create sufficient jobs to make a significant dent in the problem of joblessness among Negroes. Fair employment practice, while absolutely necessary, will not be meaningful without full employment. Fair employment practice legislation now exists in eighteen or twenty states, but Negro joblessness is still a grave problem in these states.

But in the light of the bewildering pace and magnitude of productivity under the computerization of various and varying machine systems with their decision-making capability, and with the possibility of a small portion of the workforce producing sufficient wealth for the maintenance of the entire population, it is hardly possible for the economy to provide full employment for the available workforce. Thus, Negro workers as young as thirty years of age may never work again, especially those without skills, training and education.

WAR ON POVERTY

Since, with the abolition of all racial barriers, it is hardly possible for the Negro workforce to catch up with the white workforce and bridge the widening gap of the annual average median wage between these two groups, Negro civil rights organizations must lead the war on poverty in the interest of developing a socio-economic order which will bring about the humanization of the Revolution of Automation.

To this end, Negroes must take the leadership in building a coalition of conscience including the black poor and white poor, black unemployed and white unemployed, black workers and white workers, civil rights organizations and organized labor, Negroes and Jews, Catholics and Protestants, liberal intellectuals and progressive businessmen, to create a national consensus for the Federal Government to build decent, low-cost housing for all, integrated quality schools for all, and jobs or a guaranteed decent income for all.

Because of the bewilderingly accelerated pace of change the Revolution of Automation is bringing about, Negroes must move ahead with their fellow white poor and citizens of good will, or history will again pass us by.

Remarks by
WHITNEY M. ~~YOUNG,~~ Jr.
Executive Director
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
before the
STATE OF THE RACE CONFERENCE
held at the National Council
of Churches, 475 Riverside Drive
New York City
January 30, 1965

HELP WANTED: NEW JOBS FOR NEGROES

Not long ago, President Johnson asked me to visit him at the White House. We talked about the urgent need for new jobs for Negro citizens and about various methods of tackling this supremely important matter. One possibility we discussed was a broad program of works at the community level across the nation, a program of slum clearance and rehabilitation to take millions of families off breadlines and put them in pay lines. The President asked for a memorandum outlining my suggestions.

The plight of unemployed and underemployed Negro workers is serious. The long existing gap between the family income of Negroes and whites is getting bigger. Costs of food, clothing, shelter, medical services, and even to further ones education, are mounting far beyond the means of most Negro families. In a real sense these families are being priced right out of the American economy.

Among white-collar workers, one finds that college graduates, as a whole, may expect to earn $9,000 per year. For Negro college graduates the figure is $5,400. In fact, Negroes with a bachelors degree do not earn any more than the average white citizen with a high school diploma. This is due to the fact that most Negroes, even in white-collar jobs, work at the lowest paying levels and, so far have not had sufficient opportunity to work in as wide a variety of jobs as have other groups.

This problem of relative income is not limited to white collar workers. We know that Negroes with no formal education earn less than whites with no formal education. If we did no more than pay equal wages for equal training the lot of Negroes would improve substantially.

The opportunity to learn, to acquire meaningful experiences, to explore, to make mistakes and recover from them, to be a part of the whole and not just a segment, to be understood as having desires, aspirations, ambitions and feelings for America is not yet the lot of Negro citizens.

Policy statements as now recorded by every leading employer in the country must be translated into practices from the corporate office to the janitor's supply room.

Since education plays such a vital role in the development of the work force, education processes and practices must in fact be made more democratic. Negro youth and their parents, North and South, East and West, need to see more examples to prove that staying in school to get a good education is more profitable than being a drop-out or the recipient of public assistance in a new form.

On Monday of next week (February 1), Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz will release the first nationwide survey of the vocational training backgrounds of adult American workers. The study measures the extent and nature of formal job training of 52.1 million workers with less than three years of college. This survey links educational disadvantage to lacks in vocational training. Some 51 percent of nonwhite workers in this survey had not gone beyond the eighth grade; the corresponding proportion for all workers, white and nonwhite, was 32 percent. Conversely, only 32 percent of the nonwhites, but 46 percent of all workers, had taken any formal training.

The report concludes that in the development of future manpower policies special efforts should be made in two important areas: - in increasing holding powers of the schools, and in providing more extensive occupational training opportunities for workers with the lowest levels of educational attainment.

This constitutes a disaster situation for Negro citizens and for our country. When disaster strikes, emergency action has traditionally been the American response. When the recent earthquake struck Alaska, voluntary organizations such as the Red Cross, the neighboring communities, the country, state, and federal government came to its aid. Alaska was declared a disaster area, and we brought to bear the whole arsenal of available aid weapons to help the people of that state get back on their feet.

I say that for a century Negroes have borne a disproportionate burden of unemployment, and now it is of disaster proportions, and that emergency aid is needed. Not tomorrow, but now. Not when "full employment" is achieved - for there is no evidence that we will have full employment in the foreseeable future unless extraordinary, emergency action is taken - but now.

That is why the Urban League has called for special effort in employment, as well as in education, housing, health, and welfare. These are the crucial areas of concern in making equality a meaningful reality for Negroes.

"For the Negro, the opportunity to be equal means not only the right to an equal chance for available jobs, but equality in unemployment as well." (Negroes have borne a disproportionate share of unemployment -- one out of every four Negroes are unemployed -- and this situation has assumed disaster proportions. It is in immediate need of correction).

A special effort in the area of employment for Negroes must be made. This must be employment commensurate with their education, ability and interests.

Business, Labor and Government as well as churches, foundations, service clubs, fraternal groups and individuals must actively help in this program.

"None of these measures should be thought of in terms of a hand-out. Rather, they are to give a hand up -- a helping hand to rescue the Negro from economic disaster; to give him a foundation for a normal middle-class American life."

Major Requisites on Problem of Negro Unemployment

(1) Business: The Urban League welcomed the pilot placement of Negroes in business and industry, because it helped convince industry Negroes could do the jobs, that hiring of them would not disrupt production.

Now, a conscious, planned effort by management to find and place Negroes in positions of responsibility is needed in addition to granting them entrance jobs. But the real test is not wanting Negroes for these jobs because no white people are available. The real pay-off is when you hire Negroes in those jobs where there is an obvious, large pool of white people available."

There is no question that business can do wonders in putting Negroes to work if it tries...."when business attempts to do something it has the creativity, the organizational imagination and the resources to do it."

Business must intervene on behalf of Negro workers.

"As between a Negro and a white worker, both equally qualified, I make no apology for urging that businessmen hire the Negro in an area where no Negro has been previously employed. One of the reasons for this is that we need role models in order to encourage young Negroes to stay in school and prepare for careers."

Qualifications and Aptitute Tests

Because of a background of frequently inferior schools, attitudes of discrimination, parents' job and social status, etc., the Negro should not be judged by the same aptitude standards as the white. Most aptitude tests are designed on the evaluations of the Northern, white, urban middle class respondent. "This is the causal chain which begins in deprivation and ends at the desk of your employment officer."

It is not enough for the employer to take down the "White Only" sign. Special effort to attract Negroes is needed (i.e., let Negro community know you are seriously searching for Negro workers; talk with leaders of community; let Urban League know of needs; advertise in Negro media; recruit in colleges and high schools, etc.)

Experience requirements in areas where Negroes not previously employed is another detrimental factor.

Other needs: more sensible vocational quidance for Negroes (presently deprived of much useful vocational training). Help to Negro job applicants with sound advice. Industry can set up career quidance institutes and clinics.

Prejudice, tension, not tapping a potentially rich labor source, are damaging to business.

(2) Labor: Although industrial unions have been of help to Negro workers, craft unions are still archaic in their hiring practices. This is especially true in construction.

Even in New York, where anti-discrimination laws have been in effect for some years, discrimination is practiced on the local affiliate level in these unions. Even in industrial unions there is discrimination against the Negro in various parts of the country. In Atlanta, one plant, Negroes held all the lower, menial jobs and promotion lists for white and Negro were separate. "The white promotion line opens to all skilled jobs, of course."

Equal opportunity sections of the law should be given teeth and enforced, particularly in those areas where government contracts are involved.

"And yet, when all factors are considered, we cannot view labor unions as the most critical factors in the job hunt for Negroes." It is not labor which generates the jobs, but business and government.

(3) Government: Government is the biggest employer in the U.S. Government could, and should, exert itself to put people to work and keep them employed. Further, for those who have been deprived of a livelihood, such as our Negro citizens, (the)... law seemingly provides a mandate to do something to reverse generations of systematic neglect in the employment area.

Only by massive action on the part of government are we likely to put any substantial number of jobless Negroes to work in a short time. Government's position and leverage in the economy makes this unavoidable.

Talk by government officials of "full employment" are a long-term thing. "Meeting the breadbasket needs of millions of Negroes now" is an urgent necessity. "The Negro should not have to wait until the economic problems of the nation are resolved before he gets his fare share of employment." He is reacting more vigorously to economic problems than the white person because he is a more exposed condition.

We must consider the unemployed to be those "whose tool kits are filled with outmoded and unuseable instruments." There is a need, therefore, for expert help and guidance so unemployed can earn their way.

Other problems: outmoded government employment placement activities; inadequate placement services.

Solutions: Greater financial assistance while retraining. Increased industrial worker training. Tax incentive for industry engaging in retraining. Government sponsored effort for retraining.

Basic educational level of all Negro workers must be boosted.

Special effort for Negro workers needed on an emergency basis.

Jobs are needed now to keep Negroes alive, to pull them out of the urban morass in which they are mired.

"Opportunities for harnessing the energies of millions of Americans are in our midst. I propose that we concentrate major Federal, state and local government effort, organized and directed at the community level by the best talent we can muster, in a concerted effort to bring our Negro citizens into the mainstream of employment."

"What is needed is courage, commitment and carry-through."

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February 13, 1965

Dear Mr. Randolph,

Thank you very much indeed for the statement from the conference of Negro leaders held January 30-31 at the National Council of Churches. I regret it so much that the lateness of the arrival of my invitation made it impossible for me to stay through the entire conference. I had promised some weeks before to speak to some United Nations diplomats and their wives. This was a luncheon session that lasted until about 4:30. I then had to prepare for my regular Sunday broadcast and so I did not have the privilege of being as useful as I always try to be to any project in which you are interested.

Best wishes for continued success in all that you attempt.

Cordially yours,

Anna

Anna Arnold Hedgeman

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York

RECEIVED
FEB 16 1965
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Receipt bk. from
Conference of Negro Leaders
1/30/65

37
5
185

39
5
195

Howard Univ

$ 500

Date 1-30-65

To Dr. Edw. Dorsey Lowe

For Registration

No. 1

Natl Council
of Churches

$ 5-00

Date
1-30-65

To
Dr B Carl

Lee

For
Regis

No. 2

Yale
Univ

$ 5 00

Date
1-30-65

To
R Murray

For
Regis.

No. 3

Masons

$ 5 00

Date 1-30-65

To Dr. E. H.

Clark

For Reg.

No. 4

Snne

$ 500

Date 1-30-65

To Ella Baker

For Regis

No. 5

NALC

$ 5-00

Date 1-30-65

To Timuel Block NALC

For Regis.

No. 6

Amer. Negro
Leadership
Conf.

Date 1-30-65

To Theodore
E. Brown

For Regis.

No. 7

AME Zion Church.

$ 5 00

Date 1-30-65

To Rev. F. E. Churchill

For Regis

No. 8

City College

$ 500

Date 1-30-65

To Dr. Kenneth Clark

For Registration

No. 9

CME
Church

$ 1 00

Date
1-30-65

To
Rev. Jos.
C. Coles Jr.

For
Regis

No. 10

Check

SNCC

$ 5 00

Date 1-30-65

To Cour Thed
Caf

For Regis

No. 11

NAACP

$ 5 00

Date 1-30-65

To Gloster Current

For Regis

No. 12

Chula

CORE

$ 5 00

Date 1-30-65

To Robert Curwin

For Regist.

No. 13

SNNC

$ 5^{00}

Date
1-30-65

To Ivanhoe
Donaldson

For Regist

No. 14

SNCC

$ 500

Date 1-30-65

To James Forman

For Regis.

No. 15

United Presbyterian Church

$ 5 00

Date 1-30-65

To Julio M. Garcia

For Regist.

No. 16

United
Church
Board

$ 5 00

Date
1-30 65

To
Anna
Hedgeman

For
Regist.

No. 17

Check

Natl Concil
Negro
Women

$ 5-00

Date 1-30-65

To Dorothy
Height

For Regist

No. 18

Com. for
Winter Negro Relief

$ 5-00

Date
1-30-65

To
Daisy C. Hicks

For
Registration

No. 14

Natl. Newspaper
Publishers Assoc

$ 5.00

Date
1-30-65

To
James Hicks

For
Registration

No. 20

Ind. Union Dept
AFL-CIO

$ 5 00

Date
1-30-65

To
Norman Hill

For
Registration

No. 21

reeting Natl.
Bank

$ 5 00

Date
1-30-65

To
William R.
Hudgins

For
Registration

No. 22

Natl Council of
Negro Women

$ 5-00

Date
1-30-65

To
Dollie Edwards
Johnson

For
Registration

No. 23

Natl. Urban
League.

$ 5 00

Date
1-30-65

To
Reginald
Johnson

For
Registration

No 24

IBPOE of W.

$ 5-00

Date
1-30-65

To
John H. Leiv

For
Registration

No. 25

NAACP

$ 5.00

Date 1-30-65

To Henry Moon

For Registration

No. 26

NAACP

$ 5 00

Date 1-30-65

To Dr. John Morsell

For Registration

No. 27

Natl. Newspapers
Publishers.

$ 500

Date
1-30-65

To
Edward

Murrow

For

No. 28

NALC

$ 5 00

Date
1-30-65

To
L. J. Overton

For
Registration

No. 29

Mgste order
J. Shrues

$ 1 00

Date
1-30-65

To
Thomas Poag

For
Registrtn

No. 30

Daughters of Isis

$ 5 00

Date
1-30-65

To
Ursula Harmon
Moore

For
Registration

No. 31

NACC

$ 5 00

Date
1-30-65

To
Horace
Sheffield

For
Registration

No. 32

Methodist Church

$ 5.00

Date 1-30-65

To Dr. Charles Warren

For Regist.

No. 33

(Check)

CORE

$ 5 30

Date

1-30-65

To

George

Wiley

For

Regist

No. 34

NAACP

$ 5 00

Date 1-30-65

To Roy Wilki

For Regist.

No. 35

Catholic
Interracial
Council

$ 1 00

Date
1-30-65

To
Dreher

Wright

For
Regist.

No. 36

Check

SCLC

$ 1 00

Date
1-30-65

To
Rev. Andrew Young

For
Registration

No. 37

SCLC

$ 50

Date 1-30 65

To Rev. Walter

Fauntroy

For Regist.

No. 38

NACC

$ 1 00

Date 1-30-65

To Cleveland Robinson

For Registration

No. 39

Freedom Democratic
Party

$ 500

Date ~~10-3~~ 1-31-6

To Laurence
Guyot

For

No. 40

NACC

$ 5 00

Date
1-30-65

To
A. Philip

Randolph

For

No. 41

$

Date

____

To

____

____

For

____

No.______

______________________ 19___

Received from ______________________

______________________ Dollars

____

$______________ ______________________

NAME: BAKER, ELLA

ADDRESS:

ORGANIZATION: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

REGISTRATION: 5^{00} paid

DATE: Jan 30, 1965

NAME: BLACK, TIMUEL

ADDRESS:

ORGANIZATION: NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL

REGISTRATION: 5^{00} paid

DATE: Jan 30, 1965

NAME: BROWN, THEODORE E.

ADDRESS: 15 E. 40 STREET

ORGANIZATION: AMER. NEGOR LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON AFRICA

REGISTRATION: paid 5^{00}

DATE: Jan 30, 1965

NAME: CLARK, E. HARRISON

ADDRESS: 454 W. 155 ST., NYC

ORGANIZATION: PRINCE HALL MASONS (JOPPA LODGE)
(Grand Master of New York)

REGISTRATION: paid 5^{00}

DATE: Jan 30, 1965

NAME: CLARK, KENNETH (DR.)

ADDRESS: CONVENT AVE. at 138 ST., NYC

ORGANIZATION: CITY COLLEGE OF N.Y.

REGISTRATION: 5^{00} paid

DATE: Jan 30, 1965

NAME: CHURCHILL, FRANK E. (REV.)

ADDRESS: 963 E. 228 ST., BRONX 66, NY

ORGANIZATION: A.M.E. ZION CHURCH

REGISTRATION: Paid 5^{00}

DATE: 1-30-65

NAME: COLES, JOSEPH C. (REV.)

ADDRESS: 2225 SEVENTH AVE., NYC
WILLIAMS INSTITUTIONAL CME CHURCH

ORGANIZATION: CHRISTIAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

REGISTRATION: Paid 5^{00}

DATE: Jan 30, 1965 Check

NAME: COX, COURTLAND

ADDRESS:

ORGANIZATION: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

REGISTRATION: 5^{00} paid

DATE: Jan 30, 1965

NAME: CURRENT, GLOSTER

ADDRESS: 20 WEST 40 STREET

ORGANIZATION: NATL. ASSOCIATION FOR ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

REGISTRATION: Paid 5^{00}

DATE: Jan 30, 1965 Check

NAME: CURVIN, ROBERT

ADDRESS:

ORGANIZATION: CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

REGISTRATION: 5^{00} paid

DATE: Jan 30, 1965

NAME: DAVIS, RUBY

Ruby Davis aka Dee

ADDRESS: 44 CORTLANDT AVE., NEW ROCHELLE, NY

ORGANIZATION: ACTORS EQUITY, SAG, AFTRA

REGISTRATION:

DATE:

NAME: DAVIS, OSSIE

ADDRESS: 44 COURTLANDT AVE., NEW ROCHELLE, NY

ORGANIZATION: ACTORS EQUITY

REGISTRATION: BES 6867

DATE:

Ossie Davis

NAME: DONALDSON, IVANHOE

ADDRESS: ississippi

ORGANIZATION: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

REGISTRATION: paid 5^{00}

DATE: Jan 30, 1965

NAME: FAUNTROY, WALTER (REV.)

ADDRESS: WASHINGTON, D. C.

ORGANIZATION: SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONF.

REGISTRATION: 5^{00} paid

DATE: – Jan 30, 1965

NAME: FORMAN, JAMES

ADDRESS:

ORGANIZATION: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

REGISTRATION: 5^{00} paid

DATE: Jan. 30, 1965

NAME: GARCIA, JULIO M. (REV.)

ADDRESS: 838 E. 165 ST., BRONX, NY

ORGANIZATION: UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

REGISTRATION: paid 5^{00}

DATE: Jan 30, 1965

NAME: GORE, ROBERT

ADDRESS: 38 PARK ROW, N.Y.C.

ORGANIZATION: CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

REGISTRATION: NS

DATE:

NAME: GUYOT, LAWRENCE

Address: 1017 Lynch St.
Jackson, Miss

Organization: Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party

Registration - 5^{00} Paid

Date - 1-31-65

NAME: HEDGEMAN, ANNA ARNOLD (DR.)

ADDRESS: 287 PARK AVE. SOUTH, NYC

ORGANIZATION: UNITED CHURCH BOARD

REGISTRATION: Paid 5^{00} Church

DATE: Jan. 30, 1965

NAME: HEIGHT, DOROTHY

ADDRESS: 600 LEXINGTON AVE.

ORGANIZATION: NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN

REGISTRATION: Paid 5^{00}

DATE: Jan 30, 1965

NAME: HICKS, DAISY C.

ADDRESS: 21-15 34th AVE., LONG ISLAND CITY, NY

ORGANIZATION: COMMITTEE FOR UNITED NEGRO RELIEF

REGISTRATION: Paid 5^{00}

DATE: Jan. 30, 1965

NAME: HICKS, JAMES

ADDRESS: 2740 EIGHTH AVE., NYC

ORGANIZATION: NATL. NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS ASSOC.

REGISTRATION: 5^{00} paid

DATE: Jan 30, 1965

NAME: HILDEBRAND, RICHARD (REV.)

ADDRESS: 52-60 W. 132 ST., NYC

ORGANIZATION: AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

REGISTRATION:

DATE:

NAME: HILL, NORMAN

ADDRESS: 815 SIXTEENTH ST., NW, WASHINGTON, D.C.

ORGANIZATION: INDUSTRIAL UNION DEPT., AFL-CIO

REGISTRATION: Paid 5^{00}

DATE: Jan. 30, 1965

NAME: HUDGINS, WILLIAM R.

ADDRESS: 271 W. 125 ST. NYC

ORGANIZATION: FREEDOM NATIONAL BANK

REGISTRATION: Paid -1/26/65

DATE: Jan 30, 1965

NAME: JOHNSON, SALLIE EDWARD

ADDRESS: 600 Lexington Ave. NYC

ORGANIZATION: NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN

REGISTRATION: 5^{00} paid

DATE: Jan 30, 1965

NAME: JOHNSON, REGINALD A.

ADDRESS: 14 E. 48th STREET, N.Y.C.

ORGANIZATION: NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

REGISTRATION: - 5^{00} Paid

DATE: 1-30-65

NAME: KING, MARTIN LUTHER (DR.)

ADDRESS:

ORGANIZATION: SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONF.

REGISTRATION:

DATE:

NAME: LANE, DORSEY EDWARD (PROFESSOR)

ADDRESS: WASHINGTON, D. C.

ORGANIZATION: HOWARD UNIVERSITY Vice Dean

REGISTRATION: 5^{00} paid

DATE: - Jan 30, 1965

NAME: LEE, J. OSCAR (DR.)

ADDRESS: 475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NYC

ORGANIZATION: NATL. COUNCIL OF CHURCHES
Dept. of Racial & Cultural Relations

REGISTRATION: Paid 5^{00}

DATE: Jan 30, 1965

NAME: LEWIS, JOHN H.

ADDRESS: 508 W. 164 ST., NEW YORK, NY

ORGANIZATION: I.B.P.O.E. of W.
Grand District Deputy
Grand Exalted Ruler

REGISTRATION: - Paid - 5^{00}

DATE: Jan 30, 1965

NAME: McLAURIN, B. F.

ADDRESS: 217 WEST 125 STREET

ORGANIZATION: NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL

REGISTRATION:

DATE:

NAME: Moore, URSOLA HARMON

Address:

Organization: Daughters of Isis

Registration: 5^{00} paid.

Date: 1-30-65

NAME: MORSELL, JOHN A. (DR)

ADDRESS: 20 WEST 40 ST., N. Y. C.

ORGANIZATION: NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

REGISTRATION: - pd. 5^{00}

DATE: Jan 30, 1965

NAME: MOON, HENRY

ADDRESS: 20 WEST 40 STREET

ORGANIZATION: N.A.A.C.P.

REGISTRATION: Paid 5^{00}

DATE: 1/30/65

NAME: MURRAIN, EDWARD

ADDRESS: 15 E. 125 STREET, NYC

ORGANIZATION: NATL. NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS ASSOC.

REGISTRATION: paid 5^{00}

DATE: Jan 30, 1965

NAME: MURRAY, PAULI

ADDRESS: NEW HAVEN, CONN.

ORGANIZATION: YALE LAW SCHOOL

REGISTRATION: - Paid · 5^{00}

DATE: 1-30-65

NAME: OVERTON, L. JOSEPH

ADDRESS: 312 WEST 125 STREET, N. Y. C.

ORGANIZATION: NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL

REGISTRATION: 5^{00} Paid

DATE: 1-30-65.

NAME: PARRISH, RICHARD

ADDRESS: 217 WEST 125 STREET, N. Y. C.

ORGANIZATION: NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL

REGISTRATION:

DATE:

NAME - PARRIS, Guichard

Address - 14 E. 48 ST. NYC

Organization: National Urban League

Registration: Guichard Parris

Date - 1-31-65

NAME: Poag, Thomas

Address:

Organization: Mystic Order of Shriners

Registration: 5^{00} paid

Date: 1-30-65

NAME: ROBINSON, CLEVELAND

ADDRESS: 13 ASTOR PLACE, N. Y. C.

ORGANIZATION: NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL

REGISTRATION: 5^{00} paid

DATE: Jan 30, 1965

NAME: SHEFFIELD, HORACE

ADDRESS:

ORGANIZATION: NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL

REGISTRATION: paid 5^{00}

DATE: 1-30-65

NAME: TAYLOR, GARDNER C. (REV.)

ADDRESS 833 Marcy Avenue, Bklyn, N.Y.

ORGANIZATION: PROGRESSIVE NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION (Vice President at Large)

REGISTRATION:

DATE:

NAME: TYLER, ANDREW

ADDRESS: 30 VESEY STREET, N.Y.C.

ORGANIZATION: HARLEM LAWYERS ASSOCIATION

REGISTRATION: 5^{00} paid

DATE: 1-30-65

NAME: WARREN, CHARLES L. (DR)

ADDRESS: 475 RIVERSIDE ~~AVENUE~~ DRIVE, NYC

ORGANIZATION: THE METHODIST CHURCH

REGISTRATION: - 5^{00} paid

DATE: Jan 30, 1965.

NAME: WHALEY, RUTH WHITEHEAD

ADDRESS:

ORGANIZATION: NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN

REGISTRATION:

DATE:

NAME: WILEY, GEORGE

ADDRESS: 38 PARK ROW, N. Y. C.

ORGANIZATION: CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

REGISTRATION: paid 5^{00}

DATE: Jan. 30, 1965

NAME: WILKINS, ROY

ADDRESS: 20 WEST 40 STREET, NYC

ORGANIZATION: NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

REGISTRATION: 5^{00} paid

DATE: 1-30-65

NAME: WRIGHT, ARTHUR

ADDRESS: 233 BROADWAY, NYC

ORGANIZATION: CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL

REGISTRATION: paid 5^{00} check

DATE: Jan 30, 1965

NAME: YOUNG, ANDREW (Rev.)

ADDRESS: 334 Auburn Ave, Atlanta, Ga

ORGANIZATION: SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONF.

REGISTRATION: Pd. 5^{00}

DATE: 1-30-65

NAME: YOUNG, WHITNEY M.

ADDRESS: 14 E. 48 ST., NYC

ORGANIZATION: NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

REGISTRATION:

DATE:

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

SUBJECT FILE

Democratic And Republican Platforms
Proposals

1948-75
+
Undated

DEMOCRATIC PARTY, 1948 --

The Democratic party is responsible for the great civil rights gains made in recent years in eliminating unfair and illegal discrimination based on race, creed or color.

The Democratic party commits itself to continuing its efforts to eradicate all racial, religious and economic discrimination.

We again state our belief that racial and religious minorities must have the right to live, the right to work, the right to vote, the full and equal protection of the laws, on a basis of equality with all citizens as guaranteed by the Constitution.

We highly commend President Harry Truman for his courageous stand on the issue of civil rights.

We call upon the Congress to support our President in guaranteeing these basic and fundamental rights:

(1) the right of full and equal political participation;

(2) the right to equal opportunity of employment;

(3) the right of security of person;

(4) and the right of equal treatment in the service and defense of our nation.

-*-

DEMOCRATIC PARTY, 1952 --

Civil Rights

The Democratic Party is committed to support and advance the individual rights and liberties of all Americans.

Our country is founded on the proposition that all men are created equal. This means that all citizens are equal before the law and should enjoy equal political rights. They should have equal opportunities for education, for economic advancement, and for decent living conditions.

We will continue our efforts to eradicate discrimination based on race, religion or national origin.

We know this task requires action, not just in one section of the Nation, but in all sections. It requires the cooperative efforts of individual citizens and action by state and local governments. It also requires Federal action. The Federal Government must live up to the ideals of the Declaration of Independence and must exercise the powers vested in it by the Constitution.

We are proud of the progress that has been made in securing equality of treatment and opportunity in the Nation's armed forces and the Civil Service and all areas under Federal jurisdiction. The Department of Justice has taken an important part in successfully arguing in the courts for the elimination of many illegal discriminations, including those involving rights to own and use real property, to engage in gainful occupations and to enroll in publicly supported higher educational institutions.

We are determined that the Federal Government shall continue such policies.

At the same time, we favor Federal legislation effectively to secure these rights to everyone:

(1) the right to equal opportunity for employment;

(2) the right to security of persons;

(3) the right to full and equal participation in the Nation's political life, free from arbitrary restraints.

We also favor legislation to perfect existing Federal civil rights statutes and to strengthen the administration machinery for the protection of civil rights.

-*-

REPUBLICAN PARTY, 1948 --

... Constant and effective insistence on the personal dignity of the individual, and his right to complete justice without regard to race, creed or color, is a fundamental American principle.

... Lynching or any other form of mob violence anywhere is a disgrace to any civilized state, and we favor the prompt enactment of legislation to end this infamy.

One of the basic principles of this Republic is the equality of all individuals in their right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. This principle is enunciated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the Constitution of the United States; it was vindicated on the field of battle and became the cornerstone of this Republic. This right of equal opportunity to work and to advance in life should never be limited in any individual because of race, religion, color, or country of origin. We favor the enactment and just enforcement of such Federal legislation as may be necessary to maintain this right at all times in every part of this Republic.

We favor the abolition of the poll tax as a requisite to voting.

We are opposed to the idea of racial segregation in the armed services of the United States.

-*-

REPUBLICAN PARTY, 1952 --

Civil Rights

We condemn bigots who inject class, racial and religious prejudice into public and political matters. Bigotry is un-American and a danger to the Republic.

We deplore the duplicity and insincerity of the Party in power in racial and religious matters. Although they have been in office as a Majority Party for many years, they have not kept nor do they intend to keep their promises.

The Republican Party will not mislead, exploit or attempt to confuse minority groups for political purposes. All American citizens are entitled to full, impartial enforcement of Federal laws relating to their civil rights.

We believe that it is the primary responsibility of each state to order and control its own domestic institutions, and this power, reserved to the states, is essential to the maintenance of our Federal Republic. However, we believe that the Federal Government should take supplemental action within its constitutional jurisdiction to oppose discrimination against race, religion or national origin.

We will prove our good faith by:

Appointing qualified persons, without distinction of race, religion or national origin, to responsible positions in the Government.

Federal action toward the elimination of lynching.

Federal action toward the elimination of poll taxes as a prerequisite to voting.

Appropriate action to end segregation in the District of Columbia.

Enacting Federal legislation to further just and equitable treatment in the area of discriminatory employment practices. Federal action should not duplicate state efforts to end such practices; should not set up another huge bureaucracy.

-*-

DRAFT Suggestions for our AFL-CIO Platform Plank Proposal --

The AFL-CIO is pledged constitutionally and dedicated continuously to promote and defend the civil rights of all Americans. Our Constitution declares that one of the objects and principles of the AFL-CIO movement is:

> "To encourage all workers without regard to race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry to share equally in the full benefits of union organisation."

We of the AFL-CIO go further for elsewhere in our Constitution we set forth as another objective and principle:

> "To protect and strengthen our democratic institutions, to secure full recognition and enjoyment of the rights and liberties to which we are justly entitled, and to preserve and perpetuate the cherished traditions of our democracy."

In furtherance of these objectives, the AFL-CIO Constitution provides for a "Committee on Civil Rights" which:

> "shall be vested with the duty and responsibility to assist the Executive Council to bring about at the earliest possible date the effective implementation of the principle stated in this constitution of non-discrimination in accordance with the provisions of this constitution."

√ The AFL-CIO urges and recommends strongly that the ________ Party, in pursuit of the American dream of equality to all citizens without regard to race, color, religion or national origin, adopt the following points in its platform:

1. We support wholeheartedly the May 17, 1954, decision of the U. S. Supreme Court outlawing racial segregation in the

nation's public schools and subsequent rulings prohibiting racial segregation by state laws. We urge the quick implementation of the Supreme Court ruling so as to realize in our time the equality of all citizens which is the dream of our great democracy. We believe sincerely that all Americans irrespective of race, color, religion or national origin are entitled to enjoy in their time, the full fruits of a democratic society.

We reject the doctrine of gradualism and moderation in so far as it has been used by those who seek to circumvent the racial desegregation rulings. We believe in the earliest possible implementation of the Supreme Court's ruling and the elimination of all forms of state-imposed segregation.

We believe and urge that the Administration bring into play the full powers of the Executive branch of the Government to frustrate and punish unlawful attempts to block the implementation of the U. S. Supreme Court's desegregation decisions. Further, we urge the Legislative branch of the Federal Government to use its full powers and prestige to attain the quickest implementation of the Supreme Court's ruling.

2. We urge that the rules of the Senate and the House of Representatives be amended so that the will of the Congress may not be stultified by a recalcitrant minority. Specifically, we urge that Senate Rule 22 be changed in order to permit a majority of Senators present and voting to limit and close debate.

We urge that each party pledge to take action on the opening day of the 85th Congress in January, 1957, in order to change the rules of the Senate to accomplish this rule of procedure.

3. We seek early enactment in the next session of Congress, Federal legislation with sanctions and penalties prohibiting discrimination in employment because of race, color, religion or national origin and establishment of a Federal agency with authority to issue cease and desist orders enforceable through the courts.

4. Further, we seek enactment of Federal legislation prohibiting interference with the right of any citizen to register for and vote in primary and general Federal elections. We urge that Congress invalidate state laws which require that a poll tax be paid as a prerequisite to voting.

5. Where states abridge arbitrarily the right to vote because of race or color, we believe that Section 2 of the Fourteenth Amendment of the United States Constitution should be enforced by reducing the representation of the particular states in the U. S. House of Representatives.

6. We believe that the protection of civil rights should be strengthened by a revision of present Federal legislation. We urge that rights guaranteed by the Constitution receive maximum protection, particularly, the right of every person from mob violence. We believe also, that every citizen should have the right to use the machinery of the Federal courts for enforcement of constitutional guarantees.

7. We request earnestly that Chairmen of Congressional committees be members of outstanding ability, in sympathy with and dedicated to attain the principles of the Party placed in power by the electorate. While we recognize the importance of seniority, we believe that fitness and ability measured through merit and party responsibility be evaluated when selecting Congressional committee Chairmen.

8

July 6, 1951

Mr. James Swift
316 E. 58 Street
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Swift:

Just a word to say in reply to your letter of May 18th that neither the Republicans nor the Democrats have kept their pledged word on the civil rights question with respect to the Negro.

Sincerely yours,

APR:ha

A. Philip Randolph
International President

1

May 18, 1951

"Pres, A. Philip Randolph Sir,

I view in print of press a writeing by you as to the failing of Pres, Truman and his administtion aid's to keep worth of thier promise of full right's for negro's, I am not a big highly educatied person, so I dont use the big words, With plain every day talking I foster this friendly discusion, because I want to know if what I have viewed in print is true, As a young man I have not saw light to Truman even before his election of pass, So-call, bad negro leadership sold us down the river on him and the dem, party of now. But if such wordings that I have veiwed by you and others then I stand ready as a young negro in full action to a new hope of full American ism for the people of my race. Wont you let me hear from you.

Sincerely Friendly
Jos. Swift
316 E. 58 St.
Chicago 37, Ill,

Political
Parties
–
Civil Rights

MEMO

June 21, 1956

To: All Cooperating Organizations
From: Arnold Aronson, Secretary
Re: Civil Rights Platform Plank

Enclosed is a copy of the civil rights platform plank as approved by the Executive Committee at its meeting on June 14.

In order to enlist maximum support for the proposed plank, the Executive Committee agreed that copies should be printed and distributed, in advance of the Conventions, among interested organizations, delegates and party leaders. Formal presentations will be made to the Platform Committees of both Conventions.

Some of the organizations cooperating in the Leadership Conference do not, as a matter of policy, engage in any activities in connection with political conventions. Accordingly, the printed plank and activities in support of it will cite *only those organizations which specifically authorize the use of their names*.

Endorsement of the plank by any organization in no way precludes it from making its own independent presentation before the Platform Committees. On the contrary, such independent action is highly desirable and is strongly urged upon any organization which can undertake it.

In order to allow the necessary time for printing and circularization, the list of endorsing organizations *must be confined* to those from whom authorization to that effect has been received on the enclosed check-sheet by the close of business, Monday, July 2, 1956. You can appreciate the importance of our being able to present as large a list as possible.

DRAFT OF PROPOSED PLATFORM PLANK ON CIVIL RIGHTS TO BE SUBMITTED TO REPUBLICANS AND DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTIONS

Our Constitution recognizes no distinction among Americans because of race, color, religion or national origin and guarantees them equal treatment by both Federal and state governments. In order that that guarantee may be realized and secured for all our people, we pledge our party to the following program on civil rights.

1. *Ending Segregation*

Racial segregation imposed by law is contrary to the principles on which democratic government is based. We therefore hail the decision of the United States Supreme Court outlawing racial segregation in the public schools, as well as subsequent decisions prohibiting other forms of state-imposed segregation as expressing a legal and moral imperative. The United States Government shares the responsibility for obtaining implementation of those decisions by the quickest possible elimination of all forms of state-imposed segregation. We pledge the full use of the powers and prestige of the office of the President, the Executive Branch and the Legislative Branch of the Federal Government to that end.

2. *Strengthening Federal Civil Rights Laws*

We pledge a thoroughgoing revision of existing Federal legislation to strengthen the administrative and judicial machinery for the protection of civil rights and to give maximum protection to the enjoyment of rights guaranteed by the Constitution. In particular, we pledge the enactment of legislation to protect security of the person from mob violence and to empower individuals and government agencies to resort to the courts for enforcement of constitutional guarantees.

3. *Protecting The Right to Vote*

We pledge the enactment of Federal legislation prohibiting interference with the right to register for and vote in primary and general Federal elections, abolishing the poll tax as a prerequisite to the right to vote in elections of Federal officials, and prohibiting interference because of race or color with the right to register for or vote in primary or general state and local elections. We will oppose the seating of candidates whose elections are obtained by unconstitutional or illegal denials of the right to vote, under the powers specifically granted to both houses of Congress.

4. *Ensuring Majority Rule*

Rule by the majority must control in the democratic legislative process. Rule 22 of the United States Senate, by permitting filibusters, enables a minority of the Senate's membership to dictate to the majority what laws shall and shall not be enacted. We pledge our party to take action on the opening day of the 85th Congress in January 1957 to obtain adoption of rules in the Senate that will permit a majority of Senators present and voting to limit and close debate so that the Senate may proceed to a vote on any pending matter after there has been reasonable opportunity for full debate. We further pledge our party to take action on the opening day of the 85th Congress to obtain adoption of rules in the House of Representatives that will curb the power of the Rules Committee to dictate to the majority of the House of Representatives what bills shall or shall not be considered.

5. Selecting Responsible Committee Chairmen

The vast power that Congressional rules and practices place in the hands of the Chairman of Committees requires an end of the custom under which these important posts are filled entirely on the basis of seniority. Committee chairmen should be men of proven ability. They should reflect the principles of the party placed in power by the electorate, and should be prepared to carry out the party platform. We pledge our party to the policy of selecting Congressional committee chairmen on the basis of merit and party responsibility, with seniority being considered as a decisive factor only when other factors are equal.

6. Assuring Fair Employment

We pledge ourselves to the enactment of Federal legislation prohibiting discrimination in employment because of race, color, religion or national origin and establishment of a Federal agency empowered to issue cease and desist orders enforceable by the courts.

. . . .

We call upon the state and local divisions of our party to take vigorous action towards attainment of the goal of full equality for all American citizens, in accordance with the principles embodied in this platform.

6/21/56

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Ballot on Civil Rights Platform

☐ We approve the proposed platform plank and wish to be listed among the organizations endorsing it.

☐ We approve the proposed platform plank in principle but cannot be included among the endorsing organizations.

☐ We do not approve the proposed plank. COMMENTS: ________________________

____

____

☐ We plan to have representation at the platform hearings of the Republican National Convention in San Francisco next August.

☐ We plan to have representation at the platform hearings of the Democratic National Convention in Chicago next August.

Name of Organization ________________________

____

Name and Title of Person Signing ________________________

____

PLEASE MAIL COMPLETED BALLOT AT ONCE TO:

Arnold Aronson
National Community Relations
Advisory Council
9 East 38 Street
New York, N.Y.

=1=

The old South is deathly afraid of a vibrant

labor movement free from the illusions and frustrations of the dogma of racial superiority.

The old South is afraid that with the passing of segregation, new, free and independent voices among the repressed white population including ~~among~~ the students workers teachers, journalists preachers, will speak out against the dictatorship of a desperate and decadent racist oligarchy.

Frightened and frantic and furious over the prospect of the loss of its life and power, like a wounded beast the old south is making its last stand against [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] ~~relentless~~ The forces of [illegible] march of industrialization urbanization, unionization of the workers, democratization of government and politics by the passing of the white primaries and the poll tax and the breaking down of segregation in education.

2

Thus On the inevitable change in the dynamics of racialism in the South there is certain to come an erosion of Eastlandism and the fanatical terrorism of the White Citizens Councils. Containment of racism will not only [illegible] [illegible] the counter revolution against the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954 and other civil rights ~~decisions~~ will be halted and turned back the civil rights revolution [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] will move forward to the fulfilment of its historical mission and destiny, the full freedom of the Negro and other minorities and the realization of the American dream of equality, justice and the [illegible] [illegible] life.

Sallie Edwards
900 Broderick Street
Apt #10
Jordan 7-5259
36 O'Farrell St - Room 701
Garfield 1-8118

STANLEY D. LEVISON
ATTORNEY AT LAW
6 EAST 39TH STREET
NEW YORK 16, N.Y.

MUrray Hill 4-2932

July 16, 1956.

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
217 West 125th Street
New York City, N.Y.

Dear Brother Randolph:

Some weeks ago I spoke to you about a group of organizational leaders who have been meeting to prepare a strong statement for the political conventions, to be published as a full page advertisement in the New York Times a few days prior to the opening of the first convention.

The Urban League leadership has been the moving force. Others involved include Mr. Parris of the Catholic Interracial Council, Rev. Turnbull from the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, Morris Iushevitz, Commissioner Robert Mangum, Theodore Kheel and Rev. C. Asapanza Johnson.

We are planning to have the statement signed by a large number of very distinguished leaders and would like your name to be prominent among them. I am enclosing a copy of the statement of beliefs and the aims of the Committee and will call you tomorrow after you have read them.

We think this action is exceedingly important beause despite the widespread sentiment and support for civil rights, no dramatic and forceful statement has been issued by any group of distinguished citizens thus far.

With warmest personal regards.

Sincerely,

Stanley Levison

Stanley D. Levison

SDL:bm

JUL 17 REC'D

CITIZENS COMMITTEE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS

STATEMENT OF BELIEFS

AMERICA'S MORAL CRISIS

We of New York City address this statement to all Americans who would uphold law and order.

Our country today is facing a crisis in democracy which will test more critically its moral and spiritual resources than at any time since the Civil War era. Primarily, this is a crisis precipitated by the reaction of certain Southern political leaders to the Supreme Court's decision that racial segregation be ended in the nation's public schools "with all deliberate speed."

This Supreme Court decision, and others which followed, have juridically demolished a sixty-year old aggregate of segregation laws and ordinances. In so doing the court simply reaffirmed the moral truth of every major religion regarding the essential equality of men which is the heart of the living U.S. Constitution, the Declaration of Independence and the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights.

While friends of justice everywhere rejoiced at these democratic legal decisions, there are groups in some states who would not only prevent the desegregation of schools but would also lessen, if not destroy, the influence and integrity of the Supreme Court itself.

Many and various have been the measures proposed thwarting the desegregation decision of the Supreme Court: For example, acts of "interposition" - the setting of State governments above the law of the land - passed by several state legislatures; the manifesto of one hundred members of Congress vowing to defy by "all legal means" the desegregation decision; "white citizens" councils, encouraged by local and state government officials, have been organized in various southern states to preserve segregation by economic pressures and physical intimidation.

Moreover, a national propaganda campaign, financed in part by local or state public funds, seeks to persuade the American people that the Supreme Court is the captive of subversives and revolutionaries and that there can never be desegregation in the South.

Our fellow citizens, who for so many years, have born the burden of discrimination, should have their inalienable rights. We cannot postpone action on this crucial issue. We may not tolerate or disregard the violation of Constitutional guarantees and the decisions of the Supreme Court.

*We believe that there can be no delay or postponement in the effective enforcement of the Supreme Court Decision.

*We believe that any attempt by physical intimidation or organized economic pressure to deprive minority citizens of their hard-won Constitutional rights should be dealt with firmly and forthrightly, if necessary, by the federal and local government, which has a definite legal obligation to enforce the decision.

*We believe that public officials who call for defiance of the Supreme Court Decisions are breaking their oath to uphold the United States Constitution and so are forfeiting their moral as well as legal right to continue in public office.

*We believe that cities like New York have a special responsibility to see that all vestiges of segregation and discrimination in employment, housing, education and in every aspect of our civic life are wipe out - but we at the same time believe that we in the North must also fulfill our responsibilities as citizens of the United States and condemn injustice wherever it is found in our country.

NB/SP
7/11/56

CITIZENS COMMITTEE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

1. The Civil rights issue is today the central problem for American Society. The threat of foreign agression has fortunately abated. Despite some weak spots, our economy can boast a greater number of employed than ever before in our history.

2. The Supreme Court decision on desegregation, the determination of the Negro community to gain equal rights and the conscience of the American people force every grouping in our national life to react on this crucial issue. Civil Rights is now the test of our democratic beliefs and protestations.

3. The existing organizations in the field of civil liberties and civil rights are carrying on excellent programs along the lines of their own organizational objectives. We recognize and respect the constructive work of the NAACP, the Urban League, the Randolph Madison Square Garden meeting, 'In Friendship,' the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, and other groups. These activities are commendable and should receive the fullest support of our fellow citizens.

4. However, we need additional efforts in the political and legislative field, in order to ensure that Civil Rights is given pre-eminent attention in the political party programs and by the leading candidates.

5. We have therefore established a New York City Committee on Civil Rights which is an ad hoc committee of individual citizens to support the Supreme Court's decision on integration, and to promote equal treatment for all citizens.

This committee will not attempt to duplicate the work of existing civil rights organizations, nor compete with them. It will rather try to supplement their activities in the legislative and political areas and will work in close harmony with them.

6. The members of this committee are individual citizens active in the widest range of community and civil rights organizations who believe in democracy, justice and equality.

7. The committee is non-partisan body with specific limited objectives:

    A. to influence the delegates to the conventions of the major parties in behalf of a vigorous civil rights program;

    B. to present to the major party conventions civil rights planks;

    C. to call on the New York representatives in the Federal legislature to support vigorously a civil rights program.

8. The committee will present its views using all mass media including press releases, public statements, conferences when necessary, and advertisements in the press.

9. This committee invites all individuals concerned with the issue to support our efforts.

NB/sp
7/11/56

July 23, 1956

Mr. Stanley D. Levison
Attorney At Law
6 East 38th Street
New York 16, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Levison:

Thank you for your letter of July 16, 1956 with copy of Statement of Beliefs, America's Moral Crisis, from the Citizens Committee for Civil Rights.

I read the statement and I think it is quite good. When you have completed the list of signers, will you kindly let me know who they are.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR/b

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS
20 WEST 40TH STREET • NEW YORK 18, N. Y. • LOngacre 3-6890

officers

Chairman:
ROY WILKINS
Secretary:
ARNOLD ARONSON

Civil rights

October 26, 1956

To: Members of the Executive Committee

From: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

The enclosed letter and questionnaire have been sent to all candidates for the House and Senate, as well as to Senators who are not up for reelection, outside of the South.

It would be most helpful if your local affiliates, either separately or in conjunction with the affiliates of other organizations in the Leadership Conference, would contact the candidates in their area urging them to respond to the questionnaire and to respond in the affirmative.

As you may know, Senator Paul Douglas has announced that he plans to offer a motion on the opening day of the 85th Congress for the adoption of new Senate rules, including a revised Rule 22 that will permit the application of cloture by a majority of the Senators present and voting.

In order to discuss this and other civil rights matters relating to the 85th Congress, the Executive Committee will met on November 21, at 9:30 A.M. in Room 801, at 9 East 38th Street, New York City.

AA:RB
Enc.

OCT 29 REC'D

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LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS
20 WEST 40TH STREET • NEW YORK 18, N. Y. • LOngacre 3-6890

officers
Chairman:
Roy Wilkins
Secretary:
Arnold Aronson

October 23, 1956

Dear Candidate:

There is a continuing need for a complete program of civil rights legislation for the protection of personal, political and economic rights. The most pressing of the immediate needs is to counter increasing intimidation and threats of violence. This can be done by strengthening government enforcement machinery and establishing civil remedies for those whose rights, particularly the right to vote, are denied or interferred with.

The legislation needed and the bars to its enactment are outlined in the attached background memorandum. So that the voter may know where you and the other candidates for the House and Senate stand on the real questions which will come before the Congress in 1957, we are asking all candidates to state their positions. Will you fill in the attached questionnaire and return it to us? We intend to make public release of the replies prior to election day.

Because of the shortness of time, will you fill in the questionnaire today and mail it in the enclosed reply envelope?

Very truly yours,

Roy Wilkins

Roy Wilkins

Enclosures: 3

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SUPPORTING ORGANIZATIONS

A.M.E. Zion Church
Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity
American Civil Liberties Union
American Council on Human Rights
American Federation of Labor
American Jewish Committee
American Jewish Congress
American Veterans Committee
Americans for Democratic Action
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL
Catholic Interracial Council
Colored Methodist Episcopal Church
Congress of Industrial Organizations
Congress of Racial Equality
Delta Sigma Theta Sorority
Hotel, Restaurant and Bartenders International Union of America, AFL
Improved Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks of the World
International Ladies Garment Workers Union, AFL
International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, CIO
Japanese American Citizens League
Jewish Labor Committee
Jewish War Veterans
National Alliance of Postal Employees
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
National Association of Colored Women, Inc.
National Baptist Convention, U.S.A.
National Bar Association
National Catholic Committee on Race Relations
National Community Relations Advisory Council
National Council of Jewish Women
National Council of Negro Women
National Frontiers Club
National Negro Business League
National Newspaper Publishers Association
National Religion and Labor Foundation
National Supreme Council Scottish Rite Masons
Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity
Phi Delta Kappa Sorority
Textile Workers Union, CIO
The American Ethical Union
The Workmen's Circle
Transport Workers Union of America, CIO
Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice
United Automobile Workers of America, CIO
United Hebrew Trades
United Rubber Workers, CIO
United Steelworkers of America, CIO
United Transport Service Employees of America, CIO
Workers Defense League
Young Women's Christian Association

Leadership Conference on Civil Rights
20 West 40th St.
New York 18, N. Y.

Rep. Background

October, 1956

BACKGROUND MEMO on CIVIL RIGHTS

A civil rights bill, H. R. 627, passed the House of Representatives on July 23, 1956. The Bill would have:

1. Created a Commission on Civil Rights to make a study of alleged violations of the right to vote;

2. Permitted the appointment of a new Assistant Attorney General to head a Division in the Justice Department to handle civil rights cases which must now be handled by a very small section in the Criminal Division;

3. Authorized civil remedies for those who have their franchise interferred with; and

4. Authorized the Justice Department to initiate civil actions on behalf of aggrieved parties whose civil rights have been denied.

This legislation was recommended by Attorney General Brownell in a letter to the Congress on April 9, 1956. President Eisenhower repeatedly called for passage of H. R. 627, and Republicans in the House voted 168 to 24 for the bill. The Republican Convention in its 1956 Platform pledged:

> "We support the enactment of the civil rights program already presented by the President to the Second Session of the 84th Congress."

Procedural roadblocks have prevented civil rights legislation from becoming law for 85 years. These roadblocks are:

Delay in the House of Representatives, particularly in the Rules Committee, so that the legislation is not considered until late in the Second Session of a Congress so that there is little time for Senate consideration and conference.

Filibuster in Senate committees, and failure to schedule for floor consideration in the Senate because of threats of filibuster.

In the House this problem can be met by moving on the first day, the day rules are adopted, to amend the rules to permit a petition signed by 150 members (present rules require 218 signatures) to be considered as a motion to discharge a bill from committees, including the Rules Committee. Such a petition-motion would require the support of a majority of the members present and voting in the House before a bill could be brought to the floor.

In the Senate, procedural roadblocks can be overcome by moving on the opening day of the first session of Congress to adopt Senate rules which would provide for a reasonable limitation of debate (cloture) by a majority of the membership present and voting. Such a rule could be adopted by majority vote at the opening of the new Congress. Present rules, which have continued on from one Senate to the next by acquiescence, require 2/3 of the entire membership of the Senate voting in the affirmative before cloture can be applied, and bar any cloture on an attempt to change the rules.

Other procedural roadblocks can be overcome by an early and determined effort to adopt legislation. William Knowland, Republican Senate Leader, pledged such early action when on 27 July, 1956 in a discussion of H. R. 627 on the Senate floor with Senator Case (R., N.J.) he said:

> "I would hope that such a measure could be considered early in the next session of Congress, not in the second year of the 85th Congress, but in the first year of the 85th Congress, and that following hearings...the bill could be reported to the Senate, perhaps by March 1 or April 1 at the latest."

Democrat

Leadership Conference on Civil Rights
20 West 40th St.
New York 18, N. Y.

October, 1956

BACKGROUND MEMO on CIVIL RIGHTS

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3. Authorized civil remedies for those who have their franchise interferred with; and
4. Authorized the Justice Department to initiate civil actions on behalf of aggrieved parties whose civil rights have been denied.

A majority of the Democratic members of the House voted for H. R. 627 and it had as its sponsor Democrat Emanuel Celler, Chairman of the House Judiciary Committee. The provisions of the Bill were recommended in the 1947 report of President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights, and the principles were reaffirmed in the Platform of the Democratic Party by the 1956 Convention.

Procedural roadblocks have prevented civil rights legislation from becoming law for 85 years. These roadblocks are:

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The Democratic Platform of 1956 pledged democratization of the rules of both houses of Congress when it stated:

> "In order that the will of the American people may be expressed upon all legislative proposals, we urge that action be taken at the beginning of the 85th Congress to improve Congressional procedures so that majority rule prevails and decisions can be made after reasonable debate without being blocked by a minority in either House."

RW/jk

Leadership Conference on Civil Rights
20 West 40th St.
New York 18, N. Y.

October, 1956

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR ALL CANDIDATES FOR THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Name of Candidate ______________________________

District ______________ State ________________

If elected to the 85th Congress:

1. Will you work and vote for passage of legislation similar to H. R. 627 which passed the House on July 23, 1956?

   YES ______ NO ______

In order to assure an opportunity for the House to act on such legislation,

2. Will you vote on the opening day of the 85th Congress for the adoption of Rules that will permit the House to discharge a bill from committee upon a petition signed by 150 members?

   YES ______ NO ______

3. Will you sign a discharge petition to bring a bill similar to H. R. 627 to the floor of the House if the legislative and Rules committees have not reported the legislation by April 1, 1957?

   YES ______ NO ______

Signature of candidate ________________________

Leadership Conference on Civil Rights
20 West 40th St.
New York 18, N. Y.

October, 1956

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR ALL CANDIDATES FOR THE UNITED STATES SENATE

Name of Candidate ______________________________

State ______________________

If elected to the 85th Congress:

1. Will you work and vote for passage of legislation similar to H. R. 627 which passed the House on July 23, 1956?

YES ______ NO ______

In order to assure an opportunity for the Senate to act on such legislation,

2. Will you vote on the opening day of the 85th Congress to adopt Senate rules to provide for cloture, after reasonable debate, by a majority of the Senators present and voting?

YES ______ NO ______

3. Will you vote to discharge the committee to bring a bill similar to H. R. 627 to the Senate floor if the legislative committee has not reported the legislation by April 1, 1957?

YES ______ NO ______

4. Will you vote for a motion to proceed to the consideration of a bill similar to H. R. 627 should the Senate leadership fail to schedule such a bill for floor consideration prior to April 15, 1957?

YES ______ NO ______

Signature of candidate ______________________

[1975]

Tampa Branch NAACP
Post Office Box # 4137
Tampa, Florida 33677

Dear Mr. Randolph:

I am a Jesuit priest of the New Orleans Province, directing the Jesuit Innercity Social Apostolate of Tampa. As Second Vice-President and in the name of Mr. Matthew Gregory, the President of the Tampa Branch of the NAACP (the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People), I would like to solicit your moral support for the Black people of Tampa (and of Florida).

We of the Tampa Branch have promised God, Our Father, that we will do everything within our power to make the 1975 State Convention of the NAACP of Florida, the biggest and most important in the State's history.

You may be aware of the fact that the Florida Conference of the NAACP has decided to sue the State of Florida for gerrymandering its districts to cause Florida to become "State Number Last" in number of Black elected officials.

Our State Convention is to be held October 16, 17, and 18th at the Riverside Hilton in Downtown Tampa. If by chance or rather by God's infinite goodness you should be planning to be in Florida for business, professional, sportive, or theatrical reasons or simply as vacationer or tourist around the time of the NAACP convention, we would be most deeply appreciative if you could pay us a visit, whether to give a word of greeting or merely to honor us with your presence. We would be most grateful and forever in your debt.

Sincerely,

A. Park, S.J.

(Reverend) Austin N. Park, S.J.
Second Vice-President, and Publicity
Chairman, Tampa NAACP

I Rev [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Tampa

[illegible] NAACP [illegible] Tampa

[illegible]

[illegible] Tampa [illegible]

[illegible] state [illegible] Florida [illegible]

fellow Floridians [illegible]

[illegible] NAACP [illegible]

[illegible]

Rev. Austin N. Park,S.J.
POB # 4137
NAACP of Tampa
Tampa, FL 33677

U.S. POSTAL SERVICE FL 335
PM
11 JUN
1975

We hold these truths...
UNITED STATES 10c

Mr. A Philip Randolph
The A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, NY 10010

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=International Letter Telegram

1201

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

NEW YORK NY JUL 11 1022AME=

A PHILIP RANDOLPH BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS=

=NO REPLY FROM YOU REGARDING PROPOSED CIVIL RIGHTS PLATFORM PLANK TO BE SUBMITTED TO PARTY CONVENTIONS. MUST SEND PLANK COPY TO PRINTER BY JULY 16. PLEASE ADVISE IF YOUR ORGANIZATION TO BE INCLUDED ON LIST OF ENDORSERS WRITE OR WIRE ME AT ONCE WHATEVER YOUR DECISION=

=ARNOLD ARONSONSECRETARY LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE 20 WEST 40 ST NEW YORK NY=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

C.R

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON HUMAN RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 1, D.C

1130 SIXTH STREET, N.W
COLUMBIA 5-7307

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM MESSAGE

PREAMBLE

We commend the Democratic Party for having championed the right of all Americans to participate fully in the benefits of our democracy. We praise the positive and forthright leadership which Presidents Harry Truman and Franklin D. Roosevelt gave the American people in today's democratic contribution in their quest for making a reality of the American dream. We are particularly happy that the stalwart regulars of the Democratic Party have never compromised their support of the ideal that all men are created equal and are entitled to equal opportunity and equal treatment under the law. We praise the work of the stalwart regular Democrats who continue the Truman-Roosevelt tradition by sponsoring and fighting so hard for the passage of Civil Rights Legislation during the 84th Congress.

We deplore the fact that a minority within the Congress frustrates the efforts of the majority to act effectively on a number of issues vital to the nation. While enjoying T.V.A, themselves, they have operated to restrict the extension of public power to the people of the Northwest. They have blocked the proposals to increase the minimum wage and frustrated efforts to amend labor laws. In the field of Civil Rights, this minority has issued manifestos opposing the Supreme Court decisions which only begin to right the wrongs which 16 million citizens have patiently endured. Unless this party adopts a positive forward looking Civil Rights Platform, these sectarian views will be interpreted by the public to have the tacit approval of the whole party. With such a handicap, the chances of victory for Democratic candidates are seriously compromised.

The Council feels compelled to make it clear that the greatest tasks lie ahead. As for the District of Columbia, the attacks of bigots must be fended off. Their resort to defamation and demagogery must be made plain so that hate and fear will not be used to nullify principle and right. We must be alert that they shall not through devious means resuscitate the barbarities of prejudice and discrimination under guise of resolving some civic, social or school problem. Further steps need to be taken toward securing equality of opportunity.

On the national scene, there is need of a firm statement in support of desegregation and a pledge of effective action to ameliorate the lot of citizens suffering deprivation of the rights essential to human dignity. Further, it is imperative that leadership be provided those who desire to accept the social changes consonant with the American ideal that all men are equal under the law and under God. Lastly, this party must set down a program of action to be pursued should the American people confer the Presidency upon its candidate.

We, therefore, urge this committee to consider these suggestions as representing the minimum needs as forseen by our constituents.

THE AMERICAN COUNCIL ON HUMAN RIGHTS
WASHINGTON, D.C

1130 SIXTH STREET,NORTHWEST
COLUMBIA 5-7397

PLATFORM PLANKS

ENDING SEGREGATION AND OTHER DISCRIMINATION IN PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS

The steps to end racial segregation and other forms of discrimination on transportation facilities, depot and terminal accommodations, hotel accommodations, places of public amusement are note worthy.

It is desirable that the efforts to end every form of racial segregation, exclusion, and discrimination in public accommodation for the general public be continued. If such requires State or Congressional legislation, we urge that the members of your party be pledged to support such legislation. When executive or agency action is needed, we urge that the party firmly pledge its appointees to support orders to end these barbaric and degrading customs which are the ritual heritage of the days when slavery existed.

ENDING SEGREGATED AND OTHER RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING

The American Council on Human Rights takes the position, without reservations, that the Federal government cannot in good conscience continue to implement ghettoization by allowing the various agencies concerned with housing and home finance or with urban renewal to support directly or indirectly agencies or individuals who use racial designation as criteria for occupying either private or public housing. Discrimination and segregation in the programs for farm housing, defense housing, and veterans' housing must be ended. We also urge that the policy of the Community Facilities Administration and the Housing and Home Finance Agencies which assist the colleges with their housing finances adopt policies consistent with good democratic practice. We urge the adoption of legislation banning the extension of federal funds to any person, corporation, whose premises are not available to any person, whatever his racial, religious or national origin.

SCHOOL SEGREGATION

ACHR commends the hundreds of school boards and government officials in th several states and the District of Columbia, which have accepted the Supreme Court decision with good faith, for their forthright steps to end school segregation in compliance with the decision of the United States Supreme Court. We view the Court's phrase "deliberate speed" to mean that consistent forward steps must regularly be taken by the local school boards until complete non-segregation is accomplished.

We strongly urge the school districts and state officials in the remaining minority of states to take immediately first steps toward ending their segregated school systems. We particularly condemn the actions of the officers of states which have restrained school districts which have indicated their readiness and ability to take steps to comply with the Supreme Courts decision. We, therefore, urge that all school legislation contain clauses requiring that the school officials seeking federal funds and transacting business with the Federal Government have taken steps to conform to the decrees of the Supreme Court, and particularly, must there be no unresolved litigation outstanding.

BANNING THE USE OF FEDERAL FUNDS TO BULWARK SEGREGATION

ACHR takes the position that provision of Federal Funds on the basis of race is a tacit approval of racial segregation and discrimination. Such action contradicts the American ideal and contravenes several of the rights set forth in the Constitution, particularly the equal protection of the law clause, and is therefore unconstitutional. Further, we take the position that no Federal funds, grants, assistance of any kind should be made available to the states or to private agencies or institutions that segregate or otherwise discriminate on account of race or religion.

We trust this party will pledge its support to Congressional action to stipulate that Federal aid to education, to housing, to hospital construction and other medical assistance programs, to colleges and universities, to airport construction, and other forms of assistance cannot be used to bulwark institutionalized segregation and discrimination.

INSURING THE RIGHT TO VOTE

The Council holds the exercise of the franchise to be a most sacred trust and a duty incumbent upon American citizens. We, therefore, strongly support the right of every qualified citizen both to register and to vote in primary and general elections. We do declare our vigorous opposition to any effort, including improper and inappropriate tests administered to voters and registrants, which restrict the right to vote.

We urge that the Department of Justice take every step possible to enforce existing legislation to implement the right to vote. Further, we urge the Congress to investigate and to act to reduce the Congressional representation of States which deny citizens the right to vote. We urge the enactment of Federal legislation (a) to abolish the poll tax and (b) to empower the Attorney General to bring civil action to prevent practices that deny a qualified citizen the right to vote.

FAIR EMPLOYMENT POLICY

Our group recognizes that several states and the Federal government have exerted not inconsiderable efforts to abolish racial, ethnic, and religious discrimination in employment by mediation and by the use of non-discriminatory contract clauses. We applaud the success of these efforts and urge more vigorous application of this method.

There is an urgent need for the United States to find means of better utilizing its manpower and talent in order to maintain her economic and technical superiority and to increase her defensive capabilities. Racial, ethnic, and religious restrictions, which ban talented people from any occupation or restrict employers' and government from the most effective use of the talents and skills of minority group members not only results in a waste of human resources, but aid our enemies by lowering morale of large segments of the labor force.

ACHR, therefore, urges the enactment of legislation creating an independent agency to investigate and enforce Fair Employment policy.

FEDERAL GUARANTEE OF SECURITY OF PERSON

The indispensable conditions for civilization and democracy are the security of person and property and freedom from threat and intimidation. Unless these conditions obtain, lawful contracts cannot be exercised, free elections become impossible, and public officials fail their oaths to uphold the sacred Constitution. Whenever a Till or Laine case occurs, a home is bombed or a cross is burned, one more argument is supplied those who seek to convince the peoples of Africa and Asia that Americans are hypocrites who do not really believe in the brotherhood of man. These events occur because local officials are derelict in their Constitutional duties through fear or lack of moral sense of duty. We condemn the existence of such conditions as being detrimental to the continued existence of our Federal republic.

The American Council on Human Rights therefore,asks that this party pledge itself to vigorously enforce such legislation as now exists so that when state or local officials are ineffectual in protecting life and/or property of any person, the weight of the United States can be used to meet the Federal government's constitutional obligation to insure the people of the several states that the states shall maintain republican forms of government, as well as their obligation to secure to citizens the equal protection of the law.

MAJORITY RULE IN THE CONGRESS

We have seen time and time again, the willful minority of Congressman with vest-pocket constituencies block the whole Congress from debating and voting on legislation such as extension of the minimum wage law, social security or civil rights desired by the majority of the legislators and the majority of the American people by deceit and chicanery in managing their committee assignments. Furthermore, it is to be noted that where the elected representatives come from districts where the exercise of the franchise is not restricted to a privileged proportion of citizens, the actions of Congressmen and Senators reflect responsiveness to the needs of the nation, rather than the dictates of the few privileged to exercise the franchise.

ACHR therefore, urges this party to pledge itself to examine the manner in which persons are elected. If it be found that any persons presenting himself or certification as a member of the House or Senate was fraudulently elected, or that when he was elected unlawful inappropriate or onerous restrictions were imposed on the exercise of the franchise by state officers under the guise of legality, the House of Representatives or Senate shall refuse to seat such a person.

PRESERVING THE INTEGRITY OF AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP

The protection of the rights of United States citizens to travel, to pursue lawful trade, and to engage in other lawful activities abroad without distinction as to race or religion is a cardinal function of United States sovereignty. American citizens are being excluded from service in military, diplomatic and civilian capacities abroad because of their religion and race. Certain foreign governments, enjoying United States economic aid, are maintaining a boycott against Americans and refuse to honor United States passports carried by United States citizens solely because of the religious faith or race of such citizens. The Department of State acquiesces and condones these practices which are incompatible with the constitutional principle of equality of citizenship.

This party must pledge appropriate action by the Executive and Legislative branches of the government to assure that the imposition by foreign governments of discriminations against U.S. citizens, based on their religion or race, will not be tolerated. Furthermore, no treaties, conventions and executive agreements between the United States and foreign governments shall expressly provide that the privileges, benefits, or opportunities afforded thereunder will not be denied to any United States citizen solely because of his race or religion.

CONCLUSION

Segregation and discrimination in any area of American life contradicts our basic moral and democratic principles. The American Council on Human Rights deplores all tacit or overt approval of discrimination by any branch or agency of the Federal Government. We oppose any form of segregation imposed by state law. We commend the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the school segregation cases and applaud its recognition of the basic principle that separate facilities are fundamentally unequal. We support total use of the powers of the Executive and Legislative branches of the Federal Government to eliminate every vestige of racial discrimination whether it be in public education, recreation, hospitals, public accommodations, public or publicly-aided housing, voting, and transportation.

ACHR urges you to consider the recommendations just made as the minimum program needed for continued progress toward resolving these problems which appall the people of the United States and the World. Our membership, 100,000 college trained Negroes, will praise your vision, acclaim your rectitude, and applaud your statesmanship.

The American Council on Human Rights thank you for the hearing.

July 19, 1956

THE AMERICAN COUNCIL ON HUMAN RIGHTS
1130 SIXTH STREET, NORTHWEST
WASHINGTON 1, D.C

MINIMUM CIVIL RIGHTS RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Endorsement, support and implemenation by the President and the Congress of the Supreme Court decisions outlawing segregation and other violations of civil rights.

2. Vigorous and immediate Presidential action through existing executive powers and legislative action to insure security of the person against violence, intimidation, and terror.

3. An effective federal commission to prevent discrimination in employment.

4. A federal law against lynching and all other assaults on persons or property because of race, religion, color, or national origin.

5. Congressional action for the abolition of the poll tax and all other interference with the right to register or vote in primary or general federal elections.

6. A Civil Rights Division in the Department of Justice headed by an Assistant Attorney General of the United States and charged with protection of civil rights throughout the nation and the power to enter civil suits in protection of Civil Rights.

7. A permanent federal commission with subpoena powers to make a continuing appraisal of the civil rights field and to recommend action.

8. Elimination of remaining segregation and other forms of discrimination in interstate travel.

9. Establishment of majority rule in the Senate and House of Representatives.

10. The refusal to seat candidates whose elections are obtained by un-constitutional and illegal denials of the right to vote under the powers specifically granted to both houses of the Congress.

11. The appropriation of federal funds in a manner which will prohibit the continuation of segregation in education and housing.

12. No treaties or executive agreements with foreign governments shall be continued which acquiesce to discrimination against American citizens because of race, religion, or national origin.

We further call upon the President to use his high office in bringing together the people and organizations who can solve the problems arising from racial prejudice and bigotry. As the elected leader of the American people, he should act immediately in exercising his broad powers.

We also call upon the Congress to enact civil rights legislation before the adjournment of the present session.

We also call upon the state and local governments to enforce the U.S Supreme Court decision on school desegregation, intrastate travel and other civil rights decisions.

JULY 19, 1956

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH SUBJECT FILE Dinner And Convention Invitations 1961-70

Committee
for
Walter Reuther 25th Anniversary
of Democratic Trade Unionism

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Honorary Chairman

WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS
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BISHOP G. BROMLEY OXNAM
JAMES G. PATTON
JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR.
EDWARD JAMES SPARLING
ADLAI STEVENSON
JOHN B. SWAINSON

May 8, 1961

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
Room 301
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Randolph:

A number of friends of Walter Reuther have organized a small committee to make an appropriate recognition of his twenty-five years in the labor movement.

It was back in the spring of 1936 that the United Automobile Workers, assembled in convention at South Bend, joined up with the CIO and began its role as a union dedicated to the public interest as well as to the welfare of its own membership. It was at this same convention in 1936 that Walter Reuther was elected to the Executive Board of the Auto Workers, from which post he went on to top leadership in the union. Now, twenty-five years later, he has built a record of democratic trade unionism second to none.

Many of the great advances in working conditions obtained across the collective bargaining table originated in Walter Reuther's resourceful mind and came to fruition through his determination and his courage. Many of the great legislative advances in working conditions have resulted from his efforts in both the legislative halls and the political arenas. But at least as important as Walter Reuther's struggle to obtain a fuller life for the workers of America has been his deep belief that the labor movement must advance with, and not at the expense of, the remainder of the national and international community. To this end, he has worked tirelessly to improve the lot of Americans in all walks of life. To this end, too, he has been the leader in trade union efforts to make our nation cognizant of its international responsibilities and to make the abundance of America available to hungry peoples everywhere.

On June 15 we will present Walter Reuther with a bound volume of letters of appreciation from persons he has known in the United States and throughout the world. We are sure that he would want a letter from you included in that volume. So will you please send a letter (please do not fold it) to Walter Reuther for inclusion in the volume. Please write your letter to Walter as soon as possible and mail it in an envelope addressed as follows:

Mr. Justice William O. Douglas
United States Supreme Court
Washington 25, D. C.

In any event, please be sure we receive your letter by the end of this month as we want your letter, appropriately bound with the others, for presentation to Walter on June 15.

Sincerely yours,

Eleanor Roosevelt
Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
Honorary Chairman

Wm O. Douglas
William O. Douglas
Chairman

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May 22, 1961

Mr. Justice William O. Douglas
United States Supreme Court
Washington 25, D. C.

My dear Mr. Justice:

I am more than happy to enclose my letter to be presented, with others, to Walter Reuther on the occasion of his twenty-fifth anniversary in the American labor movement.

Very truly yours,

A. Philip Randolph

Enclosure

May 22, 1961

Mr. Walter P. Reuther, President
United Automobile Workers of America
8000 East Jefferson Avenue
Detroit 14, Michigan

Dear Walter:

Let me assure you that it is an honor and pleasure to have this opportunity to express my respect, admiration and affection for you personally, and also for you as a labor statesman, great American, great leader, and a great man.

All of us in the labor movement who are closely associated with you have been enriched, not only by your fine mind but by your vision and commitment to the great moral values and the Judeo-Christian traditions.

May I wish for you on this twenty-fifth anniversary of your life and work in the free democratic trade union world, many, many more anniversaries, for you are not only a great asset to the workers of America, but to our democratic society.

With cordial good wishes, I am

Fraternally yours,

A. Philip Randolph

Committee to Honor Paul Sifton
3610 Ordway Street, N.W.
Washington 16, D. C.

363-1105

March 16, 1963

HONORARY CHAIRMEN
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WALTER P. REUTHER

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MRS. MARY ALICE BALDINGER
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BENTON J. STONG
MRS. LuVERNE CONWAY, Ex. Sec.

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
217 West 125th Street
Room 301
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Randolph:

On April 23, 1963 there will be a dinner to honor Paul Sifton at the Sheraton Park Hotel here in Washington. You will receive an invitation to the dinner early in April, so please save the evening. It will be an exciting gathering of Paul's many friends who want to honor him on the occasion of his retirement from active duty.

Whether or not you will be able to attend the dinner, we would like you to write Paul a letter of greeting and friendship upon this occasion. Your letter will be included in a volume which we will present to Paul the night of April 23rd.

Please mail your letter to the Committee to Honor Paul Sifton, 3610 Ordway Street, N.W., Washington 16, D.C.; put it on 8-1/2 x 11 inch stationery and send it in a big envelope so it does not have to be folded. We will have to have your response in our hands not later than April 15th and we would really like to have it much sooner if that is at all possible.

We know that Paul would not consider the volume complete without your letter of greeting and friendship in it.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Joe

Joseph L. Rauh, Jr.

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105

April 11, 1963

My dear Paul:

It is with profound pleasure and delight that I take this opportunity to hail and salute you, one of the pioneers and crusaders for the cause of freedom, democracy, peace and plenty, and the brotherhood of man.

I need not tell you that my association with you over the years has been one of profound enrichment for myself and it is with great humility that I send you these greetings upon your retirement.

With cordial good wishes, I am

Fraternally yours,

A. Philip Randolph

Mr. Paul Sifton
Committee to Honor Paul Sifton
3610 Ordway Street, N. W.
Washington 16, D. C.

CARL M. GUTMANN
740 CLINTON SPRINGS
CINCINNATI 29, OHIO

March 2, 1967

Telegram

Mr. A. Phillip Randolph
127 W. 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Randolph:

My father, Dr. James Gutmann, who recently retired as Chairman of the Philosophy Department at Columbia University, will celebrate his 70th birthday on April 11th.

Relatives and friends from various parts of the country will travel to New York City for a testimonial dinner in his honor on this very special occasion.

You are one of the people whom my father has always particularly admired. A few written words from you would certainly be the highlight of the evening.

I would appreciate it if you would send your message to the above address, so I may have the pleasure of surprising my father with it on his birthday. I am most grateful for this favor and I know my father will be too.

Sincerely,

Carl M Gutmann

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WESTERN UNION

SENDING BLANK 4/11/67

CALL LETTERS FCL FAST CHARGE TO BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS

DR. JAMES GUTMANN
740 CLINTON SPRINGS
CINCINNATI, OHIO

CONGRATULATIONS UPON YOUR 70TH BIRTHDAY AND A FRUITFUL AND CREATIVE LIFE.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

Send the above message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

PLEASE TYPE OR WRITE PLAINLY WITHIN BORDER—DO NOT FOLD
1269—(R 4-55)

ROBERT KENNEDY DINNER COMMITTEE

Suite 300, 1700 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W. • Washington, D. C. 20006 • (202) 293-2570

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Answer

January 13, 1969

Mr. Philip Randolph, Vice President
A. F. L. - C. I. O.
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street, Room 301
New York, New York 10027

Dear ~~Mr. Randolph~~: Phil

We -- Senator Robert Kennedy's family, friends and associates -- are planning a dinner in Washington on January 22, to help defray the deficit growing out of his primary campaign this year. I am writing you to ask the help of you and your union in making the Dinner a success.

I am very much aware of the financial problems organized labor faces as a result of the recent elections. Because I hope you will be able to participate with us at the dinner, despite these problems, we will work out a deferred payment arrangement if it suits your needs. I have asked the staff of the Dinner Committee to help you make these arrangements. A member of the Committee will be in touch with you in the very near future to discuss any questions you may have.

I am most hopeful that you will be able to help us make this evening a memorable one, and I look forward to seeing you there.

My warm regards and very personal thanks for all that you do.

Sincerely,

Edward M. Kennedy

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ROBERT KENNEDY DINNER COMMITTEE
Suite 340, 1700 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006
202-293-2570

The Robert Kennedy Dinner Committee and Senator and Mrs. Edward M. Kennedy will host a black tie dinner in Washington on January 22, 1969, in the International Ballroom of the Washington Hilton Hotel. A reception at 8:00 P.M. will precede the dinner itself. The subscription for the dinner is $100 per plate, or $1,000 per table, and the proceeds will be used to help defray the unpaid expenses of Senator Robert Kennedy's presidential campaign this year.

A departure in dinners, inaugurated at this one, will be the absence of a head table. Instead, the Committee hopes to have the friends of Robert Kennedy from the entertainment and sports worlds, and others who would ordinarily be at the head table, seated with the other guests at tables throughout the ballroom. The Committee has a limited number of special subscription tickets at $1,000 per couple. Holders of these tickets will go to the dinner, and are then invited to join Senator and Mrs. Edward Kennedy at their home after the dinner.

The Dinner Committee has arranged for a program of distinguished entertainment, which will be presented at the dinner. This entertainment will be announced shortly before the dinner.

The Dinner Committee office is located at the address listed above, and its staff is available on a daily basis to answer questions, to arrange for invitations to be mailed, to set aside tickets for the dinner, and to respond generally to requests regarding the dinner and arrangements.

NAACP 60 years FOUNDED 1909

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

SEVENTEEN NINETY BROADWAY • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10019 • 212-245-2100

April 28, 1969

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
President
Brotherhood of Sleeping
 Car Porters
103 East 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Randolph:

The NAACP 60th Annual Convention will meet this year in Jackson, Mississippi from June 30 - July 5, inclusive. Because of the nation-wide interest in the campaign for civil rights, we expect that this will be the largest convention in the Association's history. Advance information from our 1,780 units throughout the country indicates that there will be a record number of delegates in attendance.

Our delegates and, through them, the Association's entire membership, will be gratified and honored to receive a message of greeting from you. We do not consider that your message, and the others of like character we receive, can ever become routine items. They are, rather, perennial welcome reaffirmations of the common sharing of ideals and objectives of the unity which guarantees victory.

Before June 17, the message should be sent to the above address in New York City; thereafter, in care of the Heidelberg Hotel, 131 East Capitol Street, Jackson, Mississippi 39205.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

John Morsell

John A. Morsell
Assistant Executive Director

JAM:crn

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June 16, 1969

Dr. John A. Morsell
Assistant Executive Director
National Association for the
  Advancement of Colored People
1790 Broadway
New York, New York 10019

Dear Dr. Morsell:

On the occasion of the NAACP 60th Annual Convention, may I extend my congratulations to Roy Wilkins, the able, dedicated and courageous leader of civil rights in this country. Be it said to his eternal credit that he stood steadfast upon the principle of racial integration which has been the goal of black Americans since the slave insurrections in the early history of this country.

Although there may be outbursts of rejection of integration by some of our young civil rights activists, the great masses of Negro Americans will never retreat from the objective of racial integration since all of their troubles, trials and frustrations have come out of segregation.

Let me also congratulate you as one of the fearless and devoted exponents of civil rights, racial and social justice.

May I wish for the Convention the support and cooperation of all dedicated Americans, black and white, Jew and Gentile, Protestant and Catholic, worker and employer.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

A. Philip Randolph Institute

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August 3, 1970

George Meany, President
AFL-CIO
The Drake Hotel
Chicago, Illinois

Dear George:

I had meant to talk to you about this personally, but, as you know, illness has prevented my attending the Executive Council meeting.

Bayard Rustin has recently celebrated his sixtieth birthday, and I think it would be fitting to honor him at a testimonial dinner. Such a dinner would bring together those groups who support integration, non-violence and democratic social change, and would reaffirm our commitment to a labor-Negro alliance.

I am going to be chairman of the event, and hope you can join me as a co-chairman. I am planning to ask Rev. Theodore Hesburgh to join us. Our staff has checked the hotel situation in New York, and it is best to hold the dinner on Monday evening December 14th. I know Bayard will be very honored by your agreeing to be chairman of this event.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Phil hh

A. Philip Randolph
President

APR/hh
cc: AFL-CIO
815 - 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

August 14, 1970

Rev. Theodore N. Hesburgh
President
University of Notre Dame
South Bend, Indiana

Dear Rev. Hesburgh:

I am writing to ask you to join George Meany and myself as a Co-Chairman of a dinner to honor Bayard Rustin. Bayard recently celebrated his sixtieth birthday, but more important than that, we think that such an occasion would reaffirm our commitment to integration, non-violence and democratic social change.

The proceeds of the dinner will go to the A. Philip Randolph Institute and Educational Fund. Our staff has looked into the hotel situation in New York, and we found that it is best to hold the dinner on Monday evening, December 14th.

I know that Bayard would be honored by your consenting to be a co-chairman. His appointment to the Board of Trustees of Notre Dame and your steadfast support for his work have meant much to him.

With best wishes,

A. Philip Randolph

APR/hh

August 26, 1970

Mr. Roy Wilkins, Executive Director
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
1790 Broadway
New York, New York 10019

Dear Roy,

I am writing to ask you to serve along with George Meany, Reverend Theodore M. Hesburgh and myself as a Co-Chairman of a testimonial dinner in honor of Bayard Rustin. Bayard recently celebrated his sixtieth birthday, but more important than that, we think such an occasion would reaffirm our commitment to integration, non-violence and democratic social change.

The dinner is scheduled for Monday, December 14th and will take place at the New York Hilton Hotel.

I know that Bayard would be greatly honored by your consenting to join us.

Sincerely,

A. Philip Randolph

APR/ej

HENRY LEE MOON
Editor

Official Organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

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September 1, 1970

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York 10027

Dear Mr. Randolph:

The Crisis, the oldest Negro magazine of general circulation, will observe its 60th anniversary in November, 1970.

The official publication of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the nation's oldest and largest civil rights organization, The Crisis today endeavors to remain a forward-looking publication, as evidenced in its new 1970 format. Not content to rest on whatever laurels we have garnered to date, we are anticipating bigger, better and more comprehensive issues in the future.

In our 60th anniversary issue we plan to publish congratulatory messages from our readers and friends, and would welcome such a message from you. Please join us in this 60th anniversary observance by sending us a brief note of felicitation for publication.

Sincerely yours,

Henry

Henry Lee Moon
Editor

HLM:cg
Enc.

P.S. We would appreciate receiving your comment not later than October 1. HLM.

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September 14, 1970

Dear Henry:

I am happy to have this opportunity to congratulate you and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People on the 60th anniversary of The Crisis.

The Crisis has served as a source of information about the problems and progress of black people with consistency and sound interpretation with respect to political, economic and social questions.

We are living in times of a major and fundamental transition in the world which gives rise to tumult, disorder and conflict. At such a time, many voices are heard claiming possession of the only solution of the problems facing black people and other members of the American community. Lest the Negro people become unsteady and unwitting of their way there must be some star which can guide them clear of the shoals of disaster. I account The Crisis, as the organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, as constituting a major force for the achievement of racial and social justice in these times.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

Mr. Henry Lee Moon, Editor
The Crisis
1790 Broadway
New York, New York 10019

Joe Rauh Testimonial

JANUARY 16, 1971 • SHERATON-PARK HOTEL • WASHINGTON, D.C.

Co-Chairmen
Ramsey Clark
A. Philip Randolph

November 30, 1970

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

Dear Philip Randolph:

In the course of the evening of the Joe Rauh Testimonial Dinner, Joe will be presented with a bound volume of letters from people who represent something special to him. Since you are one of those people, we are writing to see if you would like to write a letter of tribute to Joe to be included in the volume.

The paper on which you write should not be larger than 8 x 10, and will you please leave a fairly wide margin on the left side so there'll be room for binding. We are asking people to confine their letters to one page, difficult as that may be. Will you send the letter to us flat and, if convenient, with cardboard to protect it.

The letters must go to the binder on December 21, so please get yours to us as much before that date as possible.

The first responses and program arrangements assure that this will be a memorable occasion - both as a heart-warming tribute to our honored guest and as a timely boost to great causes upon which "justice and peace in our land" depend. Your personal message, like those of other friends and co-workers, will help to give this event lasting meaning for Joe.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank W. McCulloch
Arrangements Committee

P.S. Not only are we looking forward to getting your letter, but we are looking forward to seeing you at the dinner.

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December 23, 1970

Mr. Frank W. McCulloch
Suite 704
1424 Sixteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Brother McCulloch:

Just a word to say that I greatly regret I will be unable to attend the dinner on January 16 in honor of our mutual and distinguished friend, Joe Rauh.

Joe is truly deserving of this tribute because of his contribution to the great cause of human rights.

I am indeed sorry that I cannot be present.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

December 15, 1970

My dear friend Joe:

I am happy and delighted to be included among your many friends as they gather to honor you upon this memorable occasion.

I hail and salute you as a great American liberal and also because, as counsel for the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, you helped to break down the barrier of racism against black railroad firemen who sought to exercise their right of promotion to the category of engineers along with white firemen.

May I add that I know of no American who has more steadfastly and courageously stood up and fought for the cause of civil rights, labor's rights and human rights.

With warm personal regards, I am

Very sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
SEVENTEEN NINETY BROADWAY • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10019 • 212-245-2100

April 4, 1975

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, President
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10010

Dear Mr. Randolph:

The NAACP 66th Annual Convention will meet this year in Washington, D.C. during the week of June 30 - July 4 inclusive. Because of the nationwide interest in the campaign for civil rights, we expect that this will be the largest Convention in the Association's history. Advance information from our 1,700 units throughout the country indicates that there will be a record number of delegates in attendance.

Our delegates and, through them, the Association's entire membership, will be gratified and honored to receive a message of greeting from you. We do not consider that your message and the others of like character we receive can ever become routine items. They are, rather, perennial welcome reaffirmations of the common sharing of ideals and objectives of the unit which guarantees victory.

Before June 23rd, the message should be sent to the above address in New York City; thereafter, in care of the Sheraton Park Hotel, 2600 Woodley Rd., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20008.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

Roy Wilkins

Roy Wilkins
Executive Director

RW:bc

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June 20, 1975

Mr. Roy Wilkins, Executive Director
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
1790 Broadway
New York, New York 10019

Dear Roy:

It is always a great privilege to have the opportunity to bring greetings to the NAACP. As you meet, on the occasion of your 66th Annual Convention, you can point to a record of unparalleled accomplishment in the struggle for a fair and humane social order. You have persisted in the face of the most brutal oppression, and endured despite the troubles and division that accompanied the period of the black man's most spectacular victories.

The Association has emerged from these times of difficulty with renewed strength. And this is important. For the challenges lying ahead are, if anything, even more formidable than those encountered in the past. We face the challenge of remaking America along just and moral lines. Nine million Americans cannot find jobs; many young people face the terrible prospect of never having the opportunity to enter the labor market. We cannot let this new generation down.

In an earlier era, the NAACP was first among the vocies of protest against a cruel and pervasive caste system. You have achieved a preeminent stature because you courageously spoke out against racial wrongs wherever they existed. Today, we must speak out once again, this time against the economic brutalization of millions of Americans. Economic justice is the uncompleted agenda of the civil rights movement. With a national leadership that is confused, timid and uncaring, it falls to us to once again demand its fulfillment.

With cordial good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

A. Philip Randolph

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

SUBJECT FILE

Emergency Committee For Unity on Social and Economic Problems

1961-62

MEETING CONCERNING CRISIS OF RACIAL VIOLENCE IN HARLEM

August 2, 1961 - 3 P.M.

AGENDA

PURPOSE

Explore and assess the danger and depth of recurring, incipient race riots in Harlem.

CAUSES

1. ECONOMIC
   a. High rate of joblessness
   b. Low wages
   c. Slum housing
2. PROPAGANDA: RACIAL NATIONALIST CHAUVINISM
   a. Anti-whiteism
   b. Hatred begets hatred
   c. Violence begets violence

CURB

1. Set up Harlem committee - "Citizens of 100"
   a. Cross-section of community
   b. Working committees - Organization, Education, Public Relations

PROGRAM

1. Enlist all Church Leaders
2. Enlist Civic Leaders
3. Enlist the Press
4. " Youth groups
5. " Social Clubs
6. " Teachers and Professional groups
7. " Labor forces

METHOD OF ACTION

1. Public Meetings
   a. Church
   b. Street
   c. Block
2. Consult with leaders of Black Muslims and Negro nationalists.
3. Develop small group leadership.

PRINCIPLES

1. Wholly non-partisan
2. Non-sectarian
3. Harlem belongs to the people of Harlem, regardless of race, religion, color, national origin, or ancestry.

   Harlem is not a monolithic racial area and must not move in that direction. It is multiracial. Its composition includes Negroes, German, Dutch, Scandinavian, Japanese, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Filipino, etc. However small in number these groups may be, each of these groups are entitled to respect by all other groups in the community.
4. Harlem can only grow through integration in the entire city of New York.
5. Harlem must avoid racial isolation. The result of racial isolation is economic strangulation and an eventual ghost community.

AIMS

1. A bigger and better Harlem
2. More and better jobs
3. More and better housing
4. More and better schools
5. More constructive, cooperative communication among citizens of Harlem - black, white, Puerto Rican, Catholic, Jewish, etc.
6. Shift of open air forum from street corners to public park.

   This procedure has long historic precedent. Socrates had his Gymnasium; Plato, his Academy; Aristotle, his Lyceum. Today, in various cities of the nation, meetings have been shifted from the streets to the parks. This is the case in Chicago; it is the case in downtown New York. At one time Union Square was the center of street meetings; today they are shifted to the park.
7. Preservation of freedom of speech.
8. Preservation of freedom of assembly.
9. Achievement of a bigger and better Harlem within the framework of law and order and under the moral commitment of "I am my brother's keeper."
10. With rights, go civic responsibilities and duties, involving compliance with and obedience to the law of the land - Local, State, Federal.

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter

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THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION
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I AM APPOINTING YOU TO THE AD HOC WORKING COMMITTEE ON PROGRAM OF UNITY FOR ACTION= FIRST MEETING SCHEDULED FOR 3PM, MONDAY AUGUST FOURTEENTH= 217 WEST 125 STREET=

A PHILIP RANDOLPH=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

August 15, 1961

Dear Friend:

I am calling a unity meeting on Friday, August 18, 3 PM, in my office, 217 W. 125 Street, Room 301, New York City. It is urgent that you attend.

Cordially,

A. Philip Randolph

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
International President

MILTON P. WEBSTER
1st International Vice-President
3947 Drexel Boulevard
Chicago 53, Illinois

BENNIE SMITH
2nd International Vice-President
1308 Broadway, Room 305
Detroit 26, Michigan

BROTHERHOOD of SLEEPING CAR PORTERS
Train, Chair Car, Coach Porters and Attendants
AN INTERNATIONAL UNION
Affiliated with the AFL-CIO/CLC

217 WEST 125th STREET - Room 301
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.
MOnument 2-5080 - 1

ASHLEY L. TOTTEN
International Secretary-Treasurer

C. L. DELLUMS
3rd International Vice-President
1716 Seventh Street
Oakland 20, California

T. D. McNEAL
4th International Vice-President
2906a North Union Boulevard
St. Louis 15, Missouri

B. F. McLAURIN
Eastern Zone Supervisor

August 24, 1961

Dear Friend:

You will, I trust, forgive my sending you a mimeographed letter on a matter of very vital importance. I hope you will give the contents of this letter your most careful consideration.

Following the recent disturbance on 125th Street, I felt it my duty to call representatives of all segments of our community to discuss the economic distress and moral decline that plague the black communities of New York, in the hope that the basic causes of the unrest and frustration could be determined and remedied.

Representatives of the NAACP, Urban League, Negro American Labor Council, the Christian church, the Muslim religion, black nationalists, women's organizations, YMCA, the professions, etc. met on several occasions in my office.

While, as you know, many of these groups approach the problem of liberation differently, I was greatly encouraged by the mutual respect exhibited and the very real opportunity for understanding these discussions afforded. But beyond this, there was general agreement that the ills and lawlessness of our communities (whether Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant, Bronx or Queens) spring from the unemployment and economic crisis the black working class face more acutely than any other segment of the population. It is clear that unless the 80,000 black workers now unemployed in New York can get work we are going to have increasing violence and discord. And they will not get work unless all elements unite in demanding it.

Those meeting in my office agreed that we must present to the city officials concrete demands to relieve unemployment. As the result of this conclusion it was agreed that I should call all political leaders, and those aspiring to political leadership, together with the broadest possible leadership of our communities, to hear our just demands and grievances.

Consequently, in keeping with the committee's request, I have telegraphed Mayor Wagner, all city commissioners, borough presidents, all candidates for major office of both parties (and independents) to meet with a broad leadership from our communities, in order to lay squarely before these officials, and possible officials, our demands for action now on the economic crisis and related matters.

This meeting will take place in
my office:
217 West 125 Street, 3rd Floor
on Tuesday, August 29 at 2:30 p.m.

Since it is quite impossible to confront the city officials and those running for office with a united leadership without your presence, I sincerely hope that you will leave no stone unturned in order to attend.

I am now working with a number of key people on a basic list of demands to be presented at the meeting but you will need to examine them before they are presented. I am, therefore, calling a meeting to give all leaders an opportunity to hear, to discuss, and to amend these suggested demands prior to the meeting with the political leaders.

This briefing and amendments session
will take place in my office:
217 West 125 Street, 3rd Floor
on Monday, August 28 at 2 p.m.

It is imperative that you plan to attend both of these meetings for I am convinced that nothing short of a unified leadership, endorsing a crash program for jobs and sound apprenticeship training, can save our communities from catastrophy and isolation.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

A. Philip Randolph

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
International President

MILTON P. WEBSTER
1st International Vice-President
3947 Drexel Boulevard
Chicago 53, Illinois

BENNIE SMITH
2nd International Vice-President
1308 Broadway, Room 305
Detroit 26, Michigan

BROTHERHOOD of SLEEPING CAR PORTERS

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217 WEST 125th STREET - Room 301
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.
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ASHLEY L. TOTTEN
International Secretary-Treasurer

C. L. DELLUMS
3rd International Vice-President
1716 Seventh Street
Oakland 20, California

T. D. McNEAL
4th International Vice-President
2906a North Union Boulevard
St. Louis 15, Missouri

B. F. McLAURIN
Eastern Zone Supervisor

August 24, 1961

Dear Friend:

I know you will forgive this mimeographed note since you know well that our new committee has no funds with which to operate.

In keeping with decisions of which you have been a part, I have called for the political leaders to meet with leaders from our community

at 2:30 p.m.
on Tuesday, August 29, in my office
217 West 125 Street
New York City

Because your advice and counsel are essential, I am asking you to meet in my office

at 2:00 p.m.
on Monday, August 28

in order to hear and amend the list of just demands which we agreed to present at the Tuesday meeting.

It is imperative that you attend both of these meetings.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

A. Philip Randolph

BROTHERHOOD of SLEEPING CAR PORTERS

Train, Chair Car, Coach Porters and Attendants

AN INTERNATIONAL UNION

Affiliated with the A. F. of L. - C.I.O - C.L.C.

217 WEST 125th STREET — Room 301
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.

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A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
International President

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C. L. DELLUMS
3rd International Vice-President
1716 Seventh Street
Oakland, California

T. D. McNEAL
4th International Vice-President
11 North Jefferson Street
St. Louis 3, Missouri

THOMAS PATTERSON
Eastern Zone Supervisor

August 28, 1961

To: New York Press

Gentlemen:

On Tuesday, August 29, 1961, the leading candidates for Mayor of New York City along with city commissioners, and major candidates for public office in New York have agreed to meet with leaders of the Negro community in my office at 217 West 125th Street (third floor) at 2:30 P.M.

At this meeting representatives of the NAACP, Urban League, the Negro American Labor Council, Black Nationalist, Muslims, and many civil and fraternal groups will place before these political leaders from both parties (and independents) the concrete program that the united black leadership and masses demand be implemented now to relieve the shocking economic and social conditions in Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant, Bronx and Jamaica.

This important meeting is open to the press and on behalf of the Emergency Committee for Unity on Economics and Social Problems, I urge that your periodical send a representative.

A. Philip Randolph

A. Philip Randolph

C
O
P
Y

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM AUG 28 1961

HON. ROBERT WAGNER
THE CITY HALL
NEW YORK, NY

AFTER MY TALK WITH RAYMOND JONES CONCERNING YOUR APPEARANCE AT TOMORROW'S CONFERENCE OF CONFRONTATION WITH CITY OFFICIALS AND CANDIDATES, OUR COMMITTEE AFTER SERIOUS CONSIDERATION AGREED UNANIMOUSLY THAT THE NEGROES OF THE NEW YORK COMMUNITY WILL NEVER UNDERSTAND THE ABSENCE OF THE MAYOR FROM A MEETING OF THIS VAST IMPORTANCE. THUS WE MUST INSIST THAT YOU BE PRESENT TO COMMENT ON THE DEMANDS OF THE UNITED NEGRO COMMUNITY IN THIS PERIOD OF ECONOMIC CRISIS. YOUR ABSENCE WILL BE VIEWED AS ALL THE MORE INCOMPREHENSIBLE SINCE IT IS WELL KNOWN OTHER MAJOR CANDIDATES FOR MAYOR HAVE CONSIDERATELY ADJUSTED THEIR SCHEDULES TO BE PRESENT.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

Economic And Social Demands

PRESENTED TO NEW YORK CITY OFFICIALS

AND

THOSE CANDIDATES RUNNING FOR OFFICE

BY THE EMERGENCY COMMITTEE
FOR UNITY ON SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

Place: 217 West125th Street
New York 27, N. Y.

Date: August 29, 1961

A. Philip Randolph,
For The Emergency Committee
For Unity on Social And Economic Problems

There are currently over 80,000 black workers unemployed in the Greater New York area. This statistic reflects a developing economic depression confronting the black community.

In a report put out by the National Urban League, released March 5, 1961, the following statistics were presented to illustrate the severity of unemployment among black workers in New York:

	Total	Negro
Work force	5,191,800	817,780
Unemployed	342,200	80,000
Percent unemployed	6.4	10

From these figures it can be clearly discerned that a recession for white workers is a depression for black workers. As a result of the denial of equal job opportunity by labor unions, industry and government, at a time when automated machinery is displacing workers at an increasing rate, the black workers, and thus the black community, are in serious trouble. The problem is compounded by the fact that black workers comprise the largest percentage of unskilled and semiskilled workers, and are the "first to be fired and the last to be hired." There is also a frowing demand for skilled workers while there is a decreasing demand for unskilled and semiskilled workers. Hence there is an urgent and critical problem, best described as a job crisis confronting black workers, that must be solved forthwith.

To this end, the leaders of organizations representing different segments of the black community of New York have formed the Emergency Committee for Unity on Social and Economic Problems, and this committee is submitting a list of demands to the political and administrative officials of New York. These demands represent the minimum requirements necessary to arrest already existing social and economic deterioration in all of the Negro communities throughout the New York area.

The demands are as follows:

1. Apprenticeship Training:

    a. Conditions of apprenticeship training be publicized, such as what unions are responsible for the operation of apprenticeship training, the educational requirements for applying, the fee charged, where and when to apply.

    b. All unions which have apprenticeship training programs also to be pressured to make known the number of Negro apprentices currently being trained along with the total number of apprentices.

c. That there be Negro representation on the State Apprenticeship Board.

d. That the City Department of Labor appoint qualified Negroes to investigate and expose callusive discriminatory practices by management and labor against young black workers seeking to enter the apprenticeship training programs.

2. That there be a City FEPC with enforcement powers that will include jail sentences for violators.

3. Minimum Wage:

a. That there be a minimum wage law for the City of $1.50 per hour.

b. That this minimum wage be extended to cover those workers presently exempted under Federal Law. Some of the workers not covered under the existing Federal Minimum Wage Law are to be found in such local establishments as grocery stores, variety stores, department stores, drug stores, restaurants, barber shops, beauty parlors, laundries, hotels, motion pictures theatres, hospitals, nursing homes, and filling stations. Many black workers are employed in these establishments and are not covered by the existing or proposed Minimum Wage. New York City should have the broadest coverage possible.

4. That there be a City Committee on Equal Employment Opportunities and such a Committee have the full power to prosecute unions and industries which practice racial discrimination.

5. That there be investigation of City contracts to eliminate discriminatory practices and contracts be rescinded when private contractors are found guilty of racial discrimination. Further, that such contractors be prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law.

6. That Consolidated Edison, a major public utility, be forced to change its employment practices with regard to hiring and upgrading black workers.

7. a. That black workers be given the opportunity to work on all phases of the construction of Lincoln Center. That they be given opportunity to work fully in the Center's construction and cultural program, including administrative, technical and service areas of employment.

b. That opportunities be made for their full use in Opera, Ballet and Symphony Orchestras.

c. That, in light of the black man's contribution to all modern American music through his development of **Jazz**, we propose that Lincoln Center provide a Palace of Jazz similar to the Palaces of Opera and Ballet etc. Such an addition would provide work opportunities for many excellent unemployed musicians.

8. That there be a New York City Work Projects Administration to provide for immediate employment for workers, young and adult, unable to find employment elsewhere.

9. That Information Centers be established in Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant, Jamaica, the Bronx and other working class communities to inform and educate the people of all of the above programs by actively using all available media of communications, press, radio, TV, the Church, the School, and other already existing community agencies. These Centers to be staffed by personal representatives of all Department Heads, and that they operate as a social service.

The economic deprivation of black workers, reflected in their demands listed above, is the basic cause of social and physical deterioration in the black community. Though conditions of economic deprivation also exist among other racial, ethnic and national minority groups, which we decry, our primiary concern is with articulating economic, social, physical and cultural demands of the black people whom we represent.

We believe in educating and mobilizing black and all minority workers to struggle for their own self improvement and liberation. By articulating and presenting their demands to City Officials, and by stressing the importance of a speedy implementation of these demands, we begin to provide the conditions that will lead to general social and eonomic improvement for all the people of New York City.

Problems caused by and related to the denial of equal job opportunities are interrelated and are centered on deteriorated and inadequate housing, poor sanitation, hazardous fire conditions, inadequate recreational space and facilities, meagre and dangerously limited public medical services, insufficient public welfare, hostile police enforcement, and licensing of exploitative private employment agencies. Therefore the following demands are submitted:

1. Housing Question:

    a. That an effective method of enforcement of the laws of the City and State with respect to maintenance of essential services, health and safety in existing structures be immediately put into effect.

b. That the lenghty "red-tape", office-desk type of regulating and enforcing the housing and health laws cease, and a special force of inspectors or investigators be assembled to meet with the civic and church leaders in the communities, for the purposes of making a survey, and determing the deteriorated conditions of the present existing structures, and to establish a basis for an all-out clean-up campaign in the slum areas.

c. That an effective method for remedying conditions in property of landlords who fail to correct health and hazardous housing violations within fifteen days after due notice of same, be established.

d. That the allocation of public housing accommodations be provided to the neediest of the black workers and other minority and their famalies first, before palcing persons and families already housed. That the City Housing Authority established a means of immediate processing the cases of the families in need of immediate housing.

e. That workers and their families be actively and immediately assisted by the Housing Board to relocate when forced to move because of redevelopment (private developers have actually failed and refused to assume this responsibility).

f. That a moratorium be declared as to sub-dividing large apartments in over-crowded areas, until such time as public housing can provide adequate accommodations for large families.

g. That the Rent Commission investigate the rentals for private housing in Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant, Jamaica and the Bronx, where Negro communities exist, and slum property to ascertain whether they are getting the services and equipment for which they are charged. These rentals to be compared with rentals in white or predominantly white communities.

h. That the Department of Health along with the Housing Department conduct and maintain risorous programs of rodent control, and establishment and maintenance of sanitary conditions.

6. 2. Poor Sanitation - That the Department of Sanitation conduct and maintain a vigorous campaign to collect garbage and clean the streets daily in all communities.

3. Fire Hazards - That the Fire Department conduct and maintain a vigorous program of fire preventing in all communities, and that landlords who violate fire safety regulations be given jail sentences should they fail to introduce necessary corrections.

4. Inadequate Recreational Space and Facilities - That the Department of Parks continue and rapidly expand its program to provide adequate recreational space and facilities in Harlem and other working class communities.

5. Meagre and Dangerously Limited Medical Facilities:

   a. That the Department of Hospitals correct the inadequacy or non-existance of public hospital and medical facilities and services in all communities.

   b. That Harlem Hospital be adequately staffed, that regular standards of hospital sanitation be observed, than an adequate and decent clinic and ambulance service be maintained.

   c. That some suitable and adequate public facility be established for the effective treatment of drug addicts.

6. Insufficient Public Welfare - That allowances for working class families forced to accept public assistance be immediately raised to provide adequate imcomes for a decent standard of living. (The allowance for an average family of four of $200 a month clearly indicates insufficient public assistance).

7. Police Enforcement:

   a. That the Police Department immediately conduct a program of human relations education for all police officers. That these officers be tested on their attitudes towards racial and ethnic minorities, and where indications of sadistic and hostile attitudes toward minority peoples exist, these officers be relieved of their responsibilities of police enforcement.

   b. That there be representatives of the Negro peoples of Harlem and other minorities communities to observe the treatment of minority people in the police precincts of New York and such representation be widely publized.

   c. That there be a genuine, thorough, and determined effort to apprehend drug procurers and pushers in order to save many of our youngsters from the scourge of drug addiction.

8. **Licensing** Exploitative Private Employment Agencies - that the Department of Licenses revoke licenses of private employment agencies that encourage workers to come to New York City on job leads or job placements that prove of duration only long enough for the private employment agency to collect its fee. Further, that private employment agencies make housing and board provisions for workers induced by such agencies to come to New York City in search of employment.

9. That New York City Government, including the Mayor and City Council, bring pressure to bear upon the State Administration for any of the above demands requiring State Administrative action.

7

U. F. 80 (Rev. 7-57)

APPLICATION FOR STREET FAIR PERMIT

POLICE DEPARTMENT

CITY OF NEW YORK

DATE 8/30/61

Application is herewith made by

A. Philip Randolph (APPLICANT), 217 W. 125th Street (BUSINESS ADDRESS) Un 5.8710 (TEL. NO.)

on behalf of Emergency Committee for Unity (SPONSOR OF STREET FAIR) 217 W. 125th St. (BUSINESS ADDRESS) Un 5 8710 (TEL. NO.)

for permission to operate and maintain a street fair on 125 th Street ~~Avenue~~

between ______ Street Avenue and 7th ~~Street~~ Avenue

from 7 00 ~~A.M.~~ P.M. Sept 6, 1961, to 10 00 ~~A.M.~~ P.M. Sept 6, 1961, inclusive.

The following structures, and no others, will be erected in connection with the operation and maintenance of the street fair:

____ Arch(es) X Bandstand(s) X Banner(s) ____ Booth(s) ____ Chapel(s)

____ Grandstand(s) ____ Pole(s) ____ Streamer(s) If none of the aforementioned, indicate NONE ____

Other Structure(s), (fixed and/or portable), describe: None

Electric wires {~~will~~ / will not} be strung {~~across~~ / along} the street.

Electric wires {will / ~~will not~~} be strung along the front of buildings. If so, give addresses of buildings:

Hotel Theresa
125th St at 7th ave

Mobile units and/or other specialized vehicles to be used. (List and specify purpose):

two automobiles near band stand for equipment

Remarks: (Specific purpose(s) for which area is to be used, e.g. motion pictures, television program, etc., celebrities or distinguished guests and number of participants expected, and any other pertinent information.)

Mass meeting; speakers include Rev. George Lawrence, Persey Sutton, Malcolm X, A Philips Randolph, Cleveland Robinson, Ann Hedgeman, Louis Micheaux
10,000 - 15,000 portisepants expected.

The applicant and the sponsor agree to comply with all laws, rules, and regulations relating to the existence, maintenance and operation of a street fair and the acceptance of the permit shall be deemed an agreement to abide by all of its terms and conditions.

Penalty for Falsification: Falsification of any statement made herein is an offense punishable by a fine or imprisonment or both. (N.Y.C. Administrative Code, Section 982-9.0).

____
(APPLICANT'S SIGNATURE)

Police Department

Applications for permits will be accepted at the appropriate office of Patrol Borough Headquarters as follows:

Manhattan West—306 West 54th Street.
Manhattan East—153 East 67th Street.
Bronx—1925 Bathgate Avenue.
Queens—91-03 168th Street, Jamaica.
Brooklyn—485 Bergen Street.
Richmond—78 Richmond Terrace, St. George.

Department of Water Supply, Gas and Electricity

Manhattan—Bureau of Gas and Electricity, Room 2342, Municipal Building.
Bronx—Bureau of Gas and Electricity, 6th Floor, Bergen Building, 1932 Arthur Avenue.
Queens—Bureau of Gas and Electricity, Room 9, 120-55 Queens Boulevard, Kew Gardens.
Brooklyn—Bureau of Gas and Electricity, Room 605 B, Municipal Building.
Richmond—Bureau of Gas and Electricity, Room 216, Borough Hall.

Offices of the Borough Presidents

Manhattan—Permit Division, Room 2100, Municipal Building.
Bronx—Permit Division, Room 123, Bronx County Building, 161st Street and Grand Concourse.
Queens—Permit Division, Room 256, 120-55 Queens Boulevard, Kew Gardens.
Brooklyn—Bureau of Highways and Sewers, Room 902, Municipal Building.
Richmond—Permit Division, Bureau of Borough Works, Room 100, Borough Hall.

Department of Buildings

Manhattan—Building Division, Room 2018, Municipal Building.
Bronx—Building Division, 5th Floor, Bergen Building, 1932 Arthur Avenue.
Queens—Building Division, 1st Floor, 120-55 Queens Boulevard, Kew Gardens.
Brooklyn—Building Division, 8th Floor, Municipal Building.
Richmond—Building Division, Room 200, Borough Hall.

DO NOT WRITE BELOW THIS LINE — FOR DEPARTMENT USE ONLY

Tentatively Approved by: ______________________
COMMANDING OFFICER
PATROL BOROUGH HEADQUARTERS, ______________

	TITLE	SIGNATURE	DATE
Application noted by:			
Department of Water Supply, Gas and Electricity.			
Borough President Permit No.________			
Department of Buildings Permit No.________			

POLICE DEPARTMENT PERMIT No.______________

The street fair described on the reverse side is hereby authorized, subject to all pertinent provisions of law, and to the agreement and conditions set forth.

Dated______________________19______

____
COMMANDING OFFICER
PATROL BOROUGH HEADQUARTERS, ______________

(OVER)

Mary Imperato
DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND PUBLIC EVENTS
THE CITY OF NEW YORK
625 Madison Ave., New York 22, N. Y.

SISTER-CITIES
NEW YORK
TOKYO

NEW YORK
AUG 25 '61
N.Y.
U.S. POSTAGE
08
PB METER
P.B. 300296

Mr. Phillip Randolph
The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
International President

MILTON P. WEBSTER
1st International Vice-President
3947 Drexel Boulevard
Chicago 15, Illinois

BENNIE SMITH
2nd International Vice-President
1308 Broadway, Room 305
Detroit, Michigan

BROTHERHOOD of SLEEPING CAR PORTERS
Train, Chair Car, Coach Porters and Attendants
AN INTERNATIONAL UNION
Affiliated with the AFL-CIO/CLC

217 WEST 125th STREET - Room 301
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.
MOnument 2-5080-1

440

ASHLEY L. TOTTEN
International Secretary-Treasurer

C. L. DELLUMS
3rd International Vice-President
1716 Seventh Street
Oakland, California

T. D. McNEAL
4th International Vice-President
2906a North Union Boulevard
St. Louis 15, Missouri

B. F. McLAURIN
Eastern Zone Supervisor

FOR RELEASE UPON RECEIPT

August 30, 1961

MASS JOB RIGHTS RALLY PLANNED

Following the very successful meeting with the three mayoralty candidates, Mayor Wagner, Attorney General Lefkowitz, Controller Levitt, and a host of other top political and administrative figures, the recently established Emergency Committee for Unity on Social and Economic Problems headed by A. Philip Randolph, is now planning a mass Job Rights Rally on September 6, in front of the Hotel Theresa in Harlem.

The meeting with the political and administrative officialdom of New York City was held in the Harlem headquarters of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Community leaders, represent-all of the major segments and organizations of the black citizens of New York, presented a list of economic and social demands dealing with equal job opportunities for black workers, decent housing, sanitation and medical services, public welfare and fair police enforcement.

Leaders reporting to the people at the rally will include New York NAACP president, Percy Sutton; Cleveland Robinson, vice-president of the Negro American Labor Council; Louis Micheaux of the African Nationalists; Rev. George Lawrence; Anne Hedgeman; Muslim Minister, Malcolm X, and A. Philip Randolph.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
International President

MILTON P. WEBSTER
1st International Vice-President
3947 Drexel Boulevard
Chicago 15, Illinois

BENNIE SMITH
2nd International Vice-President
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4th International Vice-President
2906a North Union Boulevard
St. Louis 15, Missouri

B. F. McLAURIN
Eastern Zone Supervisor

August 31, 1961

Dear Friend:

We have scheduled a very important meeting of the Emergency Committee for Unity in my office on September 5, 2:30 p.m. We plan to discuss the program and procedure for the Mass Rally on September 6, therefore, it is vitally necessary that you plan to attend this meeting. Please call RIverside 9-1224 and let us know if we may expect you.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

A. Philip Randolph

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
International President

MILTON P. WEBSTER
1st International Vice-President
3947 Drexel Boulevard
Chicago 53, Illinois

BENNIE SMITH
2nd International Vice-President
1308 Broadway, Room 305
Detroit 26, Michigan

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T. D. McNEAL
4th International Vice-President
2906a North Union Boulevard
St. Louis 15, Missouri

B. F. McLAURIN
Eastern Zone Supervisor

August 31, 1961

Dear Sir:

The fifteen second spot announcements enclosed provide some of the data on our forthcoming Mass Rally planned for September 6.

At this Rally, the recently established Emergency Committee for Unity on Social and Economic Problems will report to the people on the economic and social demands presented to the Mayor and other top political and administrative officials of New York at a meeting on August 29.

The Emergency Committee comprises leading representatives from the New York NAACP, Negro Christian Ministry, Muslims, Black Nationalists, Negro business and civic groups and the Negro American Labor Council. The Committee was formed to find solutions to the increasing tensions being generated in the Negro communities of New York City.

I trust that you will assist the Committee in publicizing this Rally in the interest of advancing those social and economic conditions necessary for the well-being of all our citizens.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph, Chairman
Emergency Committee for Unity on Social
and Economic Problems.

"ATTORNEY GENERAL LOUIS J. LEFKOWITZ'S REPORT TO A. PHILIP RANDOLPH GROUP"

delivered 9/1/61

The attainment of the ideal of human dignity has always been the major goal of my public career. Thirty-three years ago at the very outset of my public service in the New York State Assembly, I sponsored and supported much of the progressive legislation that has served as liberal landmarks in the struggle for civil rights.

As Attorney General of the State of New York I established the first Civil Rights Bureau which in the few short years of its existence has made significant strides in removing the barriers of discrimination. Our accomplishments include:

1. Carey Transportation Co., operating airport buses, put on its first Negro driver. An affiliated company, Carey Limousine Service, agreed that when openings develop, it will notify the New York State Employment Service and the Urban League in order to widen the source of recruitment.

2. An inquiry into the apprenticeship program in the pipe trades met with success at Plumbers Local 2 for Manhattan and the Bronx, which took in its first Negro apprentice. (We may have a similar breakthrough to announce shortly in Plumbers Local 1 for Brooklyn and Queens.) A joint meeting with labor and management representatives of the pipe trades produced a general consensus on the goal of providing opportunities for Negro youth.

3. A non-discrimination employment pledge has been signed by Brink's Armored Car Service in New York. (In conjunction with this industry-wide investigation, the Bureau filed complaints with the State Commission Against Discrimination against Wells Fargo, U.S. Trucking, and Local 820 of the Teamsters.)

4. An inquiry into employment conditions on the "luxury piers" on New York's waterfront found that Negroes presenting themselves for work as casual labor during the inquiry were employed, as many as 100 appearing and being accepted for employment in one day; and that seniority rules diminish the prospects of an early addition of Negroes to the regular labor force. Local 824 of the International Longshoremen's Association, the local having pier jurisdiction in the area, pledged non-discrimination in union membership.

5. The New York Sections of the Professional Golfers' Association made a motion to remove the clause from the PGA constitution limiting membership to "Caucasians," and such motions are being renewed this year. The Attorney General has also had a major role in persuading the PGA national executive committee to support such a motion at the forthcoming convention. Also, an upstate tournament (Ithaca), hitherto restricted to PGA members, was opened to all golf professionals.

6. In a case of national significance arising out of an inquiry in Rye, Judge Geller gave official sanction to the use of the Donnelly Act, the State's anti-trust law, against an alleged concerted arrangement by apartment house owners to bar Negroes from renting apartments in the area. (Kates v. Lefkowitz). This was the first court test in the country of the use of the anti-trust laws in this context.

7. A Dutchess County foreclosure sale was purged of a race restrictive covenant as a result of intervention by the Attorney General. (First National Bank, America v. Baribeault, et al.).

8. A project initiated by the Attorney General jointly with the Secretary of State resulted in a regulation condemning the promotion of panic selling in racially changing neighborhoods by real estate brokers.

9. At the request of the Federal District Court in Louisiana, the Attorney General submitted a legal opinion that abandonment of public schooling violates Constitutional guarantees of due process. (Hall v. St. Helena Parish School Board).

10. The Attorney General recommended Governor Rockefeller's Code of Fair Practices.

11. The Attorney General has conducted numerous educational activities through the Civil Rights Bureau, e.g.:

A. The formation of a State Committee on Human Relations to coordinate the educational activity of fraternal and service organizations in the area of human rights and relations.

B. The preparation of a pamphlet, "Your Rights if Arrested," printed in cooperation with the New York State Bar Association.

C. The publication of a pamphlet summarizing the statutes of the State of New York concerning discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin.

D. The preparation of a bill, introduced into the State Legislature for study, which would restrain the publication and dissemination of "hate" literature.

My interest in the fight for equality of opportunity is no mere election year fancy.

The Emergency Committee for Unity on Social and Economic Problems, headed by A. Philip Randolph, a pioneer in the fight for equal opportunity for all, has performed a signal service in presenting a summary of those existing conditions which have worked hardships on many in the City's Negro community. It is appropriate that the candidates for New York City's highest public office be called upon to express their position on those crucial issues underlying the specific conditions to which the Committee refers. To that end, I submit my long held views on these problems.

Job Opportunities

Equality of opportunity is the vital first step in assuring the total measure of human dignity which is each person's natural due. To achieve this purpose we must take positive action to secure full employment opportunities for all and to eradicate those discriminatory practices that reduce such opportunities because of race, color, creed or national origin. As Mayor, I would:

-- Prohibit City contracts with firms practicing discrimination and empower the City's Commission on Intergroup Relations to investigate such charges. To date, the present administration has taken no action whatsoever to provide the machinery necessary to enforce its plans announced in 1957 to achieve this result.

-- Establish within the City Department of Labor informational and placement services in each borough to make available training opportunities on the apprenticeship and promotional level so as to stimulate expanded employment opportunities.

-- Fully support the efforts of the State Commission Against Discrimination, the Commission on Intergroup Relations to eliminate job discrimination in private industry.

-- Vigorously enforce fire, health and sanitary laws and regulations against the sweatshops which have returned to New York during the past eight years. As Mayor, I pledge to drive the sweatshops from the City.

-- Develop a favorable economic climate within the City to attract those industries providing better paying and decent living wages in order to absorb the pool of exploited labor on which the sweatshops now depend.

-- Require all firms which do business with the City of New York to pay a minimum wage of $1.50 an hour.

-- Employ at all levels of City government qualified individuals irrespective of race, color, creed or national origin.

Housing

New York City is plagued with over 400,000 substandard housing units. This figure has remained unchanged for over ten years. The need for effective action in reducing this slum blight is drastic. As Mayor, I will give the highest priority to a vigorous all-out attack against the slums and the slumlords. My program will include:

-- Full implementation of state and local legislation banning discrimination in housing.

-- Stringent and unrelenting enforcement of the laws against all housing violations.

-- A stepped-up inspectional program to assure systematic and regular inspection with full follow-up procedures of all multiple dwellings, and by use of the saturation technique in individual slum areas. There must be a greater coordination of the efforts of various City Departments to eliminate the mire of red tape that stymies prompt elimination of housing violations.

-- Establish area offices to which the public can bring its housing complaints and grievances.

Improved City Services

There can be no justification for a failure of city services in any part of New York City. This is particularly true in underpriviledged areas where such failures can and do contribute materially to a further physical deterioration and a demoralization in the attitude and spirit of those who are compelled to make their homes in deprived circumstances.

As Mayor, I shall insist upon high standards of performances in every city department. We must

-- Improve sanitation services.

-- Expand municipal recreational programs and projects by creation of a new Department of Recreation to bring together in one agency the presently duplicative functions of numerous city bodies which have produced more waste than recreation.

-- Accelerate improvement of municipal hospital facilities which have been permitted to deteriorate during the last eight years to a point dangerous to the well being of entire communities. No example of such deterioration has been more disgraceful that these conditions existing in Harlem Hospital.

-- Establish and encourage greater community participation in law enforcement which is the responsibility not only of the Police Department but of each and every law-abiding citizen.

-- Expand public educational programs, spearheaded by each City department and designed to route the ignorance that breeds discrimination.

-- Sponsor and support joint local, state and federalaction to curb the incidence of drug addiction and to afford suitable treatment for those now in its grip.

-- Vigorously enforce present laws and support strengthened legislation to deal with those employment agencies which bring workers into the City and then leave them stranded in dire circumstances after they have received their fees.

I note that the Committee's summary overlooks areas which I deem of vital importance. We must streamline and strengthen the machinery of the Commission on Intergroup Relations to render it a more effective instrument in the fight against discrimination. At present its procedures are completely unwieldy and often action is delayed to the point of being meaningless. The enforcement process must be expedited to assure prompt and effective implementation of COIR's functions.

I would also urge that greater efforts be made to equalize educational opportunities throughout the City. We must assure to each child that degree of education which will fulfill the development of his highest potential.

I favor open enrollment in our schools. I unequivocably oppose segregated schools, as well as conditions and circumstances that tend to create them, arbitrarily or unvoluntarily.

As Attorney General I have acted vigorously to protect people in their everyday living. I have taken steps to wipe out fraud and deception in the sale of goods and in the furnishing of services in order to help both the consumer and the honest merchant. As Mayor, I shall continue my battle to protect the housewife.

I have sought to express my views on all the basic areas covered in the Committee's summary. During the course of the coming campaign, I intend to give in concrete detail all aspects of the programs to which I have alluded.

I can and do make this pledge -- that I shall dedicate myself, as I have done in the over thirty-three years of my public service, to the principle of equality of opportunity in the attainment of the ideal of full human dignity.

CITY OF NEW YORK
OFFICE OF THE MAYOR
NEW YORK 7, N.Y.

September 5, 1961

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
Emergency Committee for Unity
on Social and Economic Problems
217 West 125 Street
New York 27, New York

Dear Mr. Randolph:

I enjoyed meeting last week with you and the Emergency Committee for Unity on Social and Economic Problems. Your Committee has performed a valuable service in focusing the attention of all candidates for office in New York on the very serious problems confronting the groups with whose welfare you are concerned.

Clearly, but unfortunately, the legacy of inequality and injustice that every Negro-American inherits cannot be erased in one year or even ten. But you will agree that during the past seven and a half years we in New York have moved further and faster toward the goal of equal rights and equal opportunities than in any other period of our city's history. This is a record I am very proud of.

In your "Draft Proposals for a Unity Action Program" you raise many pertinent questions about job opportunities for Negroes: housing, health, sanitation, fire hazards, police enforcement, recreational opportunities and cultural activities.

It is particularly significant and gratifying to me that virtually all the matters regarding which you raise questions are specifically and lengthily discussed in my recently released Platform for 1961. In my Platform I have not only reviewed the specific actions taken during my two administrations, but I have also listed in very concrete terms the goals of my administration for the next four years.

Rather than recite excerpts from my Platform, I would like you to have your questions answered in the full context of my overall plans for New York City. Hence I append the Platform in full and call your attention to pertinent specific portions of that Platform.

First of all, I call your attention to the section entitled Civil Rights (22-25) which is perhaps the most detailed and comprehensive of any plank in the Platform. I pride myself in thinking that it is one of the most all-embracing recitals of human rights programs which could be put together. Yet it is not "pie in the sky;" it is a recital of actual things done or already underway, plus a statement of realistic goals. I hope you and all associated with you will carefully scrutinize this section of the Platform, so that you may have a complete answer to your pertinent questions bearing on these aspects of the matter.

Similarly, in response to your detailed questions on employment opportunities and on a $1.50 per hour minimum wage, please refer not only to the section on Civil Rights, but also to the section which deals with Labor (16). Your various questions about improved housing are answered in detail in the several Platform sections entitled On Better Housing (17), Attack on Slumlords (2), and Rent Control (3).

Your reference to problems in the fields of sanitation, fire hazards, inadequate recreational space and limited medical facilities are similarly answered in the sections on Beautifying the City (15), The Cleaner City (13), Public Safety (18), Recreation (15), and Health and Medical Services (10).

I particularly call your attention to that section of my Platform which deals with Citizen Participation (30), for in it I stress the importance of government's responsiveness to the needs of its citizens.

Other candidates, without experience and without responsibility, may make many promises. Whatever I promise, I will fulfill. You can be assured, for example, that my promise of a $1.50 minimum wage for employees of city contractors and for an extensive contract compliance program will be realized. Every pledge in my Platform is an extension of what I have already accomplished and what is already being done. The objectives you set forth in your "Proposals" are, then, ones I wholly share. I look forward to working with you and your group during the next four years.

Sincerely,

Robert F. Wagner

Robert F. Wagner

RECEIVED
SEP 6 - 1961
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

S.R. 401

THE CITY OF NEW YORK
DEPARTMENT OF HOSPITALS
125 WORTH STREET
NEW YORK 13, N. Y.

RAY E. TRUSSELL, M.D.
COMMISSIONER

September 6, 1961

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Randolph:

I am sorry I could not attend your meeting on August 29th. I was out of the City from about 11 o'clock on that morning until the day after Labor Day.

If there is any way in which I can be of assistance to you otherwise, please feel free to call me.

With kind regards,

Sincerely yours,

Ray E. Trussell

RAY E. TRUSSELL, M.D.
Commissioner

RET:h

RECEIVED
SEP 8 - 1961
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Madam Edna Mae
Chreighaw
26 W. 132 St
$20
WA6-2793

MASS RALLY FOR UNITY

September 6, 1961

in front of
HOTEL THERESA
7th Avenue and 125th Street
New York City

7 PM - 10 PM

Sponsored by the Emergency Committee for Unity on Economic and Social Problems: A. Philip Randolph, Chairman

---

7:00 - 7:30 P.M. ....Music

7:30 P.M. ....Main Program

1. Introduction of Mr. Randolph by Richard Parrish, National Treasurer, Negro American Labor Council
2. Opening Remarks - A. Philip Randolph
3. Remarks - Percy Sutton, President, New York Branch NAACP
4. Remarks - Cleveland Robinson, Secretary-Treasurer, District 65, Retail, Wholesale & Department Store Union
5. Remarks - James R. Lawson, President, United African Nationalist Movement
6. Remarks - Lewis Micheaux, Nationalist Spokesman
7. Remarks - Mrs. Anna Arnold Hedgeman, Consultant on Higher Education
8. Remarks - Rev. George Lawrence, Pastor, Antioch Baptist Church, Brooklyn
9. Remarks - Malcolm X, Minister, Muslim Temple, No. 7
10. Remarks - V. Simpson Turner, Christian Minister
11. Concluding Remarks - A. Philip Randolph

Don't ask
for money

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS

DL	Day Letter
NL	Night Letter
LT	International Letter Telegram

GPA103 BB414

c telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

Emergency

=B YXR019 RX LONG PD BI NEW YORK NY 6 316P EDT

=A PHILIP RANDOLPH, RUSH DLY =
= 217 WEST 125 ST NYK :

1961 SEP 6 PM 4 05

=DEAR MR RANDOLPH: AS I STATED WHILE APPEARING BEFORE YOUR GROUP =AT YOUR HEADQUARTERS I AM IN BASIC ACCORD WITH THE VERY FINE =PROGRAM OFFERED BY THE CITIZENS GROUPS ON THAT OCCASION. I =AM IN COMPLETE AGREEMENT WITH YOUR OVERALL GOAL OF FIRST CLASS =CITZENSHIP FOR ALL CITIZENS REGARDLESS OF RACE, CREED OR COLOR.

=I HAVE YOUR PROSPECTUS ON MY DESK AND SHALL USE IT AS A GUIDE =AND STUDY. WHEN TIME PERMITS I SHALL REPLY IN SPECIFIC. MEANTIME =PLEASE FEEL FREE TO CALL ON ME FOR

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

1961 SEP [illegible] PM 4 [illegible]

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

ANY ASSISTANCE IN MEETING =PROBLEMS FACING YOUR AND MY COMMUNITY. SINCERELY =

ARTHUR LEVITT. :

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
International President

MILTON P. WEBSTER
1st International Vice-President
3947 Drexel Boulevard
Chicago 53, Illinois

BENNIE SMITH
2nd International Vice-President
1308 Broadway, Room 305
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T. D. McNEAL
4th International Vice-President
2906a North Union Boulevard
St. Louis 15, Missouri

B. F. McLAURIN
Eastern Zone Supervisor

September 8, 1961

Dear Brother and Sister:

On Tuesday, September 12, 2:30 P.M., at 217 West 125th Street, (Room 301), New York, the Emergency Committee For Unity On Social and Economic Problem will meet to discuss and appraise the program of action thus far accomplished and ways and means to implement our agreed upon list of social and economic demands.

Your attendance at this meeting, following our very successful Mass Rally, is deemed most important.

Fraternally,

A. Philip Randolph

A. Philip Randolph
Chairman

Negro Leaders

[illegible]

September 11, 1961

Mr. Edward Marciniak
Executive Director
Commission on Human Relations
54 West Hubbard Street
Chicago 10, Illinois

Dear Mr. Marciniak:

Find enclosedcopy of our program submitted to the mayoral candidates, Tuesday, August 29, on behalf of the Emergency Committee for Unity on Social and Economical Problems.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

COMMISSION
ELY M. AARON
CHAIRMAN
RALPH D. ROBINSON
SECRETARY
MORRIS BIALIS
AUGUSTINE J. BOWE
DR. PRESTON BRADLEY
CLIFFORD J. CAMPBELL
WILLIAM G. CAPLES
LESTER CROWN
JEROME J. FRIEDMAN
MRS. WENDELL E. GREEN
MAURICE McELLIGOTT
HALE NELSON
MRS. WILLIAM PETERSEN
PETER R. SCALISE
RAY L. WALKER

CITY OF CHICAGO
RICHARD J. DALEY, MAYOR

COMMISSION ON HUMAN RELATIONS
54 WEST HUBBARD STREET • CHICAGO 10, ILLINOIS
PHONE WHITEHALL 4-4483

EDWARD MARCINIAK
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
FREDERICK D. POLLARD, JR.
DEPUTY EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
CORA B. GLOVER
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
CIVIL RIGHTS SERVICES
EDMUND A. BROOKS
MELVYN H. BLOOM
JAMES E. BURNS
HOUSING AND COMMUNITY SERVICES
DOUGLAS R. TURNER
ROBERT H. ATWOOD
HAL M. FREEMAN
ROGER W. NATHAN
ERNEST V. YANCEY
EDUCATIONAL SERVICES
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EMPLOYMENT SERVICES
WALTER J. DUCEY
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MIGRATION SERVICES
MARGARET S. MADDEN
PAUL E. ERTEL, JR.
JESSE J. ESCALANTE
GUS A. HARVEY
JOHN J. L. HOBGOOD
PUBLIC INFORMATION SERVICES
EMERY J. BIRO
DELORES J. MARCHANT
LUTRELLE PALMER, JR.
SOCIAL RESEARCH
BERT P. SCHLOSS

August 30, 1961

Mr. A. Phillip Randolph
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Randolph:

We would very much appreciate a copy of the thirty-five point program submitted by the Emergency Committee For Unity On Social And Economic Problems." These are the proposals which were submitted to mayoral candidates on on Tuesday, August 29. Thank you for your consideration in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Edward Marciniak

Edward Marciniak
Executive Director

RECEIVED
SEP 1 - 1961
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

118

Negro Leaders

September 11, 1961

Mr. C. Mayo
110 West 126th Street
New York 27, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Mayo:

Just a word to thank you for your letter expressing interest in our Emergency Committee for Unity on Social and Economical Problems. We will be glad to have you join us.

Our next meeting will be held at 217 West 125th Street, Tuesday, September 12, 1961, at 2:30 P.M. Hope to see you.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

Un. 4-6373

110 W 126 St
NYC 27
Aug 11. 61

Hon Sir:

the Community org. which I am a member
Harlem Improvement League (H.I.L.),
is very much interested in the project
which you are bringing about - to relieve
tensions in the area. Read it in the
Amsterdam news.

Please notify, so I may attend
meeting. I'm sure we all have a lot
to contribute, to make our Harlem a
finer, cleaner, healther, decent place to
live.

Yours truly

Mc Cle Mayo

of Harlem Impovemnt League

P.S. in the area which I life is much tension
like 84th St. People can't sleep nites, ect.

September 12, 1961

Mr. Jack Blumstein
230 West 125 Street
New York 27, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Blumstein:

Thank you for your very kind letter of August 31 and for the contribution toward the work of the Emergency Committee for Unity on Social and Economic Problems.

Following the receipt of your contribution, the committee noted that in the pursuit of its particular objectives it should raise funds by appeals to the people most directly involved. The committee is convinced that only in such a manner can it achieve the most sound educational program. Beyond this, the committee feels that such an approach will develop in the people that standard of responsibility which would be lacking should they fail to bear the financial burden the effort requires.

I am thus, in accordance with the committee's policy, returning your contribution. I want you to know, however, that I greatly appreciate all you have done to help in the past and I look forward to your cooperation in future ventures dedicated to the welfare of our community.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

Harlem All-Denominations Youth Center

217 WEST 125th STREET

NEW YORK 27, N. Y.

Sponsoring
All-Racial and All-Denominational
Post-War Reconstruction Program
MOnument 2-8871

Founded in 1941
The Rev. Wittie Anna Biggins
Director

September
2 1
19 61

Mr. Phillip Randolph
BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING
CAR PORTERS
217 West 125th Street
New York City 27, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Randolph:

The enclosed pamphlet will help you to understand why what you and your committee had to say about helping YOUTH on the WWRL RADIO PROGRAM SUNDAY NIGHT was of deep concern to us.

Today there are registered with us dozens of young men and women, and teen age girls and boys from SOUTHERN STATES and many other states in the United States, and even foreign countries who are desperately in need of education, employment, re-training for jobs, places to stay, and simple every day necessities, whom we cannot help due to lack of funds.

During the past 20 years members of our ALL-DENOMINATIONS CHURCH and interested friends have helped hundreds of these young people on to success. But the inter-national unrest has so increased the inflow that they need the help of leaders like you who are more capable of helping them.

For our 20th Anniversary Program we are seeking scholarships for more students, funds for drawing accounts for jobs; and an advertising program for radio groups. As our fall term opens next week there are many positions available to these young people if re-training is availble to them. If you are inclined to help some of them, we would be most gracious.

However, if you prefer to work otherwise, we would be glad to assist with information helpful to you, should you desire it.

Sincerely yours,

Rev Wittie Anna Biggins

Wittie Anna Biggins, Minister
DIRECTOR
HARLEM A-D YOUTH CENTER

RECEIVED
SEP 22 1961
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

October 19, 1961

The Reverend Wittie Anna Biggins, Director
Harlem All-Denominations Youth Center
217 West 125th Street
New York 27, N. Y.

Dear Reverend Biggins:

Pardon my delay in answering your letter of September 21, 1961 expressing your interest in the program of the Emergency Committee for Unity on Economic and Social Problems, with special reference to Negro youth.

I am indeed glad to know of your interest and will appreciate your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR/b

PLEASE HELP US

TO HELP THOSE WHO NEED OUR HELP!

ADDRESS YOUR CONTRIBUTIONS TO

HARLEM "ALL-DENOMINATIONS"
YOUTH CENTER
217 West 125th St. - Suite 110-109A - N. Y. 27, N. Y.

PHONE: MOnument 2-8871

SUPERVISORY BOARD
Rev. Wittie Anna Biggins, Director
Mrs. Pauline Vaden, Secretary
Rev. Walter P. Offutt, Jr., President

FUTURE HOME OF HARLEM ALL-DENOMINATIONS YOUTH CENTER

58 West 128th Street, New York, N. Y.

WON'T YOU HELP US SAVE OUR BUILDING! In spite of more than $25,000 invested in this building, and approval plans by the Building Department for a Chapel, School and Dormitory for HARLEM YOUTH CENTER, those who are not interested in the progress of our Youth are trying to take it away from us! The Banks and Mortgage Companies refused to loan us money to repair our building. But we are not giving up! Through faith in God, we shall overcome every obstacle. The Harlem Youth Center shall always be the "road-block" to juvenile delinquency and crime!

"The Open Door"

to help those in need of help — approved and blessed by GOD!

HARLEM
All-Denominations
YOUTH CENTER

Founded 1941

Juvenile Delinquency Stops Here!

"OPEN TO EVERYONE"

COPYRIGHT BY HARLEM ALL-DENOMINATIONS YOUTH CENTER

217 West 125th St., Suite 110-109A - N.Y. 27, N.Y.

to help those in need of help —
approved and blessed by GOD!

THE BIRTH OF HARLEM YOUTH CENTER!

In the year of 1941, before juvenile delinquency began making inroads into the lives of the masses, a few faithful members of the All-Denominations Church gazed into the future, and saw that something had to be done to save our young people from the evils that would necessarily follow a Second World War.

So they organized Harlem's first all-denominational, all-racial youth center, and called it "HARLEM POST-WAR RE-CONSTRUCTION YOUTH MOVEMENT."

Although our thoughts were centered upon helping mothers of the community preserve their families while their sons and husbands fought to preserve the freedom of our nation, parents and children, young folk and old folk, from every borough and adjacent community began calling upon us for help.

They needed food, clothing, money for rent, solutions for all kinds of problems . . . family misunderstandings, budget needs, lack of employment, decent places to live, more education to meet requirements for jobs; and every other need of a mother with responsibility of both mother and father and care of the children.

They were so pleased with the services the center offered, that it rapidly became a haven for persons of all denominations and races, and all ages, from pre-natal care to the closing of life for great-grand parents.

As we progressed with time, it was decided to change the name of the center to that of the Church which organized it — Harlem ALL-DENOMINATIONS Youth Center.

TEEN-AGERS AND YOUTH INVADE NEW YORK CITY

Each year, 1200 or more teen agers and young people (both men and women) come to Harlem Youth Center for help from every state in the United States and adjacent countries. For many years North Carolina and South Carolina youth have vied for first place; but within the past few months Virginia (after running 5th place for 5 years) has swapped 3rd place with Georgia. And other states, too, are losing their places, as educated young people claim their citizenship.

With the educational program throughout our nation undergoing constitutional changes, it is not safe to predict the shifts in newcomers — not even for the last few months of 1960. It is interesting however to note what the lineup by states and nations has been for the past 12 years:

North Carolina
South Carolina
Georgia
Florida
Virginia
Alabama
Arkansas
Kentucky
Mississippi
Tennessee
Washington, D.C
Texas
West Virginia
Maryland
Indiana
Pennsylvania
New Jersey
New York
Oklahoma
Ohio

Louisiana
Kansas
California
Illinois
Iowa
New Hampshire
Vermont
North Dakota
Wisconsin
Alaska
Connecticut
Michigan
Massachusetts
Missouri
British West Indies
Puerto Rico
Virgin Islands
Africa
Philippines

Cuba
England
Canada
Poland
Brazil
Greece
Spain
Portugal
Panama
Ireland
Germany
Italy
South America
New Mexico
Panama
Cuba

And smaller numbers from other states
and countries.

WHY THEY COME TO NEW YORK CITY!

1. These children and youth, ranging in age from 16 years (early High School Graduates) to 35 years (and often 39), come to the Big City seeking "Big salaried jobs" they hear announced on radio and television programs over their local stations.
2. Some have relatives here, but most say they have friends here who write back home telling all about the "Pot of Gold" they found at the end of the rainbow.
3. They want better educational opportunities. Some hold both a Bachelor's and a Master's Degree, but prefer to work rather than teach, but lack training for the various types of jobs available to them.
4. Their future plans demand a change. But the future means nothing in their home-town.
5. They are grown, and have the right to go where they please; and most of them have desired to come to New York City since childhood.

WHAT ARE THEIR NEEDS?

1st. FOOD!

2nd. CLOTHES! The majority leave home with only a few dollars more than train fare! When they fail to find employment they forfeit what clothes they have for food; and the Parent Body of the Youth Center supplies their further need for food and clothing.

3rd. PLACES TO LIVE! Most often we seek in vain. And the demand for decent living quarters for teen-age girls and young women is so great, living quarters in our building at 58 West 128th Street, New York City, is a demand that must be met immediately so that we may continue to keep down crime and delinquency among our youth!

4th. MONEY! This is also our basic need to keep our youth program at the peak of production.

5th. JOB TRAINING WHILE WORKING! . . . is the greatest potentiality the Youth Center can offer any individual . . . the chance to learn a trade, and get a salary of $40 to $50 per week while learning.

For those whose lack of training prevents them from entering "paid-while-training" positions, the Youth Center offers a commercial program that guarantees employment to the average student at the close of a semester. These students continue their training at night while working during the day.

OUR CURRICULUM

Business and Secretarial Classes
for
Youth and Adults - Men and Women

SHORTHAND (Gregg & Pittman)
TYPEWRITING
SHORTHAND PENMANSHIP
FILING
BOOKKEEPING
GRAMMAR - BASICS
VOCABULARY DRILLS
BUSINESS ENGLISH
SPELLING & DEFINITIONS
GENERAL OFFICE TRAINING

Individual Basic Subjects
Persons of All Ages

ARITHMETIC
ENGLISH - GRAMMAR
SPELLING
PENMANSHIP
READING CLINICS
COMPOSITIONS
LETTER WRITING - LANGUAGES
SPECIAL COURSES FOR BACKWARD HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

ADVANCED COMMERCIAL COURSES

LEGAL STENOGRAPHY
MEDICAL STENOGRAPHY
REAL ESTATE STENOGRAPHY
INSURANCE STENOGRAPHY
LEGAL SECRETARY
MEDICAL SECRETARY
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIES
BUSINESS CORRESPONDENTS
ADMINISTRATION ASSISTANTS - PUBLIC RELATIONS EXECUTIVES

REFRESHER COURSES FOR:

ADVANCED STENOGRAPHERS
OFFICE EXECUTIVES
SPECIAL STENOGRAPHERS
BRUSH-UP STUDENTS

TEACHING STAFF

REV. WITTIE ANNA BIGGINS
MISS ELLA HAMMOND
MRS. REBA HANDY
MISS ROBERTA ROSS
MR. ROBERT WILLIAMS
MRS. AMELIA COLLINS
REV. ARTHUR W. PARKER

Note: The School of Religious Education is separate and apart from the training department for employment. These are classes for ministers, missionaries, and laymen and Bible Training for Children.

AGENDA - EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR UNITY ON SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

September 22, 1961

1.a. Report of the Planning Committee on Structure and Program - Jim Haughton

b. Discussion

c. Adoption of Report

2.a. Report of the Sub-Committees:

1. Unemployment
2. Law and Order Enforcement
3. Housing

b. Discussion

c. Adoption of Reports

3. Setting-up of Sub-Committee on Educational Preparation of Negro Youth in the Revolutionary Age of Automation. Anna Hedgeman as Chairman, and Gus Edwards, Bill Jones, Jim Haughton, etc. HARRIET PICKENS

4. Appointing members of the Emergency Committee to work with the following Sub-Committees:

Fred Small to Unemployment Sub-Committee ED DAVIS
Brother O.W. Bynum to Law and Order Sub-Committee
Harriet Pickens to Housing Sub-Committee
Brother Wm. Bowe to Unemployment Sub-Committee

5. Organizational Reports on Philosophy and Program

a. NALC will make first report at next meeting of the Committee.

b. Other organizations - Name and date of meeting at which report will be made

c. One report at each meeting

d. Literature dealing with organization's philosophy and program to be made available at Committee ~~meetings~~ meeting prior to the meeting at which report will be delivered.

6. Draft Proposal for a Forum on Black Liberation. Richard Parrish to be Chairman of the Forum Sub-Committee. Members to serve on the Committee are: Joe Overton, Anna Hedgeman, Cleveland Robinson, Lewis Micheaux, James Lawson, Alex Prempeh, Edward Davis, Malcolm X, Hope Stevens, Jim Haughton.

7. Further business

Adjournment

PLANNING COMMITTEE REPORT

The planning committee met on September 12, from 3 to 5 p.m., and was attended by:

Bayard Rustin, Chairman, Cora Walker, Anna Hedgeman, Percy Sutton, Malcolm X, Lewis Micheaux, Edward Davis, Clarance Scott, Andy Cooper, Bill Jones, Leonard Randolph, and Jim Haughton.

The Committee discussed the type of organization the Emergency Committee should have. There were two basic organizational concepts advanced. Several members expressed the preference for a highly organized Committee, with president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer and a policy making board. The majority of members decided on a loose organization with a chairman, secretary and treasurer. The planning committee stressed that the basic guide line should be the principle of unity which allows for the widest variety of participation and action on the Emergency Committee for Economic and Social ~~Demands~~ Problems

unity On

The Committee agreed that an effort to create a highly structured organization would be premature and would restrict the development of an action program. What is most important is action, not structure. Hence it was moved, seconded, and adopted that the sole structure of the Emergency Committee be a Chairman, Secretary and Treasurer, and this form be accepted for a six months period.

The Planning Committee next decided on A. Philip Randolph as Chairman, Jim Haughton as Secretary, and the Treasurer to be designated. Also:

That A. Philip Randolph be sole name on the stationary.

That there be three signatures for the signing of checks and that they be A. Philip Randolph, Cora Walker and the person designated to be Treasurer.

Name: The Emergency Committee for Unity on Social and Economic Problems will continue to be the name of the Committee.

Program: The Planning Committee next moved into a discussion of program. It was decided that the Committee would focus on three areas for action programs. They are:

1. Unemployment
2. Law and Order Enforcement
3. Housing

4 EDUCATION

The Committee is to pursue the three areas of action simultaneously. To achieve this end the following members were

BUSINESS INVESTMENT AND DEVELOPMENT

appointed to sub-committees to work out action programs to be presented to the general body:

Unemployment Sub-Committee: Andrew Cooper, Bill Jones, Jim Haughton.

Law and Order Enforcement Sub-Committee: Malcolm X, Clarence Scott, Edward Davis, and Bayard Rustin.

Housing Sub-Committee: Cora Walker and Percy Sutton.

The Planning Committee decided that each Sub-committee should attempt to document the area of its concern as systematically as possible and be prepared to make an action program report to the general body.

Respectfully submitted,

Jim Haughton

DRAFT PROPOSAL FOR A FORUM ON ~~BLACK~~ Negro LIBERATION

In the interest of creating a greater intellectual awareness of the historical development of black people's liberation movements changing African and American societies, a Forum on Black Liberation is proposed for the attention, consideration and adoption by the Emergency Committee.

There exists a profound and critical need to educate American people in general and the Afro-Americans in particular on the historical struggles of black people in the United States and Africa, and how through great struggle and sacrifice, major cultural contributions have been made to world history and civilization. The urgent necessity for this Forum as an educational institute is reflected in a state of affairs best described as "intellectual anarchy" not only in the black community but in the American society as a whole.

With the objective of educating working people and those who identify with the black working class, the following educational program is submitted to the Emergency Committee:

Name: Forum On Black Liberation.
Place: Abyssinian Community House or any other suitable auditorium.
Time: Every second Sunday afternoon, from 4 to 6:30 p.m. commencing on October 22.
Financing: Collection taken at every forum meeting.
Proposed Speakers:
A. Philip Randolph
Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Dr. Leo Hansberry
Prof. Benjamin Hope Franklin
J. A. Rogers
Dr. Kenneth Clark
Mr. Elijah Muhammed
Roy Wilkins
Thurgood Marshall
Ralph Bunche
Congressman Adam Clayton Powell
Dr. Martin Luther King
Dr. Mordecai Johnson
and Three African Leaders

James Baldwin
[illegible]

Method: The Forum Committee to be appointed by the chairman of the Emergency Committee. The Forum Committee to work out a three month program listing the names of the speakers and the subject each speaker will cover. After the Forum Committee has worked out the three month program, the program should be printed and widely distributed throughout New York City. All organizations represented by the Emergency Committee, plus the universities, should receive copies of the program.

Structure of the Forum: Lecture, and then questions and responses from the audience.

UNEMPLOYMENT SUB-COMMITTEE REPORT

The Unemployment Sub-Committee, Andrew Cooper, Bill Jones, and Jim Haughton, met on September 19, from 3 to 5 p.m.

The following action program around the question of unemployment suffered by black workers is recommended for the attention and deliberation of the Emergency Committee:

1.a. That the Emergency Committee call for a meeting with Mr. J. C. Gallagher, in charge of Con-Edison personnel, and that a copy of the documented report demonstrating discrimination in Con-Edison be enclosed in the letter.

b. That the delegation to see Mr. J. C. Gallagher include Percy Sutton, Cora Walker, Bayard Rustin, Fred Small, Andrew Cooper, Edward Davis and Malcolm X (or another representative of the Muslims).

c. That the members of the delegation study the document demonstrating discrimination practiced by Con-Edison and other background information. That the delegation meet prior to the meeting with the Con-Edison official and elect a spokesman for the delegation.

d. That the delegation report back to the Emergency Committee the response of the Con-Edison official.

e. That the Unemployment Sub-Committee explore and formulate further action programs, if necessary, to generate additional community pressure with a view to obtaining equal job opportunities for black workers in the Con-Edison Utility Company.

on behalf of the Emerg.-Com.

2.a. That the Negro American Labor Council request necessary information on apprenticeship training programs from the Central Labor Council. That the information requested be in keeping with Demand 1a of the Emergency Committee's Economic and Social Demands.

b. That the Urban League of Greater New York be called upon by the Emergency Committee to provide information on apprenticeship training programs in the New York area.

3.a. That the Emergency Committee call for a meeting with the Mayor prior to the forthcoming elections.

b. That the delegation to see the Mayor include Percy Sutton, Anna Hedgeman, Lewis Micheaux, Malcolm X (or another representative of the Muslims), Rev. V. Simpson Turner, Rev. R. R. Johnson, Fred Small, Andrew Cooper and Jim Haughton.

c. That if other sub-committees are planning to send delegations to the Mayor, then these combine into one delegation representing the Emergency Committee on all demands.

d. That the members of this delegation carefully study the Committee's Economic and Social Demands and the Mayor's platform. On the basis of this study, to formulate specific questions dealing with concrete ways the Mayor can implement the economic demands. At one of the meetings prior to the meeting with the Mayor, the members of this delegation to elect a spokesman.

e. That the delegation report back to the Emergency Committee the results of the meeting with the Mayor.

f. That the Unemployment Sub-Committee explore and formulate further action programs, if necessary, to generate additional community pressure on the Mayor, with a view to obtaining equal job rights for black workers.

Submitted on behalf of the Unemployment Sub-Committee,

Jim Haughton

28th Precinct   September, 1961

STREET MEETINGS

A Resume of the Law and Regulations

The right of the people to peacably assemble for lawful purposes is guaranteed. (Constitution)

A permit is not required to conduct a public discussion on the City streets. However, a permit is required where sound devices are employed. Parades and processions also require a permit. (N.Y.C. Administrative Code)

The police have the power and duty to preserve the peace, suppress riots, disperse unlawful or dangerous assemblages and assemblages which obstruct the free passage of the public streets, guard the public health, and preserve order at all public meetings. (N.Y.C. Charter, Section 435)

"The authority of a municipality to impose regulations in order to insure the safety and convenience of the people in the use of the public highways has never been regarded as inconsistent with civil liberties but rather as one of the means of safeguarding the good order upon which they ultimately depend." (U.S. Supreme Court, Cox v. N.H. 312 U.S. 569)

The American flag, dimensions not less than 36 X 48 inches, must be displayed at street meetings. (N.Y.C. Admin. Code, Sec 435-8.0) (Refer to the Flag Code for proper manner of display.)

Sound device permits may not be issued for use after 10:00 PM. Comfort and repose of people not to be disturbed after 11:00PM. (N.Y.C. Administrative Code, Sections 435-5.0 and 6.0)

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

Therefore, with due regard to the significance of 125th Street in the Neighborhood Conservation Program, and in order to protect the rights of the street meeting speakers, and the rights, health, and safety of the general public, the following regulations are considered to be reasonable and constructive and are issued for the guidance of all concerned.

28th Precinct Street Meeting Regulations

1. Street Meetings:
   a. Sould be terminated before 10:00 PM, and will be terminated before 11:00 PM;
   b. Will not be conducted within 25 feet of a croos-walk;
   c. Will not be held within 100 feet of another meeting, or within one full block of a large scheduled meeting;
   d. Will not be conducted on 125th Street proper, except by virtue of a special permit.

2. The American Flag:
   a. Will be displayed
   b. Dimensions may not be less than 36 X 48 inches

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

Emergency Committee for Unity on Social and Economic Problems
217 West 125 Street
New York 27, N.Y.

October 4, 1961

Mr. Bernard E. Gallagher, Vice President
Consolidated Edison Company of New York, Inc.
4 Irving Place
New York 3, New York

Dear Mr. Gallagher:

The Emergency Committee for Unity on Social and Economic Problems represents major organizations of Negro people in New York City concerned with specific economic and social problems. One of the specific economic interests of the Committee deals with charges of racial discrimination that were made against Consolidated Edison before a Congressional Investigating Committee during the month of June, 1961. These charges of discrimination against Negro workers by Consolidated Edison Company of New York, a major public utility, have provoked the strongest possible resentment in the Negro community and have contributed to the increase of tension.

The Committee takes serious note of your statement which I quote from the official transcript of the hearings: "The Company categorically denies that it discriminates on account of race, color, creed, national origin, age, or any other reason, and its record and reputation bear this out."

In view of the seriousness which we attach to this matter, and its contribution to the increase of tension in the Negro community, combined with facts available to us that contradict the company's position, we request and urge that you meet with a delegation representing this Committee to discuss the aforementioned charges, immediately, if possible.

Sincerely,

A. Philip Randolph, Chairman
Emergency Committee for Unity on
Social and Economic Problems

APR/el

LOUIS J. LEFKOWITZ
ATTORNEY GENERAL
STATE OF NEW YORK

80 CENTRE STREET
NEW YORK 13, NEW YORK

October 5, 1961

Copy

Mr. Harold R. Tyler, Jr.
Commissioner
Waterfront Commission of New York Harbor
15 Park Row
New York 38, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Tyler:

In connection with the report in this week's papers of the recent statement of A. Philip Randolph on racial discrimination against longshoremen, particularly at the Brooklyn piers, Assistant Attorney General Shirley A. Siegel, who heads the Civil Rights Bureau in my office, has showed me the letter that she received from you in August of this year.

I am very pleased by the affirmative stand you expressed in such letter as to the responsibility of the Waterfront Commission to investigate complaints of denial of civil rights. I have felt all along that the personnel of the Waterfront Commission are in an excellent strategic position to observe hiring practices and to police unlawful conduct in the matter of civil rights as well as other crimes.

The belief of Negro longshoremen that they are not receiving equal treatment and equal job opportunity in the New York port is a matter of longstanding bitterness. I am hopeful that the Waterfront Commission will give a full and complete airing to the specific charges now being made regarding the areas where Local 1814 has jurisdiction.

You may be sure of my cooperation to the full extent of the powers of my office.

Cordially,

LOUIS J. LEFKOWITZ
Attorney General

RECEIVED
OCT 6 1961
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

✓cc: Mr. A. Philip Randolph
President
Negro American Labor Council
217 West 125th Street
New York 27, N. Y.

LOUIS J. LEFKOWITZ
ATTORNEY GENERAL
STATE OF NEW YORK

NEW YORK, N.Y. 1
OCT 6
8-PM
1961

NEW YORK
N.Y.
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CHURCH STREET STATION
U.S. POSTAGE
04
P.B. METER 356585

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
President
Negro American Labor Council
217 West 125th Street
New York 27, N. Y.

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter

NL=Night Letter

LT=International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

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1961 OCT 20 PM 1 04

SY NFA133 PD NIAGARA FALLS NY 20 1242P EDT =

A PHILLIP RANDOLP, CHAIRMAN UNITY COMMITTEE =

217 WEST 125 ST DLR DO NOT FONE NYK

=REGRET ABSENCE FROM TODAYS MEETING AT STATE NAACP CONFERENCE =PLEASE APOLOGIZE TO GROUP, NY BRANCH GATHERING SUPPORT FOR =RESOLUTION SUPPORTING A PHILIP RANDOLPH IN UNENDING FIGHT TO =CLEAN LABORS HOUSE OF DISCRIMINATIONATORY PRACTICES SUPPORT =YOU TO FULLEST =

PERCY E SUTTON NEW YORK BRANCH NAACP.

RECEIVED OCT 20 1961 OFFICE OF THE [illegible]

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Emergency Committee for
Unity on Social and Economic Problems
217 West 125th Street
New York 27, N. Y.

MINUTES

3 P. M. Meeting of Sub-Committee October 23, 1961
On Law and Order Enforcement in Harlem
Mr. James Haughton, Presiding

PRESENT: Mr. Malcom X, Mr. James Haughton, Mr. Edward Davis, Mr. De Mayo, Miss Cora Walker, Mr. Pace, Mr. D. Walker, Miss Harriet J. Pickens

Guests:

Mr. James Haughton acting for the Chairman Mr. Davis called the meeting to order at 3:30 P.M. He reminded the Committee of its charge, to review law enforcement in Harlem and the abuses involved therein, to prepare recommendations to correct the situation for presentation to the Mayor at a subsequent conference, and to plan a program of action for the full Unity Committee. A report on these matters is to be presented to the Unity Committee at its meeting on Friday, October 27th at 2:30 P.M.

The Committee agreed to prepare a statement on law enforcement and the abuses involved in it with emphasis upon (1) police brutality and lack of enforcement of laws against (2) prostitution (3) gambling and the sale and use of narcotics. Specific incidents and situations will be cited as much as possible. Mr. MalcolmX,Mr. D. Walker and Miss Cora Walker will prepare a statement for discussion on the first three items. They will include reference to the discourtesy of police in precincts toward citizens inquiring about arrested individuals and the beating of prisoners in precincts after arrest as suggested by Mr. Edward Davis.

Cora
Malcolm

Mr. Edward Davis and Mr. Ch Mayo will prepare a statement on the narcotics problem in Harlem including any factual information Miss Pickens can obtain.

Mr. James Haughton will prepare an outline of a program for mobilizing the community behind the law enforcement platform adopted by the Unity Committee.

Mr. Pace will prepare a statement on proposed Precinct Community Councils for the seven precincts in upper Manhattan, including plans for an over-all coordinating council of all seven programs of education, arbitration, etc.

The committee agreed on the following action program to be appended to the statement outlined above:

1. A meeting on the program between representatives of the Unity Committee, the Mayor, the Police Commissioner and other city officials.

2. Mobilizing the community behind the program.

3. Establishment of Precinct Community Councils, if approved by the over-all committee.

The Committee agreed to discuss these recommendations for inclusion in the program:

1. That the Negro Deputy Police Commissioner be involved in all policy making and structural changes in the Police Department to safeguard and represent the interests of the black people of New York City since police have more contact with Negroes and Puerto-Ricans through more arrests than with any other minority groups in the city.

2. That Harlem cease to be used as a training ground for inexperienced police officers.

3. That intensive and extensive training in Human Relations be instituted immediately for all police officers, both in the Academy and on the Precinct level.

4. That an intergroup relations unit be established immediately with the Community Relations and Public Relations Division of the Police Department charged with creating better relations between police and minority groups.

5. That there be an equitable distribution of qualified Negro personnel throughout the Police Department.

6. That all illegal searches and seizures cease at once and that police officers be given proper instruction concerning the fourth amendment of the Constitution of the United States and its application to all citizens including minority groups.

7. That the Civilian Complaint Review Board be revised to include true representatives of the community. This should be done along the lines of the Philadelphia Police Advisory Board composed of lay leaders who will hear grievances or citizen complaints against members of the Police Department based upon charges of undue force, racial or religious discrimination, or violation of state or federal constitutional rights and make an impartial decision on the basis of the facts.

8. That the Police Academy curriculum be revised to include adequate information about minority groups and intensive training in human relations. (This could be a sub-item under #3)

9. That better street lighting be installed throughout Harlem and particularly on side streets where frequent muggings have occurred.

10. That more Negroes and Puerto-Ricans be appointed to the bench and the District Attorney's Offices since these minority groups have more persons passing through the courts.

The Committee agreed to meet again on Wednesday, October 25th, at 3:00 P.M. to continue its deliberations. The reports from the various members are to be made at that time.

Harriet I. Pickens
Acting Secretary.

November 14, 1961

Mr. Joseph A. Davis
CarverFederal Savings and Loan Association
75 West 125 Street
New York 27, N. Y.

Dear Brother Davis:

This will acknowledge and thank you for the check of twenty-five dollars contributed by Carver Federal Savings and Loan Association to the Emergency Committee for Unity on Social and Economic Problems.

Your contribution to the Committee will enable us to further carry out vitally needed programs to arrest and correct the social and economic deterioration of the Negro community.

On behalf of the Committee, permit me to express appreciation for your past and continued support.

Fraternally yours,

A. Philip Randolph
Chairman, Emergency Committee
for Unity

EMERGENCY COMMITTEE MEETING

December 28, 1961

AGENDA

1. Review of Past Events:
    - A. Law and Order Enforcement Sub-Committee
    - B. Unemployment Sub-Committee
    - C. Education Sub-Committee
    - D. Fund Raising Sub-Committee
    - E. Housing Sub-Committee
    - F. Other
2. Action Program Formulated by Law and Order Enforcement Sub-Committee - The Next Steps
3. Action Program Formulated by Unemployment Sub-Committee - The Next Steps
4. The Forum Program - Setting up Committee
5. Organization Reports:
    - A. NALC
    - B. NAACP
    - C. Muslims
    - D. Others

[1961]

MOBILIZATION OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY TO CORRECT AND PREVENT THE BREAKDOWN OF LAW-AND-ORDER ENFORCEMENT IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY

Since it is the people, acting as a unified force, who can and must create a social and political climate that will provide for an effective, just, and constructive system of law and order enforcement in, as well as without, the black communities of the Greater New York area, the Emergency Committee for Unity on Social and Economic Problems is sponsoring a major mass meeting to report to the people on: (1) the problem of inadequate, ineffective, and unjust law and order enforcement; (2) the action programs formulated by the Emergency Committee, including recommendations to the Mayor, Police Commissioner, and police precinct captains; (3) a code of community self-help responsibility; (4) the organizational machinery whereby there will be a constant and vigilant check to determine the degree of progress in building a constructive system of law-and-order enforcement; (5) that the people will be called upon, if necessary, for more drastic and decisive action should there be no clear and demonstrable progress in the six month period following the meeting with city officials.

This mass meeting is to take place one month after the meeting with the Mayor, Police Commissioner, and Precinct Captains in order that the officials will have ample opportunity to initiate action on the recommendations submitted by the Emergency Committee, and thereby make possible a report to the people demonstrating the intentions, purposes and decisions of the officials in regard to recommendations submitted to them by the Emergency Committee.

Hence, it is necessary, acting through the broad representation of the already existing organizations and individuals who make up the Emergency Committee, thoroughly and forcefully to undertake the following steps in order to arouse, awaken, and mobilize the complete and unified backing of the Negro people in the fight for decent, just, adequate and effective law-and-order enforcement:

1. That the Emergency Committee call a press conference immediately after the meeting with the officials, where a full report will be made, including plans for the mass meeting.

2. That a sub-committee immediately find and secure a suitable facility for the mass meeting.

3. That Community Contact Sub-committees be established to call upon all of the Negro agencies and organizations and explain the purposes of the Emergency Committee, especially the Law and Order Enforcement Program, and that these committees contact and inform the following:

   i. People on the streets.
   ii. People in the Churches, through the ministers.
   iii. People in social organizations, fraternities, lodges, social clubs, business organizations, professional associations.

4. That a sub-committee be assigned responsibility of publicizing the mass meeting by making use of all available media of communications.

5. That the Finance Sub-committee explore and determine methods for raising necessary funds to execute the above program.

[1961]

EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR UNITY ON SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS - SUB-COMMITTEE ON POLICE PROTECTION AND LAW ENFORCEMENT

Suggestions submitted by Cora T. Walker as to

CODE OF COMMUNITY RESPONSIBILITY

1. Obey both letter and spirit of the law.

2. Give law enforcement officers ~~and~~ the respect and cooperation which they fully deserve.

3. Fulfill the obligations of good citizenship by promptly reporting crimes, giving evidence, and testifying in Court.

4. ~~Not to~~ Do not repeat incidents of unrest unless to a duly recognized organization, or authority where aid or assistance can be given, and proper legal action taken.

5. Do not congregate at the scene of an incident and cause a disturbance, which might only cause further confusion and unrest.

6. Make a written, and if possible sworn, statement of any incident you feel should be investigated for the protection of the rights of fellow citizens or the law enforcement officers.

7. Do not take the duty of law enforcement into your own hands, but seek police protection whenever you are aggreived.

[1961]

PROPOSALS FOR A UNITY ACTION PROGRAM

We have come together to effect unity within the black community. There are three proposed programmatic steps designed to achieve equal job opportunities for black workers. They are:

I. The leaders of the various organizations representing segments of the black community to call for a meeting with political leaders and officials for the purpose of presenting a list of demands for equal job opportunities. The meeting is to take place at 217 West 125 Street, Mr. Randolph's office, and date to be decided by the unity group.

The follow organizations, through their representatives, will extend the invitation to the political leaders and officials:

Black Muslims
Black Nationalists
BLACK Business
BLACK INDUSTRIALists
NAACP - New York Branch
Urban League of Greater New York
Negro Ministers — of the Community
Core
NALC
PTA + Tenants Leagues - Civic groups - Senators Assemblymen — and City Council men —

The following political leaders and officials to be invited to the agreed upon meeting:

Governor of New York State
Mayor of New York City
State and City Commissioner of Housing
State and City Commissioner of Welfare
State Attorney General
Congressman Powell
Borough President of Manhattan Dudley
Candidates running for any of the above offices

II. The demands to be presented are:

1. Apprenticeship Training:
   - ✓ a. Conditions of apprenticeship training be publicized. ✓
   - ✓ b. Non-discriminatory provisions be included in all apprenticeship programs.
   - ✓ c. That there be minority representation on the State Apprenticeship Board.
2. That there be State and City FEPC with enforcement powers that will include jail sentences for violaters.
3. That there be a minimum wage law for the State and City of $1:50 per hour.
4. That there be a State and City Committee On

Equal Employment Opportunities.

5. That there be investigation of State and City contracts to eliminate discriminatory practices and contracts be rescinded when private contractors are found guilty of discrimination and such contractors be prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law.

6. That Con-Edison, a major public utility, be forced to change its employment practices with regard to hiring and upgrading black workers.

7. That Lincoln Center provide a Palace for Jazz similar to the planned Palace for Ballet, Symphony and Opera. Also that black workers be extended the opportunity to work on the construction of the Center and be given the opportunity to work on every phase of the Center's program, including administrative, technical, and service areas of employment.

III. A mass rally to take place in front of the Hotel Thereas on the evening after the meeting held with the political leaders and officials. The purpose of this meeting is to report to the people on the demands made by their leaders.

E19612

MEETING - EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR UNITY ON SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, OCTOBER 20

I. Minutes of Previous Meeting

II. Sub-Committee Reports

  a. Law and Enforcement

  b. Housing

  c. Education

  d. Finance

  e. Unemployment

III. Brother Clarence Scott - Presentation of His Case

IV. Forum on Negro Liberation

  a. Program

  b. Forum Committee - Richard Parrish, Chairman (Appoint Committee Members)

V. Presentation of Negro American Labor Council Philosophy and Program

VI. a. NAACP Presentation - Next Meeting

  b. Muslim Presentation - Next Meeting

  (Literature to be distributed at meeting prior to presentation)

VII. Adjournment

5/1961?

DRAFT PROPOSALS FOR A UNITY ACTION PROGRAM

There are currently over 80,000 black workers unemployed in the Greater New York area. This statistic reflects a developing economic depression confronting the black community.

In a report put out by the National Urban League, released March 5, 1961, the following statistics were presented to illustrate the severity of unemployment among black workers in New York:

	Total	Negro
Work force	5,191,800	817,780
Unemployed	342,200	80,000
Percent unemployed	6.4	10

From these figures it can be clearly discerned that a recession for white workers is a depression for black workers. As a result of the denial of equal job opportunity by labor unions, industry and government, at a time when automated machinery is displacing workers at an increasing rate, the black workers, and thus the black community, are in serious trouble. The problem is compounded by the fact that black workers comprise the largest percentage of unskilled and semiskilled workers, and are the "first to be fired and the last to be hired." There is also a growing demand for skilled workers while there is a decreasing demand for unskilled and semiskilled workers. Hence there is an urgent and critical problem, best described as a job crisis confronting black workers, that must be solved forthwith.

To this end, the leaders of organizations representing different segments of the black community of New York have formed the Emergency Committee for Unity on Social and Economic Problems, and this committee is submitting a list of demands to the political and administrative officials of New York. These demands represent the minimum requirements necessary to arrest already existing social and economic deterioration in all of the Negro communities throughout the New York area.

The demands are as follows:

1. Apprenticeship Training:
   a. Conditions of apprenticeship training be publicized, such as what unions are responsible for the operation of apprenticeship training, the educational requirements for applying, the fee charged, where and when to apply.
   b. All unions which have apprenticeship training programs also to be pressured to make known the number of Negro apprentices currently being trained along with the total number of apprentices.
   c. That there be Negro representation on the State Appranticeship Board.
   d. That the City Department of Labor appoint qualified Negroes to investigate and expose cullusive discriminatory practices by management and labor against young black workers seeking to enter the apprenticeship training programs.
2. That there be a City FEPC with enforcement powers that will include jail sentences for violators.
3. Minimum Wage:
   a. That there be a minimum wage law for the City of $1.50 per hour.
   b. That this minimum wage be extended to cover those workers

presently exempted under Federal Law. Some of the workers not covered under the existing Federal Minimum Wage Law are to be found in such local establishments as grocery stores, variety stores, department stores, drug stores, restaurants, barber shops, beauty parlors, laundries, hotels, motion picture theatres, hospitals, nursing homes, and filling stations. Many black workers are employed in these establishments and are not covered by the existing or proposed Minimum Wage. New York City should have the broadest coverage possible.

4. That there be a City Committee on Equal Employment Opportunities and such a Committee have the full power to prosecute unions and industries which practice racial discrimination.
5. That there be investigation of City contracts to eliminate discriminatory practices and contracts be rescinded when private contractors are found guilty of racial discrimination. Further, that such contractors be prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law.
6. That Consolidated Edison, a major public utility, be forced to change its employment practices with regard to hiring and upgrading black workers.
7. That black workers be given the opportunity to work on all phases of the construction of Lincoln Center. That they be given opportunity to work fully in the center's construction and cultural program, including administrative, technical and service areas of employment.
   b. That opportunities be made for their full use in Opera, Ballet and Symphony Orchestras.

e. That, in light of the black man's contribution to all modern American music through his development of Jazz, we propose that Lincoln Center provide a Palace of Jazz similar to the Palaces of Opera and Ballet etc. Such an addition would provide work opportunities for many excellent unemployed musicians.

8. That there be a New York City Work~~s~~ Projects Administration to provide for immediate employment for workers, young and adult, unable to find employment elsewhere.

9. That Information Centers be established in Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant, Jamaica, the Bronx and other working class communities to inform and educate the people of all of the above programs by actively using all available media of communications, press, radio, TV, the Church, the School, and other already existing community agencies. These Centers to be staffed by personal representatives of all Department Heads, and that they operate as a social service.

- - - -

The economic deprivation of black workers, reflected in their demands listed above, is the basic cause of social and physical deterioration in the black community. Though conditions of economic deprivation also exist among other racial, ethnic and national minority groups, which we decry, our primary concern is with articulating economic, social, physical and cultural demands of the black people whom we pepresent.

We believe in educating and mobilizing black oppressed workers to struggle for their own self improvement and liberation. By articulating and presenting their demands to City

Officials, and by stressing the importance of a speedy implementation of these demands, we begin to provide the conditions that will lead to ~~the~~ general social and economic improvement for all the people of New York City.

Problems caused by and related to the denial of equal job opportunities are interrelated and are centered on deteriorated and inadequate housing, poor sanitation, hazardous fire conditions, inadequare recreational space and facilities, meagre and dangerously limited public medical services, insufficient public welfare, hostile police enforcement, and licensing of exploitative private employment agencies. Therefore the following demands are submitted:

1. Deteriorated and Inadequate Housing:
   a. That adequate public housing accomodations be provided by and through the efforts of City Government for all workers and their families.
   b. That the Housing and Building Department thoroughly inspect the housing conditions existing in Harlem and other working class communities and rigorously prosecute landlords who fail to correct violations immediately.
   c. That the Housing and Building Department establish an effective system for dealing with the proper, daily and constant maintenance of private housing in Harlem and other working class communities and such a system be widely publicized to the people of New York.
   d. That workers and their families be actively and immediately assisted by the Relocation Division of theReal Estate Department in relocating when forced to move

because of redevelopment (private developers have actually failed to assume this responsibility.)

e. That the Housing and Building Department investigate and expose the rentals for private housing in Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant, Jamaica and the Bronx, where Negro communities exist. These rentals to be compared with rentals in white or predominantly white communities.

f. That the Department of Health, along with the Housing and Building Department, conduct and maintain vigorous programs of rodent control.

2. Poor Sanitation - That the Department of Sanitation conduct and maintain a vigorous campaign to collect garbage and clean the streets daily in all communities.

3. Fire Hazards - That the Fire Department conduct and maintain a vigorous program of fire ~~preventing~~ PREVENTION in all communities, and that landlords who violate fire safety regulations be given jail sentences should they fail to introduce necessary corrections.

4. Inadequate Recreational Space and Facilities - That the Department of Parks continue and rapidly expand its program to provide adequate recreational space and facilities in Harlem and other working class communities.

5. Meagre and Dangerously Limited Medical Facilities:

a. That the Department of Hospitals correct the inadequacy or non-existance of public hospital and medical facilities and services in all communities.

b. That Harlem Hospital be adequately staffed, that regular standards of hospital sanitation be observed, than an adequate and decent clinic and ambulance service be maintained.

   c. That some suitable and adequate public facility be established for the effective treatment of drug addicts.

6. Insufficient Public Welfare - That allowances for working class families forced to accept public assistance be immediately raised to provide adequate incomes for a decent standard of living. (The allowances for an average family of four of $200 a month clearly indicates insufficient public assistance).

7. Hostile Police Enforcement:

   a. That the Police Department immediately conduct a program of human relations education for all police officers. That these officers be tested on their attitudes towards racial and ethnic minorities, and where indications of sadistic and hostile attitudes towards black people and other minorities exist, these officers be relieved of their responsibilities of police enforcement.

   b. That there be representatives of the people of Harlem and other black communities to observe the treatment of black people in the police precincts of New York such representation be widely publicized.

   c. That there be a genuine, thorough, and determined effort to apprehend drug procurers and pushers in order to save many of our youngsters from the scourge of drug addiction.

8. Licensing Exploitative Private Employment Agencies - that the Department of Licenses revoke licenses of private employment agencies that encourage workers to come to New York City on job leads or job placements that prove of

duration only long enough for the private employment agency to collect its fee. Further, that private employment agencies make housing and board provisions for workers induced by such agencies to come to New York City in search of employment.

9. That New York City Government, including the Mayor and City Council, bring pressure to bear upon the State Administration for any of the above demands requiring State Administrative action.

EM612

SPOT ANNOUNCEMENTS

On September 6, at 7:00 P.M., in front of the Hotel Theresa, 125 Street and 7th Avenue, New York City, a Mass Rally dealing with the unemployment crisis confronting 80,000 black workers will demonstrate the unity of every segment of the black citizenry of New York. You must attend this Rally to hear and be a part of a major, unified effort of all Negro organizations demanding complete and immediate job equality for black workers.

I am with the people in their unified program of action on equal job opportunities on September 6, at 7:00 P.M., in front of the Hotel Theresa, 125 Street and 7th Avenue.

You can join 80,000 unemployed black workers at a Mass Job Rights' Rally on September 6, at 7:00 P.M., in front of the Hotel Theresa, 125 Street and 7th Avenue, New York City. The leaders of every major Negro organization will report to the people on a unified program of action for equal job opportunities for black workers. The Emergency Committee for Unity on Social and Economic Problems, headed by A. Philip Randolph, is sponsoring this Rally.

Remember: Job Rally, September 6, at 7:00 P.M., 125 Street and 7th Avenue

[1961]

DRAFT PROPOSALS FOR A UNITY ACTION PROGRAM

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In a report put out by the National Urban League, released March 5, 1961, the following statistics were presented to illustrate the severity of unemployment among black workers in New York:

	Total	*Negro*
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Unemployed	*342,200*	*80,000*
Percent unemployed	*6.4*	*10*

From these figures it can be clearly discerned that a recession for white workers is a depression for black workers. As a result of the denial of equal job opportunity by labor unions, industry and government, at a time when automated machinery is displacing workers at an increasing rate, the black workers, and thus the black community, are in serious trouble. The problem is compounded by the fact that black workers comprise the largest percentage of unskilled and semiskilled workers, and are the "first to be fired and the last to be hired." There is also a growing demand for skilled workers while there is a decreasing demand for unskilled and semiskilled workers. Hence there is an urgent and critical problem, best described as a job crisis confronting black workers, that must be solved forthwith.

To this end, the leaders of organizations representing different segments of the black community of New York have formed the Emergency Committee for Unity on Social and Economic Problems, and this committee is submitting a list of demands to the political and administrative officials of New York. These demands represent the minimum requirements necessary to arrest already existing social and economic deterioration in all of the Negro communities throughout the New York area.

The demands are as follows:

1. *Apprenticeship Training:*

    a. *Conditions of apprenticeship training be publicized, such as what unions are responsible for the operation of apprenticeship training, the educational requirements for applying, the fee charged, where and when to apply.*

    b. *All unions which have apprenticeship training programs also to be pressured to make known the number of Negro apprentices currently being trained along with the total number of apprentices.*

c. That there be Negro representation on the State Apprenticeship Board.

d. That the City Department of Labor appoint qualified Negroes to investigate and expose collusive discriminatory practices by management and labor against young black workers seeking to enter the apprenticeship training programs.

2. That there be a City FEPC with enforcement powers that will include jail sentences for violators.

3. Minimum Wage:

a. That there be a minimum wage law for the City of $1.50 per hour.

b. That this minimum wage be extended to cover those workers presently exempted under Federal Law. Some of the workers not covered under the existing Federal Minimum Wage Law are to be found in such local establishments as grocery stores, variety stores, department stores, drug stores, restaurants, barber shops, beauty parlors, laundries, hotels, motion picture theatres, hospitals, nursing homes, and filling stations. Many black workers are employed in these establishments and are not covered by the existing or proposed Minimum Wage. New York City should have the broadest coverage possible.

4. That there be a City Committee on Equal Employment Opportunities and such a Committee have the full power to prosecute unions and industries which practice racial discrimination.

5. That there be investigation of City contracts to eliminate discriminatory practices and contracts be rescinded when private contractors are found guilty of racial discrimination. Further, that such contractors be prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law.

6. That Consolidated Edison, a major public utility, be forced to change its employment practices with regard to hiring and upgrading black workers.

7. That black workers be given the opportunity to work on all phases of the construction of Lincoln Center. That they be given opportunity to work fully in the center's construction and cultural program, including administrative, technical and service areas of employment.

That opportunities be made for their full use in Opera, Ballet and Symphony Orchestras.

That, in light of the black man's contribution to all modern American Music through his development of Jazz, we propose that Lincoln Center provide a Palace of Jazz similar to the Palaces of Opera and Ballet etc.. Such an addition would provide work opportunities for many excellent unemployed musicians.

8. That there be a New York City Work Projects Administration to provide for immediate employment for black workers, young and adult, unable to find employment elsewhere.

9. That Information Centers be established in Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant, **Jamaica**, the Bronx and other Negro communities to inform and educate the Negro people of all of the above programs by actively using all available media of communications, press, radio, TV, the Church, the School, and other already existing community agencies. These Centers to be staffed by personal representatives of all Department Heads, and that they operate as a social service.

ADDENDA

The economic deprivation of black workers, reflected in their demands for job equality, is the basic cause of social and physical deterioration in the black community. The above job demands comprise the minimum program agreed to by the Committee. However, there are other urgent and profoundly critical problems confronting black workers. These problems tend to be interrelated and are centered around deteriorated and inadequate housing, poor sanitation, hazardous fire conditions, inadequate recreational space and facilities, meagre and dangerously limited public medical services, insufficient public welfare, hostile police enfrocement, and licensing of exploitative private employment agencies. Therefore the following demands are submitted for the consideration of the Committee:

1. Housing Question:

   a. That adequate public housing accomodations be provided by and through the efforts of City Government for all black workers and their families.

   b. That the Housing Authority prosecute landlords who fail to correct violations fifteen days after apprehension.

   c. That black workers and their families be actively and immediately assisted by the Housing Authority to relocate when forced to move because of redevelopment (private developers have actually failed to assume this responsibility).

   d. That the Housing Authority investigate and expose the rentals for private housing in Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant, Jamaica and the Bronx, where Negro communities exist. These rentals to be compared with rentals in white or predominantly white communities.

   e. That the Department of Health along with the Housing Authority conduct and maintain riforous programs of rodent control .

2. *Sanitation - That the Department of Sanitation conduct and maintain a vigorous campaign to collect garbage and clean the streets daily in the black communities.*

3. *Fire Hazards - That the Fire Department conduct and maintain a vigorous program of fire prevention in the black communities, and that landlords who violate fire safety regulations be given jail sentences should they fail to introduce necessary corrections.*

4. *Inadequate Recreational Space and Facilities - That the Department of Parks continue and rapidly expand its program to provide adequate recreational space and facilities in the black communities.*

5. *Meagre and Dangerously Limited Medical Facilities:*

    a. *That the Department of Hospitals correct the inadequacy or non-existance of public hospital and medical facilities and services in the black communities.*

    b. *That Harlem Hospital be immediately and adequatley staffed, that regular standards of hospital sanitation be observed, that an adequate and decent clinic and ambulance service be maintained.*

6. *Insufficient Public Welfare - That allowances for black famalies forced to accept public assistance be immediately raised to provide adequate incomes for a decent standard of living. (The allowances for an average family of four of $200 a month clearly indicates insufficient public assistance).*

7. *Hostile Police Enforcement - That the Police Department immediately conduct a program of human relations education for all police officers assigned to the black communities. That these officers be tested on their attitudes toward black workers and their families, and where indications of sadistic and hostile attitudes towards black workers exist, these officers be relieved of their responsibilities of police enforcement in black communities.*

8. *Licensing Exploitative Private Employment Agencies - That the Department of Licenses revoke licenses of private employment agencies that encourage black workers to come to New York City on job leads or job placement that prove of duration only long enough for the private employment agency to collect its fee. Further, that private employment agencies make housing and board provisions for black workers induced by such agencies to come to New York City in search of employment.*

9. *That New York City Government, including the Mayor and City Council, bring pressure to bear upon the State Administration for any of the above demands requiring State Administrative Action.*

For Immediate Release

Date Line April 24, 1962

Social And
THE EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR UNITY
ON ECONOMIC PROBLEMS,
A. Philip Randolph, Chairman
217 West 125 Street, New York, N.Y.
UN 5-8710

Subject: The Drug Menace and Preventive and Corrective Programs

The damaging effects of the narcotics traffic have reached alarming proportions and the public, through civic and social agencies, is aroused and in ferment. The severity of drug addiction among youth in Harlem and other Afro-American communities demands a crash program that is both preventive and corrective in character.

The Emergency Committee for Unity and Social and Economic Problems has initiated a community wide effort to mobilize the black community back of a program that can destroy the illegal flow of narcotics and restore a social climate of law, order, and human decency throughout our community.

In the metropolitan area, there are approximately 23,000 officially reported drug addicts. It has frequently been estimated that there are an additional 17,000 unreported addicts in the New York area. There are only 330 beds in New York hospitals to medically service and treat drug addicts. This one yard stick alone should be a source of profound concern for the future well being of our youth who have already been hooked by the drug menace.

The full resources of government and positive community action are required if we are to free the black community in particular, the New York community in general, of the immoral and humanly degrading web caused by drug addiction. To this end, the Committee demands of government the following:

1. That the existing laws on narcotics be fully enforced and that enforcement agencies be granted sufficient budget and directives to cope fully with the problem.

   a. That the full investigative powers of government, not simply a narcotics division, be employed to stop the drugs from coming into the community and the country.

   b. That a complete effort be made to apprehend the pusher and that a life time sentence without parole be made the punishment to meet the crime of pushing narcotics.

2. That the Federal Government be called upon to establish a Federal Narcotics Treatment Center in the New York area which has the largest number of narcotics addicts in the nation.

3. That more treatment facilities be created to meet the immediate medical needs of drug addicts. Detoxification facilities should be readily available along with other treatment facilities situated in Harlem and other communities where the incidence of drug addiction is relatively high.

4. That community agencies and local groups engaged in helping drug addicts be subsidized by public funds (City, State and Federal).

5. That full support be given the Coordinator of Drug Addiction Treatment facilities located in the Department of Health.

6. That an educational program be established in the schools to enable young people to learn about the harmful, repulsive and dangerous effects of drug addiction.

7. That schools and public agencies in cooperation and consultation with civic and social groups work out a method that can serve as a guide in detection of people who are in danger of becoming users of drugs, that is, identification of young people who are heading for trouble.

8. That the employment and recreational needs of young people be adequately and vigorously met through publicly supported programs.

The Committee further proposes that community action be taken in the following areas:

1. That community leaders encourage the people to report drug distribution and/or use to the Mayor's Office (CO 7-1000) and the police.

2. That community programs be designed to bring home to young people exposed to narcotics traffic how their future is destroyed by becoming addicted.

3. That the Department of Health be called upon to show films on drug addiction. A person qualified to answer questions and properly inform the public of the harmful effects of addiction should supervise the presentations.

4. That every available means be undertaken to mobilize the resources of the whole city behind efforts to rid our community of the drug menace.

The Emergency Committee is sponsoring a mass street rally on the drug menace in order to further its campaign for the attainment of the above objectives. The rally is to be held on May 1, 8 P.M. on the street corner of 125 Street and 7th Avenue. The Honorable Robert Kennedy, Attorney General of the United States, the Honorable Nelson Rockefeller, Governor of the State of New York, and the Honorable Robert F. Wagner, Mayor of the City of New York, have been invited to address the rally and are expected to attend.

For Immediate Release
Date Line April 24, 1962

The Emergency Committee for Unity
on Social and Economic Problems,
A. Philip Randolph, Chairman
217 West 125th Street, New York
UN5-6710

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1. That the existing laws on narcotics be fully enforced and that enforcement agencies be granted sufficient budget and directives to cope fully with the problem.

a. That the full investigative powers of government, not simply a narcotics division, be employed to stop the drugs from coming into the community and the country.

b. That a complete effort be made to apprehend the pusher and that a life time sentence without parole be made the punishment to meet the crime of pushing narcotics.

2. That the Federal Government be called upon to establish a Federal Narcotics Treatment Center in the New York area which has the largest number of narcotics in the nation.

3. That more treatment facilities be created to meed the immediate medical needs of drug addicts. Detoxification facilities should be readily available along with other treatment facilities situated in Harlem and other communities where the incidence of drug addiction is relatively high.

4. That community agencies and local groups engaged in helping drug addicts be subsidized by public funds (City, State and Federal).

5. That full support be giventhe Coordinator of Drug Addiction Treatment Facilities located in the Department of Health.

6. That an educational program be established in the schools to enable young people to learn about the harmful, repulsive and dangerous effects of drug addiction.

7. That schools and public agencies in cooperation and consul~~a~~tation with civic and social groups work out a method that can serve as a guide in detection of people who are in danger of becoming users of drugs, that is, identification of young people who are heading for trouble.

8. That the employment and recreational needs of young people be adequately and vigorously met through publicly supported

programs.

The Committee further proposes that community action be taken in the following areas:

1. That community leaders encourage the people to report drug distribution and use to the Mayor's Office (Cortland 7-1000) and the police.

2. That community programs be designed to bring home to young people exposed to narcotics traffic how their future is destroyed by becoming addicted.

3. That the Department of Health be called upon to show films on drug addiction. A person qualified to answer questions and properly inform the public of the harmful effects of addiction should supervise the presentations.

4. That every available means be undertaken to mobilize the resources of the whole City behind efforts to rid our community of the drug menace.

The Emergency Committee is sponsoring a mass street rally on the drug menace in order to further its campaign for the attainment of the above objectives. The rally is to be held on May 1, 8 P.M. on the street corner of 125Street and 7th Avenue. The Honorable Robert Kennedy, Attorney General of the United States, the Honorable Nelson Rockefeller, Governor of the State of New York, and the Honorable Robert F. Wagner, Mayor of the City of New York, have been invited to address the rally and are expected to attend.

Despite this activity to suppress the narcotics traffic, your Police Department needs further aid from the public. Give all the information you may have and bring narcotics criminals to justice.

Public Information Bulletin No. 21

POLICE DEPARTMENT
CITY OF NEW YORK

ROBERT F. WAGNER **Mayor**	**MICHAEL J. MURPHY** **Commissioner**

To report information about the sale or use of narcotics

Call this special number

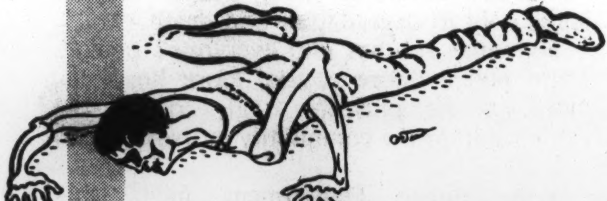
DIgby 4-9430

Write to Box "N"
Police Headquarters
New York 13, N. Y.

Your confidence will be respected. Remember, the policeman is your friend and ally against violence and crime.

NARCOTICS
means
DEATH!

give
information
to police



Police Department
city of new york

EVERY person in New York is affected by the insidious toll of illegal narcotics and the criminals who exploit it.

Narcotics increases the crime rate. Addicts must steal to obtain money to buy narcotics to support the habit.

Narcotics destroys lives. The addict soon becomes unfit for work. He is subject to disease, usually dies young.

Narcotics breaks up homes. A parent cannot support the narcotics habit and a family, too.

Narcotics vicitimizes youth. The narcotics octopus reaches into unsuspecting homes and clamps its clammy tentacles around the hearts and minds of young people. It's use leads only to degradation and death.

Narcotics reaches into everyone's pocket. More police, more courts, more hospitals, more prisons, plus the tragic cost to the victims and to the community in lives ruined.

Your Police Department fights this scourge wherever narcotics is passed from seller to seller or from seller to user. It seeks out traffickers on the streets, in the cellars and alleys, on the docks where smuggling takes place. Its detectives, both men and women, work day and night to stamp out this destructive trade.

Last year they seized

24	pounds, 8 ounces of heroin
222	pounds, 12 ounces of marijuana
2,133	marijuana cigarettes
7	pounds, 14 ounces of opium

Last year they arrested

1,583	persons for the sale or felonious possession of illegal drugs.
4,189	persons for possession of illegal drugs as a misdemeanor.
685	persons for illegal possession of syringes and needles.

Law and Order is a Two-Way Street

Public cooperation is needed to fight crime in all its ugly manifestations.

To cooperate the public should —

Respect and uphold law and order
Provide a good example to young people
Report all crime immediately
Volunteer accurate information to police
Call the police when an officer needs assistance
Never interfere with the police in the performance of their duty
Report to the police all suspicions of criminal activity
Readily testify in criminal prosecutions.

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
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1962 MAY 1 PM 1 59

VUA024 LONG PD VU NEW YORK NY 1 101P EST :

=A PHILIP RANDOLPH, DLR IMMY =
217 WEST 125 ST NYK =

AN APPOINTMENT WITH THE PRESIDENT IN WASHINGTON
TODA PREVENTS =ME FROM JOINING WITH THE EMERGENCY
COMMITTEE FOR UNITY ON SOCIAL =AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS
AT THEIR RALLY TO MOBILIZE THE PUBLIC =IN OUR FIGHT
AGAINST NARCOTICS ADDICTION. AS YOU KNOW, I AM =
MOBILIZING EVERY RESOURCE AT THE CIT'S =COMMAND TO
FIGHT THIS SCOURGE. HOWEVER THE CITY GOVERNMENT'S
WORK CANNOT SUCCEED UNLESS WE HAVE WIDE PUBLIC =

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

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1962 MAY 1 PM 1 59

:SUPPORT' IT IS MY HOPE THAT THIS RALLY WILL PROVIDE FOR SUCH =SUPPORT. I EXTEND TO YOU EVERY GOOD WISH =

: ROBERT F WAGNER MAYOR. = ===

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Mr. Sol Singer
1o9 West 42nd Street
New York 36, N.Y.
June 13, 1962

Small Business Chamber of Commerce
166 West 125th Street
New York 27, N.Y.

Gentlemen:

I would like to express my thanks to Messrs. Johnson and Barrows for the opportunity to discuss the problems which arose when it became known that I was planning a restaurant on 125th Street. This restaurant was to be along the lines of other restaurants which I manage in New York and in other Cities. I am grateful that our recent discussions dispelled all misunderstandings.

May I repeat, gentlemen, that long before we even thought of establishing a restaurant on 125th Street, we employed and trained Negro personnel. Many have been with us for several years and have earned positions of responsibility in executive and managerial capacities. They are learning the restaurant business and we hope that in the near future, they will have the necessary experience in order that they may embark on ventures of their own.

Approximately fifty percent of our employees in the other stores are Negroes. Many of them have demonstrated qualities of leadership, of initiative, and of unlimited trustworthiness. We are glad that we have had a hand in working with and training them.

When we first surveyed conditions on 125th Street, we felt that our type of operation would be a definite asset, physically, and that it would provide a service which the residents and workers of the community would heartily welcome. We hope and believe that our store will make the whole street more important to all who have an interest in the growth of Harlem.

We are constructing an eating place even superior to the one which we run in Times SQuare; it will be an ultra-modern, beautiful spot. We know that we will be proud of it and we sincerely hope that the entire community will share this enthusiasm. Naturally, our staff will be composed almost entirely of Negroes. Toward this end, we are negotiating with Mr. Overton of the local branch of the AFL*CIO.

May I repeat also that we respect and endorse the desire of all Negroes to invest in business and to become owners of stores and buildings. Nothing would make us happier than to have this new store acquire the character of a joint venture of Negro and White investors. We will welcome anyone who wishes to make an investment with us. If any question of the desireability of our operation still remains, I am willing to abide by the offer which I made sometime ago. If we are approached by any Negroe or group of Negroes who are in a position to take over our committments, we will sell it to them under the same terms and financial conditions to which we are committed. We will assist them in the completion of the installation and remain with them only as long as our presence and experience are required.

Needless to say, we would regret such an eventuality. We feel that all of Harlem will welcome us once they have been familiarized with our type of operation and with our principles. We are opposed to all forms of discrimination and would regret being victims of discrimination ourselves.

I was deeply impressed with the "Manifest of Purposes and Goals of the Small Business Chamber of Commerce." I applaud your desire and your efforts to "up-grade" the character of Harlem's business enterprises. In addition, I am sure that you will feel that the new restaurant will help bring your aspirations a little closer to realization. We hope that it will serve as an inspiration to other progressive merchants of both races to make the Harlem area as modern and as inviting as any other section of the City. I will welcome every opportunity to cooperate with your Organization toward that end.

Cordially yours,

Sol Singer

SS:mm

June 18, 1962

Mr. Sol Singer
109 West 42nd Street
New York 26, New York

Dear Mr. Singer:

The Small Business Chamber of Commerce of the City of New York takes this opportunity to express its sincere appreciation of the confidences and cooperation it enjoyed during recent discussions re the establishing of a restaurant on West 125th Street, N. Y., by your Firm; and to acknowledge receipt of the Statement which, it was agreed, should reach us without delay.

The problems which arose because of the existence of "Lloyd's Steak House" a few doors away from your selected site on 125th Street, precipitated our discussions. You will recall that at the end of our discussions it was agreed that we should meet with the proprietor of "Lloyd's Steak House", Mr. Von Blane, that we should inform him in a general way, the results of our conversations, and that we should seek to arrange a meeting between Mr. Von Blane and you, with the view of resolving this vexing problem. You will further recall that we expressed with a great deal of urgency, the necessity for resolving this question by negotiation, and that we had secured Mr. Von Blane's promise to open negotiations with you with all the expedition possible.

We met with Mr. Von Blane, on Wednesday, June 13th, and informed him of your desire to meet with him. We had quite a lengthy discussion as to the merits of your offer. However, to our surprise and consternation, Mr. Von Blane informed us that unless the Landlord of the site under review, would first negotiate a lease at a rental considerably below that reported to be contained in your lease, he would decline to enter any negotiations with you; and further suggested that you vacate the premises without prejudice to any new tenant.

Frankly, Mr. Singer, in view of the positions established during these discussions, our Chamber is of the opinion that there is no existing basis for negotiations, and that Mr. Von Blane has failed to show any interest in your proposals.

We sincerely regret this development, because we were persuaded that an honest and responsible approach could have been made to resolve this question, and that a satisfactory solution would have established a niche in the ever all program of the Chamber in its search for economic equality.

Our Chamber desires to assure you that it shall not cease in its efforts to effect a solution of this problem in spite of the present stalmate. The cordiality exhibited during our discussions gives us the feeling that you would be happy to give us all the assistance possible in achieving this objective.

During our discussions we became aware that you understood very well that the problem in our area of the City of New York did transcent the specific issue of Lloyd's Steak House vs the proposed new Restaurant. We want to inform you that we are committed to the greater problem of removing for ever the fallacy that the realm of Commerce is not the concern nor the business of the Afro-American and that the European-American has the sole right to control the economy of this nation. We are committed to the philosophy that the Afro-American is not irrevocably relegated to the role of Consumer; that we have an equal right to economic self-determination. We are committed to a plan to negate any policy established by "Mr. Uptown Chamber of Commerce" which would perpetuate the status quo. We are committed to the plan of keeping a proportionate share of the wealth of our Community within our Community. We disassociate ourselves from any thinking that would discriminate as to race, color or religion who should establish a business or engage in commerce in our area. We however, insist that whoever shall establish such business or engage in such commerce in the Harlem area or in any area in the City where small business has its being, shall undertake the responsibility of making such contributions to that area, as to maintain a healthy shopping and residential climate.

In conclusion, we must state emphatically that any evidences of militant demonstrations, or threats, or other irresponsible statements, are not of our making nor will they emanate from our Chamber. Our present course of action is one of negotiation, and that any change from this position shall be only when all efforts to resolve our problems have failed. We hope that this shall not come to pass, for it is difficult to understand how any American, in the light of World events, can hold with such tenacity, to a decadent philosophy.

We hope that in our continued negotiations, we shall again come together.

Sincerely yours,

Arnold P. Johnson
President

Dudley E. Barrow
Vice-President

COPY

June 23, 1962

Mr. L. Von Blane,
Lloyd's Steak House,
219 West 125th Street,
New York 27, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

It is the purpose of the Small Business Chamber of Commerce to review and to make a statement of record, concerning the issue that has arisen involving Lloyd's Steak House, the Directors of the Appolo Theatre and Mr. Sol Singer the proposed new tenant in the Appolo building.

This is being done in the normal course of operations, and in this instance, to make clear the position the Chamber has taken in the matter, and also to preclude any misunderstanding concerning the facts and circumstances under review.

You will recall that as soon as the Chamber was made aware by you of the dispute that existed and the charge of a campaign of economic pressure that was being exerted against you, we went before the Mayor's Commission on Human Rights and took a stand of some strength in support of your cause.

On the afternoon preceding the meeting with the Commission, the Chamber sponsored a demonstration of protest against the existing evils, and to serve notice that action was being taken to remedy these ills.

At the hearing before the Commission, after all parties had presented their cases, the Commission decided that there appeared to be a desire on the part of the persons involved to settle this dispute by negotiation, and requested the Chamber to use its good offices in bringing together Mr. Singer and yourself, in an effort to resolve the problem. You will recall that at that meeting the Chamber reserved the right to use such methods of coercion and persuasion as the Board saw fit under the circumstances.

We made an appointment and Mr. Barrow and I had discussions with the Singers. We made a very thorough investigation of the aims, purpose, plans and attitude of the Singers and concluded that there was no evidence in support of any claim that the Singers had organized a campaign to make Lloyd's Steak House untonable on 125th Street. As a matter of fact, Mr. Singer repeated in more detail, the offer he made before the Commission to turn over to you or to any other Afro-American or group of Afro-Americans, the entire project, guaranteeing the same facilities that were available to him, as well as several features of cooperation and services. Mr. Singer went to considerable length to reveal to us an alternative plan, and explained in detail the type of restaurant that has been planned for the location.

COPY

We left the Singers convinced that we had something very substantial to offer you, and that a solution was possible. We met with you as per arrangement at our headquarters. Our discussions with you concerning the problem revealed some startling information. You told us categorically that you were not in any way interested in meeting with the Singers to discuss any proposals unless we, the representatives of the Chamber appeared on your behalf before Mr. Becker and Mr. Schiffman, Lessors of the premises to the Singers, and successfully negotiated a Lease at a rental considerably below that alleged to be contained in the Lease to the Singers. Moreover, you stated with some emphasis, that you really did not fear the coming of the Singers to 125th Street, because you were confident you could "run rings around them." Finally you informed us that if we were successful in our negotiations with the Appolo Corp., you were not prepared to offer any financial consideration to the Singers, as in your opinion it would be wiser for the Singers to loose the money so far invested than to suffer a complete loss if they insisted in completing the project.

We would characterize it as a cautious understatement when we say that the above revelations by you created consternation and some degree of frustration among us. However, we do feel it incumbent on us to comment at any length on the position you have taken in this matter. Prudence directs us to refer you to the manifest, purpose and goals of the Chamber, a copy of which is in your possession.

It is however imperative that we make our position clear in this matter, so that there cannot be any misunderstanding. Your attitude of instransigence in this matter leaves us no alternative but to state that we are in no position to proceed along the lines prescribed by you. We cannot take the illogical and irresponsible position of denying the right to any person irrespective of color to establish a business in our Community. We cannot engage in plans or acts that are diametrically opposite to our vaunted policy. We cannot compromise the status of the Chamber by conspiring to undermine the very foundations of our existence. Rather, we shall continue to pursue a policy that has for its objective the removal of the innate prejudices exercised by persons engaged in commerce in our Community. We shall endeavour to convince these miscreants in our midst of the folly of their ways, and to do all in our power to brush aside the ancient cobwebs that blur their thinking, and to lead them into the light of the new order. These objectives are not reached or realized by destruction, but rather by construction.

This is the position of our Chamber, Mr. Von Blane. And we want to assure you that our doors remain open to you at all times. We invite you to take another look at the problem; reappraise your position and revise your thinking.

COPY

Mr. Von Blane June 23, 1962

We will support you in any ligitimate proposals that you may submit; but we reserve the right to reject any policy that does not reflect the image of the Chamber through its manifest, purpose and goals.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ Arnold P. Johnson
President

/s/ Dudley E. Barrow
Vice President

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June 29, 1962

Memo to MR. A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
From: Frank Schiffman, Apollo Theatre

Subject: Picketing and demonstration against opening of a new restaurant just East of the Apollo Theatre lobby.

1. The store was vacated by a haberdasher (White) early in January. A large "To Let" sign was displayed for about twelve weeks. The only man who called to negotiate a lease is a Mr. Singer, who operates restaurants specializing in steaks and chicken on 42nd Street and in other cities. We gave Singer a lease for the store and first floor.

2. Lloyd Von Blaine questioned me about the rental. He stated that he would not be interested at the terms agreed upon. He immediately contacted several persons, urging that the impending competition was designed to drive him, the only successful Negro storekeeper on the block, out of business.
Several hearings were held by the Commission on Human Relations, at which these charges were made and refuted. The charges were obviously untrue, but the will was expressed to, if possible, transfer ownership of the new store to a Negro.

3. The Apollo was then made the victim of noisy mass picketing. Insults were hurled at patrons. Some of the signs read "Save Lloyd's Restaurant." Others attacked the Apollo Theatre and Frank Schiffman with every conceiveable distortion and insult, climaxed by chants of "Black Man Stay, White Man Go" - "Black Man Stay - Jew Go Away."

4. After a few conversations with Mr. Singer and Frank Schiffman, some of the original instigators of the opposition to the White restauranteur and of the picketing withdrew, expressed their regret at having taken such violent action without thorough investigation. But a new group cropped up - dirested by Messrs. Micheaux, Primpeh, Thornhill and others.

5. Yesterday, I had a lenthy conference with these gentlemen. It was agreed that the demonstrations would be suspended for one week. During that time, I agreed to probe the possibilities of having Mr. Blaine take over Mr. Singer's lease.

Naturally, there are many serious problems in such a transfer. The threat of picketing against the Apollo and the store still remains. So does the fundamental question whether this Community, this City, this Nation, can abide such tactics as I have described.

I hope to assist in solving the immediate problem. I am not certain of success. I am to confer with the group mentioned above next Thursday.

SMALL BUSINESS CHAMBER OF COMMERCE
OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK, Inc.
166 West 125th Street - New York 27, New York - Room 4-6
WAdsworth 6-0015 MOnument 2-4200

July 1, 1962

Mr. A. Phillip Randolph, Chairman
Emergency Committee for Unity on
Social & Economic Problems
217 West 125th Street
New York 27, New York

Re: Lloyd's Restaurant vs. Sal Singer Restaurant.

Dear Sir:

As per understanding Friday, June 29th, I am herewith forwarding you a copy of our file[illegible] on the above mentioned matter. You will no doubt note that our position is clear and unmistakable.

The anti-semitic nature in subsequent developments of this dispute is alarming and portends real danger unless the upright forces of the community step forward and in one voice make its attitute on this matter very clear.

It is our hope that the committee will support our position on this matter as the only possible course any responsible individual can take.

Sincerely yours,

Arnold H. Johnson
President

AHJ:ms
Encls.

RECEIVED
JUL 3 - 1962
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Dedicated to the promotion and protection of the financial, commercial, industrial and general civic welfare of the community.

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WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

JULY 2, 1962

A PHILIP RANDOLPH, BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS
217 WEST 125 STREET, NEW YORK

GENTLEMEN, AFTER MEETING WITH YOUR GROUP YESTERDAY MY ORGANIZATION AND I FEEL THAT WE HAVE ACCOMPLISHED OUR OBJECTIVES ON THE ISSUE INVOLVED TO THE SATISFACTION OF BOTH PARTIES. ANY FURTHER PARTICIPATION ON THE MATTER BY US COULD CONTRIBUTE NOTHING TO WHAT HAS ALREADY BEEN ACCOMPLISHED BY US. I THEREFORE RESPECTFULLY DECLINE YOUR INVITATION TO SIT AT THIS TIME ON ANY FURTHER DISCUSSION REGARDING ANY OBJECTIVES ON THIS PARTICULAR MATTER

LEWIS H. MICHAUX, CHAIRMAN
HARLEM CONSUMERS COMMITTEE

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WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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DL=Day Letter
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WUZ035 WUA370 BC442 =N NJA066 (NE216) DL PD NEW YORK NY 29

A PHILIP RANDOLPH, BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS
= 217 WEST 125 ST NYK =

GENTLEMEN, AFTER MEETING WITH YOUR GROUP YESTERDAY MY ORGANIZATION =AND I FEEL THAT WE HAVE ACCOMPLISHED OUR OBJECTIVES ON THE =ISSUE INVOLVED TO THE SATISFACTION OF BOTH PARTIES. ANY FURTHER = PARTICIPATION ON THE MATTER BY US COULD CONTRIBUTE NOTHING TO WHAT HAS ALREADY BEEN ACCOMPLISHED =BY US. I THEREFORE RESPEECTFULLY DECLINE YOUR INVITION TO =SIT AT THIS TIME ON ANY FURTHER DISCUSSION REGARDING ANY OBJECTIVES =ON THIS PARTICULAR MATTER

=LEWIS H MICHAUX CHAIRMAN
HARLEM CONSUMERS COMMITTEE =.

JUL 2 62 =

RECEIVED
JUL 2 1962
OFFICE OF THE

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

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UNITY COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS
217 West 125 Street
New York 27, N. Y.

July 9, 1962

Mr. Lewis H. Michaux, Chairman
Harlem Consumers Committee
2107 Seventh Avenue
New York 27, N. Y.

Dear Sir and Brother:

Permit me to acknowledge receipt of your telegram of July 2, 1962, stating:

> "After meeting with your group yesterday my organization and I feel that we have accomplished our objectives on the issue involved to the satisfaction of both parties..."

Our committee requests me to inquire of you further as to exactly what are the "objectives" you envisioned. Do you have in mind that the proposed restaurant will or will not be opened? If it is opened, by whom? If it is not opened, why? Do you contemplate that the picketing of the Apollo Theatre will not be resumed? If it is to be resumed, why?

Will you kindly clarify somewhat what is meant by the phrase - "to the satisfaction of both parties." Do you refer to Mr. Von Blane of Lloyd's Steak House and Mr. Sol Singer? What do you have in mind regarding Mr. Frank Schiffman, the owner of the Apollo Theatre? Is he included in the reference to "both parties"?

In view of the fact that the picketing of the Apollo Theatre included the use by pickets of some phrases considered to be highly provocative and inflammatory, such as "Jew go away, black man stay," there could well have been an eruption of racial violence, to the injury and embarrassment of our community, had your committee's control of the situation been less complete.

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Our committee regrets that you and your committee have not agreed to sit with us for further exploration of the cause and cure of this incident which, as I know you fully appreciate, might yet give rise to similar future trouble. Frankly, since you are one of the old leaders for racial justice in our area, and I know that Mr. Prempeh pursues goals similar to yours, we feel we need the benefit of your judgment and wisdom for the resolution of these and other grave community problems in these times of racial tension and trial in order to help avoid racial explosions that may, if uncontrolled, result in irreparable harm to the black people of our city and country.

Since we are cognizant of the lessons of history, that hate begets hate which will, in turn, ultimately lead to violent conflict and castastrophe barren of every vestige of compassion, cooperation and good-will, without which our community cannot survive, we hope we may be able to resume with you our discussions in order that the light of fact, truth and reason may guide us to the building of a bigger and better Harlem for all of its citizens, regardless of race or color, religion or nationality.

Remember, if European nations with a bitter history of hate, suspicion, and war, can, as they are now doing, move to build a united European community with common economic and political institutions and purposes, and our brothers in the new nations of Africa seek to develop similar cooperative action, certainly the citizens of Harlem, black and white, business and labor, consumer, professional, teacher and church leader, can make the moral transition from hate and suspicion to cooperation - a matter of common sense and practical self-interest. It can, it must, and, with our common effort, it will be done.

Now, while we have every confidence in the good faith of your statement that you are satisfied with the accomplishment of your objectives in the issue involving both parties, I wish to provide for your information, and suggest for your study, documents from Messrs. Singer, Schiffman and Johnson, all of whom have been and are closely involved in this controversy, which would seem to indicate the possibility of a continuing controversy.

Therefore, because of the sole interest of our committee - representing a cross section of the community - in a fundamental, permanent, just, and constructive solution of this problem we shall appreciate immensely your comments on this issue in the light of the aforementioned documents, prior to my calling a press conference, at which I trust you will plan to be present, in the next few days to give the community and city our position on this vital problem.

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We shall be pleased also to get any further comments from other parties to the controversy whose opinions you may know to be of value.

Very sincerely yours,

/s/ A. Philip Randolph, Chairman
Unity Committee on Social and
Economic Problems

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WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

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RFR 2 -13 BK OF 12= CHG BROTHERHOOD SCP= JUL 10 1962=
RFR 2 EL DIARIO= 164 DUANE=NYK=
RFR 3 NEW YORK TIMES= 229 W 43 ST=NYK=
RFR 4 NEW YORK POST=75 WEST ST= NYK=
RFR 5 N Y HERALD TRIBUNE=230 W 41 ST=NYK=
RFR 6 WORLD TELEGRAM= 125 BARCLAY= NYK=
RFR 7 = UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL= 220 EAST 42ST= NYK=
RFR 8 ASSOCIATED PRESS= 50 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA= NYK=
RFR 9 STATION WLIB= 2090 SEVENTH AVE= NYK=
RFR 10= STATION WWRL= 41-30 58 ST= WOODS IDE NYK=
RFR 11 AMSTERDAM NEWS= 2340 EIGHTH AVE NYK=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

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RFR 12 NEW YORK COURIER= 15 W 125 ST= NYK=

=RFR 13 DAILY NEWS= 220EAST 42 ST= NYK=

A PHILIP RANDOLPH, CHAIRMAN UNITY COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS HOLDING PRESS CONFERENCE IN HIS OFFICE THURSDAY JULY 12= 11AM= 217 WEST 125 ST= CONCERNING RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN HARLEM LEADING TO PICKETING OF APOLLO THEATRE AND INCREASING RACIAL TENSIONS = IN VIEW OF COMPLEX , POTENTIALLY EXPLOSIVE ISSUES INVOLVED UNITY COMMITTEE URGES YOUR ATTENDANCE=

A PHILIP RANDOLPH= CHAIRMAN

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR UNITY ON SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS
217 West 125 Street
New York 27, N. Y.

FOR RELEASE
JULY 12, 1962

In the office of the Emergency Committee for Unity on Social and Economic Problems, composed of a representative cross section of Negro leaders of the Harlem community, a press conference was called by Committee Chairman, A. Philip Randolph, to present its position on the controversy involving picketing of the Apollo Theatre to stop the opening of a Steak House by a white restauranteur, in competition with Lloyd's Steak House in the same block on 125th Street.

Some members of the Committee present were Dr. Anna Hedgeman; Attorney Hope Stevens; Rev. C. Vincent Turner; Arnold Johnson, businessman; Richard Parrish, teacher; Cleveland Robinson, secretary-treasurer of District 65; L. Joseph Overton, business agent of Local 338; Rev. George Lawrence; Percy Sutton, president of the New York NAACP; Rev. C. S. Stamps; Rev. R. E. L. Hardmond; Rev. Thomas Kilgore, and Attorney Cora Walker.

STATEMENT:

The facts underlining the controversy are the following:

(1) Frank Schiffman, owner of the Apollo Theatre, leased an empty store on 125th Street to a white restauranteur, located in the same block with Lloyd's Steak House, a Negro-owned business.

(2) The lessee of the store, Mr. Sol Singer, proceeded to make extensive repairs to prepare the store for the restaurant, which included installing furniture and machinery.

(3) Information was circulated to the effect that he would sell steak for $1.19, twenty cents less than the same steaks sold by Lloyd's Steak House.

(4) Promptly, the Harlem Consumers Committee established a picket line before the Apollo Theatre, w ith provocative, inflammatory signs carried by persons who chanted "Jew go away - Black man stay"!

(5) The day following the beginning of the picketing, the Unity Committee met at 217 West 125 Street to discuss the problem of the picket line.

(6) It was decided to call on the Harlem Consumers Committee to meet with the Unity Committee to discuss the controversy.

(7) The chairman of the Harlem Consumers Committee, Mr. Lewis Micheaux, met with some of the members of the Unity Committee and told them of a conference he had held with Mr. Schiffman in the YMCA. He expressed the belief that the objectives of his committee had been reached.

(8) The picket line did not reappear the following day.

(9) Mr. Schiffman called Mr. Randolph and requested a conference. He was invited to meet with the Unity Committee to tell his story.

(10) Monday, July 9, the picket line was restored.

(11) Efforts were made to hold another conference with the Harlem Consumers Committee, but without success.

(12) The Unity Committee met and decided to send a letter to Mr. Micheaux expressing desire to hold a meeting with the Consumers Committee

(13) Documents supplied by Mr. Arnold Johnson, bearing on the controversy, were sent to Mr. Micheaux, Mr. L. Von Blane of Lloyd's Steak House and Mr. Schiffman, for their information.

(14) At the meeting of the Unity Committee, Tuesday, July 10, it was decided (in view of the restoration of the picket line with apparently rising, racial tensions and failure of the Harlem Consumers Committee to dis cuss the matter or to comment on material contained in our communication) to call a press conference on Thursday, July 12, in the office of the chairman.

After a number of conferences of the Unity Committee on Social and Economic Problems, in which the controversy was discussed at length, the Committee came to the following conclusions:

1. That efforts will be made to bring the Harlem Consumers Committee back into conference with our committee to discuss matters of procedure and action.

2. That this picket line demonstration and emotional outburst of racial anger before the Apollo Theatre is a symptom of a social and economic sickness and maladjustment in the community. This stems from a sense of hopelessness, defeatism and despair, the basic responsibility and blame for which rest at the doors of the white merchants, the City administration (today and in the past) and Negro leaders. It is these factors that must grapple with this problem until a solution is achieved.

3. That the position of the Unity Committee on this issue involves a recognition of the fact that the demonstration against the opening of a restaurant by a white businessman, alleged to threaten the existence of a Negro businessman, is an inevitable expression of rising expectations and aspirations, as well as frustrations, resentment and resistance of an awakening though impoverished and impatient people.

4. That this demonstration tends to direct the attention of the community to the economic plight and dilemma of the Negro business and people - a something needed to be done, but not with a picket line before the Apollo Theatre with provocative, inflammatory epithets and freedom and goodwill-destroying poison of anti-Semitism and racism - a dangerous policy of sowing the wind of hate which begets hate, and which may be followed with reaping the whirlwind of race riots, revolts and ruin to the moral and economic damage and disaster to our community, just as it is unjustified to deny the necessary capital and rental to Negro business or business opportunities to a Negro businessman.

5. That it is morally wrong and economically disastrous to exclude a businessman from establishing a business in the community on account of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry.

6. That it involves the formation and development of a broad, long-run program of both integration of Negro businessmen in partnership with white businessmen in the community, and impressing upon the white merchants of Harlem the responsibility they must assume for the social and economic health, growth and future of Harlem - a position they have never taken.

7. That Negro leaders of the community call a conference with the Uptown Chamber of Commerce, together with the white businessmen and leaders of the banks who are doing business in the community, for the purpose of exploring ways and means, in a sound and fundamental manner, to work out a plan for the social and economic rehabilitation of Harlem, in order that it may begin to move ahead on a soundly racially integrated and cooperative business basis, with Negro businessmen having access to capital to develop business enterprises, with and without white business partners.

8. That the leaders of the Federal, State and City government be enlisted in this enterprise.

9. Our Committee takes the position that it is sound and constructive policy to resort to negotiation prior to the establishment of any picket line.

Harlem Consumers' Committee

Economic Research, Solutions & Action
P. O. Box No. 55, New York 27, N. Y.

LEWIS H. MICHAUX
Chairman

JAMES THORNHILL
Organizer

ALEX PREMPEH
Public Relations

July 13, 1962

Mr A. Phillip Randolph
Chairman
Unity Committee on Social and Economic Problems
217 West 125 Street
New York 27, N.Y.

Dear Mr Randolph,

In reference to your letter of July 9th, I wish to state that I am sorry to have delayed a reply.

You request in your letter that our Committee come to explain future exploitation of the cause and the cure of the incident. Being very busy at the time, before I could get around to answer your letter, our objective had been accomplished to the satisfaction of all parties concerned.

However, I am always ready to talk with you in the future on any other problem of such, which might be brought to our attention.

I remain,

Very truly yours,

L. H. Michaux

Lewis H. Michaux
Chairman

LHM/ap

RECEIVED
JUL 17 1962
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Unity Committee

LIST OF PARTICIPATING AGENCIES

Emergency [illegible]
← Economic & Social

1. Women's Auxiliary, Sydenham Hospital
2. Women's Auxiliary, Mount Morris Park Hospital
3. 117th Street Block Association
4. 119th Street Block Association
5. 147th Street Block Association
6. The West 110th Street Civic Association
7. The 369th Street Veteran Association, Inc.
8. Citizens Care Committee
9. Citizens Christmas Cheer Committee
10. Harlem Neighborhoods Association
11. Grace Congregational Church
12. Church of the Master
13. St. Phillips P. E. Church
14. St. Marks Church
15. Baptist Ministers' Alliance
16. Interdenominational Ministers Alliance
17. Unity Funeral Home
18. Amsterdam Employment Agency
19. Greenup and Howard Law Office
20. Omega Psi Phi Fraternity
21. Key Women, Inc.
22. Prince Hall Lodge, Elks
23. Transport Workers Union
24. The Georgia Club
25. People's Civic and Welfare Association
26. Social Service Department, Hospital for Joint Diseases
27. Harlem Hospital
28. Social Service Department, Harlem Hospital
29. Bethel A. M. E. Church
30. Hamilton Grange Mothers Council
31. Council for Community Action
32. National Association of Negro Business and Professional Women's Club
33. Interdepartmental Neighborhood Service Center
34. Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
35. Radio Station W. L. I. B.
36. Yoruba Temple
37. Eureka Grand Chapter P. H. O. E. S.
38. Empire State Grand Chapter
39. National Urban League Guild
40. Alcoholics Anonymous
41. Morningside Community Council
42. Housing Committee on Harlem Affairs
43. 131-132 Street Block Association
44. Urban League of Greater New York
45. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, N. Y. Branch
46. Central Manhattan Medical Society
47. Central Harlem Health District
48. New York City Interdepartmental Health Council
49. Harlem Branch Y.M.C.A.
50. Lower Harlem Tenants Council
51. Manhattan Council, National Council of Negro Women, Inc.
52. Cosmopolitan Civic Group
53. Non-Partisan Health and Hospital Committee
54. Beauticians Council
55. Bartenders Association

Several staff members from the New York City Youth Board, New York City Department of Welfare, Health, Hospitals, Police and Sanitation.

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

RFR 21-23= PD BSCP= JULY 16 1962= BOOK OF 3=

REQUEST YOUR PRESENCE AT MEETING OF UNITY COMMITTEE , 217 WEST 125 STREET, TUESDAY JULY 17 THREE O'CLOCK , TO DISCUSS RISING TENSION IN COMMUNITY=

A PHILIP RANDOLPH=

RFR 21= REV V SIMPSON TURNER
= 130 MORNINGSIDE DRIVE NYK=

RFR 22 = MINISTER MALCOLM X=
MUSLIM MOSQUE NO.7=
113 LENOX AVENUE NYK=

RFR 23=LEWIS MICHEAUX=
NATIONAL MEMORIAL BOOK
STORE= 2107- SEVENTH AVE
= NYK=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

MASS RALLY
at HARLEM SQUARE

CORNER OF 125th STREET and 7th AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

SATURDAY, JULY 21st, 1962

From 4:00 P.M. to 9:00 P.M.

"ALL SINCERE SO-CALLED NEGRO LEADERS MUST STEP FORWARD, TAKE PART IN THIS MASS RALLY, AND LET OUR PEOPLE KNOW ONCE AND FOR ALL WHERE YOU STAND ON THE MANY PROBLEMS FACING **OUR COMMUNITY.**"

MALCOLM X
PRINCIPAL SPEAKER

INVITED GUEST SPEAKERS

NATIONALIST LEADERS

CARLOS COOK
LEWIS MICHAUX
JAMES LAWSON
EDWARD DAVIS
ARTHUR REED

ADAM C. POWELL
ROY WILKINS
JAMES FARMER
A. PHILLIP RANDOLPH
ANNA HEDGEMAN
J. RAYMOND JONES
Boro. Pres. EDWARD DUDLEY
Welfare Comm. JAMES R. DUMPSON
State Sen. JAMES WATSON
WHITNEY YOUNG

BAYARD RUSTIN
HOPE STEVENS
PERCY SUTTON
PAUL ZUBER
JOSEPH OVERTON
REV. EUGENE CALLENDAR
REV. THOMAS KILGORE, JR.
REV. E. L. HARMOND
REV. ASAPANSA-JOHNSON
REV. V. SIMPSON TURNER

0m07

THEME: MORAL ELEVATION OF OUR COMMUNITY

"LET US FORGET OUR RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL DIFFERENCES. WE MUST COME TOGETHER ON THE SAME PLATFORM IN A GREAT DISPLAY OF UNITY."

FREE ★ ENTERTAINMENT ★ FREE

Rockefeller

Ju 2-7030

MUHAMMAD'S MOSQUE NO. 7
113 LENOX AVENUE
NEW YORK 26, NEW YORK
MO 3-9772

July, 1962

Mr. A. Phillip Randolph
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear Fellow Leader,

On Saturday, July 21st, a huge 5-hour outdoor Mass Rally will be held at the famed "Harlem Square" area, 125th Street and 7th Avenue, and is scheduled to last from 4:00 p. m. to 9:00 p. m.

Conditions in Harlem have deteriorated to the point whereas the religious, political, business and civic leaders must now take an intelligent and unselfish stand. Unemployment, juvenile delinquency, prostitution, gambling, the dope traffic and other forms of organized crime are on the rise. Even our women, young girls and boys are falling victim to the organized evils that are destroying the moral fiber of the Negro community.

Frustration, hopelessness and increasing anger are now the prevailing feelings that can easily be detected in the behavior of the black masses.

The fuse has already been lit, the crisis has been reached, and if something is not done immediately there will be an explosive situation in the Negro community more dangerous and destructive than a hundred megaton bombs.

Even the great labor leader, A. Philip Randolph, warned in a recent speech in Washington, D. C. that "We may witness job race riots rocking this nation again." How can we offset this approaching catastrophe?

In the area of unemployment, Negro men, women and recent high school graduates are walking the streets unable to find jobs.... and are potential law breakers. Should the Negro leadership remain complacent? Should the Negro leadership continue to allow this destruction of the morals and morale of our youth? No! We must take a stand! We must speak out!

We must cast aside our religious and political differences and come together in a UNITED FRONT on these serious issues affecting our community.

This invitation offers you an opportunity to speak to the Black Masses of Harlem. At the last Mass Rally, sponsored by the Muslims on May 27, more than 7,000 Harlemites attended. This time we expect to top 10,000. As a leader, you should be present too.

You are invited to speak, or to attend and listen to the comments of others. All speakers will address themselves to the social, economic, political and moral problems that exist in our community and what we can do in unity to help solve them.

Other notables from all walks of life will also be invited to share the platform with you and also offer their comments. If you intend to be present with us on that day, please notify us immediately. Also, let us know if you wish to speak, or just observe.

We hope to hear from you soon.

Sincerely,

Malcolm X

Malcolm X.
Minister of Muhammad's
Mosque No. 7

RECEIVED
JUL 13 1962
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

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WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
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RFR2 PD BSCP= OCT 9 1962=
MINISTER MALCOLM X=
MUSLIM TEMPLE NO 7=
113 LENOX AVE= NYK=

WISH TO REQUEST YOU TO ATTEND MEETING OF UNITY COMMITTEE IN BROTHERHOOD'S OFFICE= WEDNESDAY OCTOBER TENTH 3:30 PM CONCERNING PROGRAM FOR OPENING OF STEAK HOUSE= A PHILIP RANDOLPH=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

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RFR 1 PD BSCP= OCT 9 1962=

MESSRS LEWIS MICHAUX & ALEX PREMPEH=
HARLEM CONSUMERS COMMITTEE=
NATIONAL MEMORIAL BOOK STORE=
2107 SEVENTH AVE= NYK=

WISH TO REQUEST YOU TO ATTEND MEETING OF UNITY COMMITTEE IN BROTHERHOOD'S OFFICE WEDNESDAY OCTOBER TENTH= 3:30 PM CONCERNING PROGRAM FOR OPENING OF STEAK HOUSE= A PHILIP RANDOLPH=

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[1962]

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GP A141

GP-NC407 =PD NEW YORK NY 7 620P EDT =

ARNOLD JOHNSON, SMALL BUSINESS CHAMBER OF COMMERCE =
166 WEST 125 ST NYK =

AS STATED AT THE JUNE FIFTH MEETING THE COMMISSION IS PREPARING =A LONG RANGE PROGRAM FOR THE ECONOMIC REDEVELOPMENT OF THE =125TH STREET AREA DETAILS OF THIS PLAN ARE NOT IN SUFFICIENT =FORM TO BE PRESENTED AT THIS TIME STOP PLEASE INFORM THE GROUP =THAT THE PLAN WILL BE FORTHCOMING SHORTLY STOP THE COMMISSION =LOOKS FORWARD TO THE PRINCIPALS INVOLVED IN THE IMMEDIATE SITUATION =WORKING OUT A SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM =

MADISON S JONES EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

NEW YORK 1, N.Y.
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CHRISTM

U.S. POSTAGE 3¢
LIBERTY

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL
217 West 125 Street
New York 27, N. Y.

I will ✓, will not ______, be able to attend the luncheon at the YMCA, December 8, 12 Noon sharp.

Signature Charles L. Warren

Church St. Mark's Methodist

49 Edgecombe Ave.
N.Y.C

-[1962]

SMALL BUSINESS CHAMBER OF COMMERCE
OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK, Inc.
166 West 125th Street - New York 27, New York - Room 4-6
WAdsworth 6-0015 MOnument 2-4200

MANIFEST PURPOSE AND GOALS OF THE SMALL BUSINESS CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

The Small Business Chamber of Commerce of the City of New York, incorporated under the Laws of the State of New York, is an organization dedicated to the education, assistance and service to the Small Business Man in the City of New York throughout the Five Boroughs.

Our program is symbolized by standards set nationally and in conjunction with those established by Chambers of Commerce in this State and Nation. Our area of activity involves the whole City of New York by reason of the fact that small businesses are scattered throughout the five boroughs of the City of New York.

However, our specific target area for beginning such educational activities and rendering such aid and service, will be in the Uptown area of Manhattan where the majority of small businesses are densely concentrated, and in need of substantial help both privately and through the avenues of Government.

One large minority of this area is the Negro businessman to whom many of the consumers living in the area turn for reason of convenience when purchasing merchandise, produce or services. This factor is also true in the Bedford-Stuyvesant, Bronx, Queens and other similarly populated areas; but due to the reality of the task at hand, a beginning must be made in the most appropriate place and manner. That is why the Uptown Area of Manhattan is the No. 1. target. The purchasing power of Negroes in the United States in recently published figures is set at $23 Billion Dollars; and the record will show that the greatest concentration of Negroes reside in the City of New York. In round numbers there are 1,087,931 Negroes living in New York City. Servicing them is "big business to the Small Businessman."

Therefore this Chamber must operate through residential necessity, in affairs which will benefit him geographically as well as city and nationwide.

Another large minority group in the Uptown Area which is gradually becoming an integral part of the shopping public, is the Puerto Rican populace which still has other problems indigeneous with the overall picture, and concommittant with all small business people.

The Chamber is, therefore, also concerned with this phase of the servicing of such businesses in this Area, as well as cooperating with the established language groups now participating in assisting the Puerto Rican businessman.

Cognizance must also be taken of the other sections of this City where similar concentrations of minority peoples are confined through geographic necessity, such as those hereinbefore mentioned.

In our determination to give effective assistance to the small businessman in these areas, we propose the following program which we are planning to implement with all the vigor and resourcefulness at our disposal.

URBAN RENEWAL AND REDEVELOPMENT

The Chamber supports very strongly the over all City plan of Urban Renewal and Redevelopment for the razing and rebuilding of slum areas in the City, but we protest with equal strength the forced disappearance of the small businesses after the new sites are established, and the encroachment of the large chain stores in their places. We further protest the inadequate compensation presently given to businessmen who are forced out of their locations. This compensation does not at present take into account the priceless value of the Goodwill developed by the businessman at his location, nor the special and invaluable services rendered by him to the residents of that community. The responsible departments of the City Government, in conjunction with the State and Federal cooperative arms, must be made aware of the services which the small businessman of the area can give, over and beyond the large chain operation; and the Chamber proposes to recommend such additional legislation as would facilitate adequate compensation, and protect these valuable services within the framework of comparable costs for rentals.

Because of the peculiar living and working habits of the people who live here, shopping habits are quite different from the overall City pattern.

The Small Business Chamber plans to participate at the policy and planning level in the rehabilitation of such small businesses, to make certain that this practice of wholesale disappearance does not continue; but rather that a percentage of space and physical area is left for the Small Businessman "who was there before" at a reasonable rental. This projected idea was obliquely hit upon in reference, when the Small Business Section of the White House Conference was held recently; and in which our Chamber participated. In follow-up activities promise was forthcoming from the White House of "willingness to be of service," and the Regional Conference program will be implemented in so far as our Small Businessmen are concerned in the interest of our Community, State and Nation.

TAX PROBLEM OF SMALL BUSINESS

We are aware that the City Government is faced with multifarious responsibilities with respect to Taxes. However, small business men suffer considerable harassment in connection with the levy of taxes much in contrast to the big firms, due we feel, to the lack of understanding of existing problems peculiar to this type of business. We propose a review of the methods used in the levy of these taxes, which will have as its purpose, the easing of the burden on small business men, of an admittedly arbitrary method of taxation.

FINANCING

Financial agencies set up throughout our body politic, by City, State and National Governments and private sources, must be utilized for assisting the Small Businessman in his efforts to uphold the economic welfare of his Community, State and City. However, we are aware that in many instances businessmen are unprepared to approach these agencies for the needed help that is available. We propose not only to prepare such businessmen for this undertaking, but to assist in obtaining needed financial help.

CONSUMER EDUCATION

Consumer Education is another facet of this multi-program of the Small Business Chamber, and a most important part. There are existing agencies already busy at work in this area, and we plan to work with them and assist further through our channels of operation, in bringing the consumer his fair and equitable share in this purposeful objective for our area. There are overall accepted agencies such as the Better Business Bureau, etc. which have helped to standardize business practices for all those who operate for profit. These standards will be applied where applicable, and where difficult to maintain, efforts will be made to help the businessman to raise his standard to the level generally accepted.

CITY PUBLIC RELATIONS PROGRAM TO UPGRADE HARLEM COMMUNITY

We feel that the City Government of New York is duty bound to cooperate in the upgrading of this Community, by which the stigma of inferior shopping facilities and other negative claims can be removed, and a climate for better business and wholesome community pride is established. We feel that this can best be done by the corporate effort of Government, Business and Consumer, and the mobilization of local initiative. The Small Business Chamber proposes to initiate well defined plans to implement this need and to help the Community put its best foot forward.

The beautification of the City of New York with specific reference to the Uptown Areas, by quasi-official bodies, is of special interest to the Small Business Chamber. The various festivals featured by the City- Summer, Winter, World's Fair, etc: - should include the Uptown Community, residential and business, in conjunction and in cooperation with referenced good and welfare groups. The main thoroughfare, Seventh Avenue for example, should be treated in this Community with the same reference of importance as Fifth Avenue, or Park Avenue; and the restoration of its original elegance should be vigorously encouraged. The 125th Street is another important thoroughfare where millions of visitors cross and re-cross in their visit via the Airports, and subsequently the World's Fair planned for 1964. Other cross-town arteries which are of high importance, are 145th Street, 135th Street, and 116th Street. These are supplementary routes in and out of the City of New York and the gateway to the World's Fair.

This unique potential for a good example to our national and international neighbours, north, south, east, west and across the international waters of the world, gives unheralded opportunity for a plus public relations in attention, with the proper beautification. The various Foundations so interested, should be made aware of the "problems" of education, servicing and supporting the Community in such desires, and elected bodies of Government should also be made aware of the desire of Small Businessmen to beautify and glorify this Community, and to benefit substantially from such efforts.

The Community itself, through its organized bodies, i.e. Churches, Social Clubs, Civic Organizations, Business Associations, Consumer Groups, etc. must be the guardians of all that is good for the Community. Collectively we should initiate a clean-up campaign vigorously supported by City Government, in such businesses where crime may thrive, as a fitting corollary to the general 'clean-up' atmosphere and activity now in evidence and actively supported all over the City of New York by such groups as the Advertising Council, etc.

JUNIOR ACHIEVEMENT AND ON-THE-JOB PROGRAM

The Chamber further proposes to establish a Junior Achievement and On-The-Job Training Program, which will embrace Civic, Commerce and Finance participation on the part of young people of this Community- as in other Communities- in search for a place in the economic fabric of the City, State and Nation.

BUSINESS PROMOTION - PLANNING & GROWTH

One of the major responsibilities of the Chamber will be the stimulation and promotion of business enterprises, partnerships, and corporate organizations, and business associations; and to take the lead in an educational program for the competent establishment of such enterprises. Entertainment, which was once a large source of revenue for the Community, should be encouraged on a high level and resuscitated, so that the influx of daily visitors will stimulate the exchange of commerce and goodwill.

The Chamber proposes to make available to all, such market and Consumer Surveys and Statistics as more directly effect this Community, in the building of a viable and sound economy.

The Chamber is happy to note that the aims contained in its program are amply supported by such authorities as the Commission's Report on Goals for Americans, "Markets of the Sixties" by the Editors of Fortune Magazine, "The Urban Negro Market Potential" by 'Ebony' Magazine.

Finally, The Small Business Chamber of Commerce, cognizant of the emerging African Nations, and the great opportunity that presents itself for greater economic development, plans to cooperate with other existing Chambers of Commerce and Governmental Agencies in the promotion of closer relations programs for Commercial and Industrial Achievement.

A word at this point should be said of the great cooperative effort which has come from such groups as the New York State Chamber of Commerce, The New York City Chamber of Commerce, New York University Conference on African Resources, and The White House Regional Conference, with emphasis on the Small Businessman Regional Workshop. It is through such cooperative effort that some of the above referenced plans will be realized; for they too, have espoused interest and proffered their services toward this projected plan of The Small Business Chamber of Commerce.

PROGRAM FOR CORRECTING AND PREVENTING THE BREAKDOWN OF LAW-AND-ORDER ENFORCEMENT IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY

Statement of the Problem - Police Brutality

Police brutality is the use of brutal physical methods of assault upon a citizen, in many instances after he has been apprehended, in abuse of police authority. There has been gross negligance on the part of the City Administration and the Police Department in failing to take necessary steps to halt these vicious attacks on innocent victims, even after it has been determined by judicial authorities and juries that the actions of the guilty police officers were malicious, and oftimes criminal.

Instances such as the JOHNSON HINTON case, the BURNETTA DENMARK case, the JOHN MOLLETTE case and the recent incident involving an AFRICAN DIPLOMAT, cause our community to question the moral integrity of the Police Department, the District Attorney's Office, and the Mayor's Office -- especially when these representatives of such high offices have promised so many times, to no avail, that action in all such cases would be taken when the facts warrent it.

During the past five years, there have been no publicly known instances where the officer or officers involved in acts of police brutality have been severely penalized. Since Johnson Henton has been cleared by several courts of all the false charges lodged against him by the police department to hide the brutal beating they were guilty of inflicting upon him, Officer Plaisance has not been reprimanded or removed. Nor have other officers involved been reprimanded or removed. This innocent man still wears a silver plate in his head to replace the bones that were torn from his scalp by the savage blows of the police clubs at the 28th Precinct.

Since Burnetta Denmark has also been acquitted of the false charges the police lodged against her to cover their acts of brutality, the guilty officer, Vassalta, has not been penalized. In the John Mollette case in Queens, where the police shot their way into a home, beat up five women and one man, then after finding they had come to the wrong house, arrested their innocent victims and charged them with assault to cover or justify the crime that they themselves had committed -- and since two juries have already acquitted every one of them of all the trumped up charges lodged against them by the guilty police, no official action has been taken against Detectives Michael Bonura and James Kiernan.

Since there was a complete white wash in each one of these cases, it is not hard for the people of Harlem to believe that the African diplomat from the Nation of Guinea also received a severe beating in the 28th precinct when he was mistaken for an American Negro.

Narcotics

Our community is overrun with narcotics and reefers. Our brothers and sisters and children are being poisoned and destroyed by increasing dope addiction. This poison is being peddled boldly throughout our community, right under the very nose of the police officers. You cannot blame the people of Harlem for suspecting the police of being involved in this dope traffic that is destroying the community.

It is no accident nor a coincidence that every minority group that is accused most often today of collective attacks against the policeman, is a group in whose neighborhood the police themselves have closed their eyes and turned their backs to the dope traffic, prostitution, gambling, and other forms of organized crime.

The failure of the police to take decisive action against the organized dope traffic, prostitution, and gambling that is destroying the moral fiber of our community, creates distrust, suspicion and hostility in our community toward the police, all of which are reenforced by the unmistakable impression that the police seem to be protecting the organized criminal element responsible for these heinous vices. Yet nothing has been done toward the enforcement of the laws against wholesalers, "dope pushers", and vendors. Nothing is being done to save our community and restore its moral fiber.

We cannot say how long drug addiction has been an existing evil among our people, but we do know that since World War II it has accelerated. Excessive use of narcotics is a dreadful enemy to mankind. It robs men and women of their physical, mental, moral and spiritual values. It prevents human beings from being an asset to society, or from making worthwhile contributions. Users of narcotics are sick people, yet we recognize the fact that their condition cannot be used as an excuse for any crime that they may have committed. If the defendent is tried before a Court of Law and is found guilty of the crime he is charged with, he must be punished.

However, putting these people behind prison bars is not the solution to curing drug addiction. Further, when the "users" of drugs are released from prison, society fails to give them a chance to prove their sincerity in wanting to live a decent life.

Lack of Adequate Law Enforcement

The Negro community has experienced an increase in muggings during the day and night, burglaries, pick-pocketting, pocket book and purse snatching, gambling and prostitution. Notwithstanding the increase in the police force charged with protecting life and property, crimes have increased at an alarming rate in the Negro community. These crimes are to a large extent attributable to the fact that those police officers now servicing the Negro community are not adequately performing their responsibilities. In short, law enforcement officers policing the Negro community have failed to provide constructive police protection of life and property in and throughout the Negro community.

Recommendations to Political and Administrative Officials

In view of the above conditions in relation to police brutality, drug addiction, and lack of adequate police protection, we state the following recommendations:

1. That the City's Code of Ethics which sets forth the standards of conduct of the City officials and employees be amended to include a requirement that they do not abuse a citizen's personal liberty and safety.

2. That the personnel of the Precincts cease being discourteous to citizens, and persons inquiring about arrested individuals. That they cease beating prisoners after arrests. That prisoners be permitted to consult with counsel at the precincts.

3. That the Negro Deputy Police Commissioner be involved in all policy making and structural changes in the Police Department, in order that he may be able to provide his special knowledge of the problem involving law enforcement of black people and Puerto Ricans for the benefit of the Mayor and Police Commissioner, in the formulation of policies governing and shaping plans for law enforcement and the elimination of police brutality.

4. That Harlem cease being used as a training ground for inexperienced police officers.

5. That intensive and extensive training in Human Relations be instituted immediately for all police officers, both in the Academy and on the Precinct level. That the Police Academy curriculum be revised to include adequate information about minority groups and intensive training in human relations.

6. That an intergroup relations unit be established immediately with the Community Relations and Public Relations Division of the Police Department charged with creating better relations between police and minority groups.

7. That there be an equitable distribution of qualified Negro personnel throughout the Police Department and throughout the Negro community.

8. That all illegal searches and seizures cease at once and that police officers be given proper instruction concerning the fourth amendment of the Constitution of the United States and its application to all citizens including minority groups.

9. That the Civilian Complaint Review Board be revised to include true representatives of the community. This should be done along the lines of the Philadelphia Police Advisory Board compased of lay leaders who will hear grievances or citizen complaints against members of the Police Department based upon charges of undue force, racial or religious discrimination, or violation of state or federal constitutional rights and make an impartial decision on the basis of the facts.

10. That better street lighting be installed throughout Harlem and particularly on side streets where frequent muggings have occurred.

11. That police officers assigned to cover the Negro community be charged with policing their beats without "moonlighting," accepting graft, or shirking their responsibilities in any other way. That any police officer who fails to perform his duties be removed from the force.

12. That more Negroes and Puerto Ricans be appointed to the bench and the District Attorney's Offices since these minority groups have more persons passing through the courts.

13. That affirmative police action be taken against known bars and business places in and about which drug addicts congregate for the sole purpose of obtaining narcotics. That these places be closed.

14. That the City request the State Government to enact a law making in mandatory that a life-time sentence with no parole be imposed on all persons in the drug traffic from the wholesaler to the pusher.

15. That medical care, psychiatric treatment, educational programs, and spiritual counselling be made available to drug addicts in order to restore them to normal living.

16. The Mayor's office should make available to the Emergency Committee from Harlem the complete details surrounding the case of the African diplomat who was beaten in the 28th Precinct.

Mobilization of the Black Community

Since it is the people, acting as a unified force, who can and must create a social and political climate that will provide for an effective, just and constructive system of law and order enforcement in, as well as without, the black communities of the Greater New York area, the Emergency Committee for Unity on Social and Economic Problems is sponsoring a major mass meeting to report to the people on:

1. The problem of inadequate, ineffective, and unjust law and order enforcement;
2. The action programs formulated by the Emergency Committee, including recommendations to the Mayor and candidates for the mayoralty, the Police Commissioner, and Police Precinct captains;
3. A code of community self-help responsibility;
4. The organizational machinery whereby there will be a constant and vigilant check to determine the degree of progress in building a constructive system of law and order enforcement;
5. That the people will be called upon, if necessary, for more drastic and decisive action should there be no clear and demonstrable progress in the six month period following the meeting with city officials.

This mass meeting is to take place one month after the meeting with the Mayor, candidates for the mayoralty, the Police Commissioner, and Precinct Captains, in order that the officials will have ample opportunity to initiate action on the recommendations submitted by the Emergency Committee, and thereby make possible a report to the people demonstrating the intentions, purposes and decisions of the officials in regard to recommendations submitted to them by the Emergency Committee.

Hence, it is necessary, acting through the broad representation of the already existing organizations and individuals who make up the Emergency Committee, thoroughly and forcefully to undertake the following steps in order to arouse, awaken, and mobilize the complete and unified backing of the Negro people in the fight for decent, just, adequate and effective law and order enforcement:

1. That the Emergency Committee call a press conference immediately after the meeting with the officials, where a full report will be made, including plans for the mass meeting.

2. That a sub-committee immediately find and secure a suitable facility for the mass meeting.

3. That Community Contact Sub-committees be established to call upon all of the Negro agencies and organizations and explain the purposes of the Emergency Committee, especially the Law and Order Enforcement Program, and that these committees contact and inform the following:

    i. People on the streets.
    ii. People in the Churches, through the ministers.
    iii. People in social organizations, fraternities, lodges, social clubs, and business and professional organizations.

4. That a sub-committee be assigned responsibility for publicizing the mass meeting by making use of all available media of communications.

5. That the Finance Sub-committee explore and determine methods for raising necessary funds to execute the above program.

6. That the following code be publicized in the community:

    i. Do not take the duty of law enforcement into your own hands, but demand and insist upon police protection whenever you are aggreived.

    ii. Make a written, and if possible sworn, statement of any incident you feel should be investigated for the protection of the rights of fellow citizens and the carrying out of justice.

    iii. Do not spread reports about incidents of unrest unless to a duly recognized organization or authority, where aid or assistance can be given, and proper legal action taken.

    iv. Obey both letter and spirit of the law.

    v. Fulfill the obligations of good citizenship by promptly reporting crimes, giving evidence, and testifying in Court.

    vi. Cooperate with law enforcement officers.

    vii. Do not congregate at the scene of an incident and cause a disturbance, which might only cause further confusion and unrest.

c-19627

PROPOSALS SUBMITTED TO MAYOR WAGNER FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF CONDITIONS ON THE NEW YORK WATERFRONT

End Show-Up Cards for Unemployment Insurance

Show-up cards are required by the N.Y. State Waterfront Commission to determine a person's eligibility to be licensed by the state to seek employment on the waterfront. A longshoreman, to hold his pass, must secure eight show-up cards a month. If a longshoreman is steadily employed in a regular gang, he is prevalidated and does not need the show-up cards.

Nowhere in the law establishing the Waterfront Commission is there a provision stating that the show-up cards are to be used to determine a longshoreman's fitness for unemployment insurance. Yet the show-up cards are used by the unemployment office to determine whether a person is ready, willing and able to work.

The show-up cards are given out every day in various centers near the waterfront. The work possibilities for fill-ins to regular gangs and extra gangs are posted there as well as work assignments for steady and extra gangs. Longshoremen shape at these centers looking for work when, in most cases, their steady gangs are not working.

There is in effect a seniority system which should allocate jobs on the basis of length of service in the industry. Most longshoremen have seniority cards (ABC), then after ABC men come the casuals. It is therefore possible for a longshoreman to determine on the basis of his seniority and the number of gangs working that particular area, what are his chances for work.

For a longshoreman to receive unemployment insurance, he must report to the waterfront commission, secure the show-up cards, and then report to the unemployment office. There are many occasions when there is no work, yet the longshoreman must travel to the hiring halls to get the show-up cards. He must report five times a week to the waterfront commission, and once a week to the unemployment office, a total of six times a week.

A longshoreman spends between three and five dollars a week, just getting the show-up cards, even when he knows there is no work. We feel that this amounts to a cut in our weekly benefits. The time involved, approximately three hours a day to get the cards, prevents those who might be able to look for other jobs.

No other worker in the state is required to present daily show-up cards. Most unemployed workers report once a week to the unemployment office, There are other so called "casual" workers in the state, none of whom are required to show daily show-up cards. We feel that this is a wrong interpretation and discriminatory practice of the Unemployment Office as it applies to and singles out the longshoreman. It has caused a financial hardship upon those who, being unemployed, need the money most.

We feel that the Mayor should investigate this problem because the welfare of the longshoreman and his family is being whittled away by the action of the Unemployment Office. Most of the Port of New York is located within the five boroughs and certainly the Mayor has it within the jurisdiction of his office to act on this problem.

Close the New York Waterfront Register

The shadow of Automation haunts every longshoreman. Its effects have already taken hold with its accompanying hardship as far as the longshoremen are concerned. In general Automation means more cargo handled with less men. We longshoremen have seen entire ships loaded in two days that ordinarily took five days. We are faced with an industry that is putting into effect extensive labor-saving methods and at the same time, new men are coming into the industry competing with us for jobs that are shrinking daily.

This drive by the shipping companies on the one hand, to decrease the amount of labor time performed by those presently working on the waterfront, and the support by the New York Shipping Association of legislation that allows new men to seek employment on the waterfront, have the seeds of discontent and the fruits of future labor trouble and work stoppages. How can Automation be successfully put into operation when its effects have caused every longshoreman to hate the very term and look for ways to impede its progress.

Automation has caused many of the United States S.S. lines to scrap existing ships and design new ones so that all the advantages of Automation can be put into operation. The U.S.S.S. lines are in the main subsidized by the U.S. government which uses the taxes paid by all its citizens. We therefore have a situation where the taxes paid by the longshoreman are indirectly being used to put him out of work. Yet every longshoreman realizes that progress, the steam roller of History, goes on and on and cannot be stopped. What can be stopped however by an aroused labor movement and elected state and city officials is the callous disregard of the problems confronted by the longshoreman today.

The State Legislature has seen fit to enact a law which permits any person without a criminal record to seek employment on the waterfront. This was done without taking into consideration the work force actually needed and the serious inroads of Automation taking place right now. What has resulted is a situation where there are now approximately two men for every job. That means that for every one longshoreman working there is one getting unemployment insurance from the state. The N. Y. Unemployment Insurance Fund is actually subsidizing the shipping industry. What other industry has one and sometimes two men standing by while it employs only one and has the state foot the bill?

We therefore propose that the New York State Legislature enact an amendment to the New York-New Jersey Waterfront Compact, namely that the Longshoreman's Register be closed for a period of two years, and that no new applicant be accepted. That, after such a trial period, the employment situation be reviewed, and if it can be shown that more men are needed, the register be open for new applications.

Discrimination on the New York Waterfront

Despite the fact that N. Y. State has a law (N. Y. Executive Law #296) against discrimination because of color or creed, the waterfront still is years behind most other industries. As a matter of fact, the very Waterfront Commission, which was set up to police the waterfront and eliminate its evils, hardly has any Negroes on its payroll. The offices of most shipping companies as well as the Shipping Association itself reflect a policy of doing nothing to alleviate the situation, with hardly any Negroes employed.

On the waterfront itself, the picture is very bad. Although Negroes account for almost 15% of the total work force, it can be correctly stated that 80% to 90% of this number are still relegated to the most dirty, difficult and dangerous jobs of working in the hold of the ships.

In the following categories,

Checkers - 1 Negro out of a total of nearly 3,000 in the port.
Port Watchman - No Negroes out of a total 2,100 in the port.
Pier Superintendents - None.
Hiring Agents - Out of a combined total of 900 jobs, there is only one Negro who is an acting Hiring Agent for Bay Ridge Operators.

The picture is similar in other categories of coopers, dock bosses, sorters, and to some extent drivers and extra labor. Generally, the same situation applies to the Puerto Rican worker.

Altogether this represents a very sad situation for a Port that is the biggest in the world and is of decisive importance to the livlihood of many New Yorkers. The Puerto Rican and Negro people comprise a good percentage of the workers in the city, and their problems on the waterfront should be looked into.

We feel that the Mayor should:

1st: See that S.C.A.D. gets the necessary help in its investigation of discrimination on the waterfront.

2nd: Appoint his own committee against discrimination on the waterfront. The said committee should make public a report about the situation on the waterfront within 3 months, so that some improvements can be made immediately. And then present a proposal to the Legislature that will outlaw this inhuman practice altogether.

Improved Parking Facilities

A car to most longshoremen is a necessity. First, because he may have to shape one or two different hiring halls in the same day at about the same time, and secondly when he does get hired, the transportation to the pier is usually a round-about affair and takes up a lot of time, causing him to be late on the job. With a car, the average longshoreman can get to the piers and hiring halls more effeciently.

The problem arises, what happens when he gets to the hiring hall or pier. The area where the piers and hiring halls are located are restricted. No consideration is given to us, except in rare cases. We are forced to park in restricted areas, double park and so on in order to shape at the hiring halls. In short, there are no parking facilities for us.

On the new P.A. piers there is no set policy on parking facilities for longshoremen. Some piers allow parking for longshoremen and others do not. In areas where parking facilities are really bad, parking lots spring up charging anywhere from 50¢ to 75¢ a day. In many cases just a more liberal policy by the police department and P.A. would help a great deal.

We ask therefore that any new pier being built have adequate parking facilities for longshoremen. That the city allocate certain areas where only longshoremen can park (a deserted lot or vacant land owned by the city). The prosperity of the port depends on the longshoreman, for he is the one who works the ship.

The Commissioner of Marine and Aviation and the Traffic Commissioner could certainly look into the situation and advise the Mayor as to what action could be taken.

Eating Facilities on the Waterfront

For most of the longshoremen getting a meal is a sorry affair. Most of the eating places are dirty and infamous in degree as far as their quality of food is concerned. The idea of most of these operators is the quick "buck."

There are no eating facilities on any of the piers where a longshoreman can bring his lunch, sit down and rest during his lunch hour. Especially in the winter time is this a problem. With snow or rain or cold making it hard enough just to work we must eat our lunch in the cold or walk 5 or 6 blocks to some "greasy spoon."

With so many new piers being built, is it not possible for the city (especially on piers built by the city) to insist on adequate eating facilities like a heated room where a longshoreman can bring his lunch and sit a while.

The Federal government has determined in various studies that the longshore industry is the most dangerous in the country. Certainly fatigue and hard work combine to make this so as well as the nature of the work.

Adequate food as well as adequate rest would go a long way in helping to alleviate a bad situation.

We therefore ask the Mayor that the eating places along the waterfront be investigated, and, if violations are found, that they be corrected.

That he ask his Commission of Marine and Aviation to investigate the possible setting up of a heated room (where a longshoreman may eat his lunch and rest) on the city-owned piers, and use the influence of his office to do the same on the Port Authority piers.

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and not necessary because of resistance to law enforcement.

Police brutality is the use of brutal physical methods of assault upon a citizen, in many instances, after he has been apprehended, in abuse of police authority. There has been gross neglect on the part of the City Administration, and the Police Department to take any action or steps, to control the vicious attacks on innocent victims of these attacks, even after it has been determined by judicial authorities and juries that the acts were malicious and negligible. Instances, such as the JOHNSON HINTON case, the BURNETTA DENMARK case, and the JOHN MOLLETTE case, cause~~s~~ our Community to question the integrity of the Police Department officials, and the Mayor, when they state that action will be taken when the facts warrant it. ? We demand to know: (1) When was an officer fired after it was judicially determined that be abused his authority? (2) Were any actions taken to remove officers DOLAN, PLEASANCE and VASSALATA, or Detectives KEIRNAN and BONURA? (3) When can our Community expect equal justice when they suffer physical abuse and permanent injuries at the hands of an authorized representative of the City of New York? (4) Is it the opinion of the Mayor that these actions are condoned?

We demand to know does the City's Code of Ethics which sets forth the standards of conduct of the city officials and employees, include a requirement that they do not abuse a citizen's personal liberty and safety.

We note from the public press that a Committee, composed of leading citizens of our Community, was appointed by you last year to investigate and report to you on the problem of law enforcement in Harlem. We demand to know: (1) Has that Committee rendered a report to you as yet? (2) What action if any, have you taken with respect to that report? (3) What was that Committee's findings? (4) Why that Committee's report has not been made known to the public? (5) If the Committee has not reported, why no demand for action hasn't been made. — Significance ?

Mr. Mayor what can we expect from you, and your Administration if re-elected, as to action on this most vital and crucial problem?

Narcotics

Narcotic addiction is increasing in our Community. It is destroying our teenagers. Many of them are becoming thieves and prostitutes as a result of the "dope habit". It is now ~~easier~~ as easy practically to buy "dope" ~~than~~ as bread in many segments of our Community. It is more natural for some teenagers to drink whiskey than milk. There are bars and business places in which the drug addicts congregate~~k~~ in and about, for the sole purpose of obtaining narcotics. ~~These should be closed.~~ There is a complete breakdown in law enforcement against the drug traffic. ~~We need~~ There is a lack affirmative police action against these places. ~~What~~ There has been no serious effort made done toward enforcement of the laws against "dope" pushers and vendors? What is being done ~~Little, if anything,~~ Nothing to save our Community and, from the scourge of drug addiction, to restore its moral fiber? relevance?

Long since, the alcohol and narcotics have lead to increase in gambling and stealing. The gambling racket is "big business" in our Community. The small innocent policy player is the victim of the so-called "clean-up" campaigns. Organized racketeers who control the numbers syndicate remain the untouchables and are manipulating boldly on the streets of our Community.

Our Community is overrun with narcots and reefers. Our citizens are being poisons ed and destroyed by increased "dope" addiction. This poison is being peddled boldly thoughout our Community, right under the very nose of the police officers. ~~Can you blame~~ the people of Harlem for cannot be blamed for suspecting beginning to suspect the police as being involved in this "dope" traffic that is destroying our Community?

There is no Do you think it is an accident or a coincidence that every minority group that is accused most often today of collective attacks against policemen, are groups in whose neighborhoods the police themselves have closed their eyes and turned their backs to the "dope" traffic, prostitution, gambling and other forms of organized crime.

asking questions ?
should be factual
affirmative statements!

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH SUBJECT FILE European Trip 1951

(1)

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

Executive Council
President, William Green
Secretary-Treasurer, George Meany
A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.

First Vice President, William L. Hutcheson,
Carpenters' Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
Second Vice President, Matthew Woll,
570 Lexington Ave., New York, N. Y.
Third Vice President, Geo. M. Harrison,
Railway Clerks' Bldg., Cincinnati, O.
Fourth Vice President, Daniel J. Tobin,
222 East Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind.
Fifth Vice President, Harry C. Bates,
815 Fifteenth St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Sixth Vice President, W. C. Birthright,
Delaware at Twelfth Street, Indianapolis, Ind.
Seventh Vice President, W. C. Doherty,
1525 H St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Eighth Vice President, David Dubinsky,
1710 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
Ninth Vice President, Charles J. MacGowan,
504 Brotherhood Bldg., Kansas City, Kans.
Tenth Vice President, Herman Winter,
2719 N. Wilton Ave., Chicago Ill.
Eleventh Vice President, D. W. Tracy
1200 Fifteenth St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Twelfth Vice President, William L. McFetridge
318 W. Randolph Street, Chicago 6, Ill.
Thirteenth Vice President, James C. Petrillo,
570 Lexington Avenue, New York 22, N. Y.

LONG DISTANCE TELEPHONE NATIONAL 3870-1-2-3-4
CABLE ADDRESS AFEL.

Washington 1, D. C.
April 23, 1951.

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, President,
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters,
217 West 125th St., Room 301,
New York, New York.

Dear Sir and Brother:

We are herewith officially advising you of your appointment to serve as a delegate representing the American Federation of Labor at the Congress of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions which will be held at Milan, Italy, beginning July 4th, 1951. The Congress will convene at 10 a.m. on July 4th, at the Palazzo Del Ghiaccio in Milan.

We sincerely hope you can arrange your work and engagements so as to make it possible for you to attend the Congress to which you are being appointed, and that your attendance at said Congress will prove to be most satisfactory and educational.

Fraternally yours,

W Green
President,
American Federation of Labor.

George Meany
Secretary-Treasurer,
AmericanFederation of Labor.

Y

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
ECONOMIC COOPERATION ADMINISTRATION
OFFICE OF THE UNITED STATES SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE IN EUROPE

5, ave. Gabriel
Paris-France.

May 24, 1951

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
New York, N. Y.

Dear Phil:

Bill Worthy has written me that you are coming to Europe as a delegate to the ICFTU convention. This is very gratifying news. I will be looking forward to seeing you and I hope that you will get in touch with me when you arrive.

I am working in the Information Division of ECA in Paris. Until very recently, I was deputy chief of the press section of the Labor Information Division and now am deputy chief of the News section of the Information Division. I have a keen interest in the labor aspects of our information program.

There are many people here who know you and who look forward to seeing you here. Do you plan to come through Paris, enroute to Milan, or to come by Paris after the conference? If possible, I would like to know something of your schedule and itinerary as the labor information people here are very anxious to meet you and, if possible, have you meet some of the key French trade unionists and Socialists. Hope to hear from you soon.

With kindest personal regards, I remain,

Yours very sincerely,

Lem Graves, Jr.

Class of Service

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=Int'l Letter Telegram
VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

WU B070 PD=BM WASHINGTON DC MAY 28 1031A=

=A PHILIP RANDOLPH, PRES=BROTHERHOOD SLEEPING CAR PORTERS
ROOM 301=

WE HAVE BEEN NOTIFIED THAT MR A ROCCHI WHO IS IN CHARGE OF PREPARATIONS FOR THE FORTHCOMING ICFTU CONGRESS THAT ROOMS HAVE BEEN RESERVED FOR OUR DELEGATION AT CONTINENTAL HOTEL IN MILAN PLEASE LET US KNOW YOUR DEFINITE ARRIVAL DATE SO WE CAN NOTIFY ROCCHI=

GEORGE MEANY=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

Executive Council
President, WILLIAM GREEN
Secretary-Treasurer, GEORGE MEANY
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Thirteenth Vice President, JAMES C. PETRILLO,
570 Lexington Avenue, New York 22, N. Y.

LONG DISTANCE TELEPHONE NATIONAL 3870-1-2-3-4
CABLE ADDRESS AFEL.

Washington 1, D. C.
June 1, 1951

Mr. A. Philip Randolph,
President
Brotherhood Sleeping Car Porters
Room 301 - 217 W. 125th
New York, NY

Dear Sir and Brother:

The enclosed material has been received from the headquarters of the ICFTU with the request that copy of the material be sent to each A.F.of L. Delegate. This includes the Agenda of the Conference plus Items 5, 9, 10 and 11 of the Agenda. The remainder of the material will be supplied to each Delegate on the opening day of the Conference.

For your information and perusal, I am also sending copy of the proceedings of the 1949 Congress held in London.

With best wishes for a pleasant trip, I am

Sincerely and fraternally,

Secretary-Treasurer
American Federation of Labor.

m/vy
encls.

2 GA/1
4-12 July 1951

ICFTU

SECOND WORLD CONGRESS

of the

INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF FREE TRADE UNIONS

Palazzo del Ghiaccio, Milan, Italy

OPENING ON WEDNESDAY 4 JULY 1951 AT 10 A.M.

Agenda :

1. Addresses of Welcome
2. President's Address
3. Appointment of Credentials Committee
4. Appointment of Standing Orders Committee
5. ✓ Approval of Standing Orders and of Congress Agenda
6. General Secretary's Report on the activity of the Confederation since its foundation
7. Financial Report 1950-51 and budgetary proposals
8. Report on problems of Regional Organisation
9. ✓ Proposals for the amendment of the Constitution
10. ✓ Proposals for the activity of the Confederation until the next Congress
11. ✓ Proposals received from Affiliated Organisations other than those relating to Items 9 and 10
12. The aims of free trade unionism and its struggle against the totalitarian menace
13. The role of Labour in the international crisis
14. Conditions for the establishment and maintenance of world peace
15. Elections:
    - (i) General Council
    - (ii) Executive Board
    - (iii) Auditors
    - (iv) General Secretary
16. Any Other Business
17. Closure of Congress

Mr. Randolph

2 GA/4
4-12 July, 1951

SECOND WORLD CONGRESS

of the

INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF FREE TRADE UNIONS

Palazzo del Ghiaccio, Milan, Italy

4-12 JULY, 1951

Item 5 of the Agenda:

Draft Standing Orders

ARTICLE I: COMPOSITION OF THE CONGRESS

(a) The Congress consists of (i) delegates of the organisations affiliated to the ICFTU; (ii) representatives of the International Trade Secretariats associated with the ICFTU; (iii) observers from organisations with which the ICFTU maintains friendly relations; and (iv) guests invited by the ICFTU Executive Board to attend the Congress.

(b) In accordance with Article II(b) of the ICFTU Constitution national trade union centres affiliated to the ICFTU are entitled to representation on the following basis:

Up to 100,000 members	1 delegate
Between 100,000 and 250,000 members	2 delegates
Between 250,000 and 500,000 members	4 delegates
Between 500,000 and 2,000,000 members	6 delegates
Between 2,000,000 and 5,000,000 members	8 delegates
Over 5,000,000 members	10 delegates

Individual trade unions affiliated to the ICFTU are entitled to representation on the following basis:

Up to 100,000 members	1 delegate
Over 100,000 members	2 delegates

Delegates of affiliated national trade union centres and individual trade unions shall have the right to take part in the debates and to vote.

(c) The International Trade Secretariats associated with the ICFTU are entitled to representation on the following basis:

Up to 1,000,000 members	1 representative
Between 1,000,000 and 3,000,000 members	2 representatives
Over 3,000,000 members	3 representatives

Representatives of the International Trade Secretariats shall have the right to take part in the debates, but shall not have the right to vote.

(d) In addition to the above representation the national trade union centres, the individual trade union organisations, and the International Trade Secretariats may be accompanied by not more than two persons per delegation. These persons may act in the capacity of advisers, secretaries or interpreters, but shall have neither the right to take part in the debates nor the right to vote.

(e) Observers from organisations with which the ICFTU maintains friendly relations will be allowed to address the Congress with the permission of the Chairman, but shall not have the right to vote.

(f) Guests invited to attend the Congress by the ICFTU Executive Board will be permitted to address the Congress at the request of the Chairman, but shall not have the right to vote.

(g) Members of the Executive Board of the ICFTU who are not members of an accredited delegation shall have the right to attend the Congress and take part in the debates, but shall not have the right to vote.

ARTICLE II: PLENARY SITTINGS OF THE CONGRESS

(a) The plenary sittings of the Congress shall be public except in cases in which it is expressly decided to the contrary by the Congress.

(b) Seats in the Congress hall shall be assigned by the General Secretary of the ICFTU.

ARTICLE III: THE OFFICERS OF THE CONGRESS

(a) The Officers of the Congress shall be the President, the Vice-Presidents and the General Secretary of the ICFTU.

(b) In accordance with Article XI of the ICFTU Constitution, the President of the ICFTU shall officiate as the Chairman of the Congress. In carrying out his duties the Chairman shall adhere to the Standing Orders of the Congress and the ICFTU Constitution.

(c) In the absence of the Chairman during a sitting or any part thereof, one of the Vice-Presidents of the ICFTU shall preside.

ARTICLE IV: THE SECRETARIAT OF THE CONGRESS

The General Secretary of the ICFTU shall be the Secretary General of the Congress. He shall appoint the members of the secretariat and shall be responsible for the work of the secretariat.

ARTICLE V: OPENING OF THE CONGRESS

The Congress shall be opened by the President, after which it shall proceed with the following business:

(a) Addresses of Welcome

(b) President's Address

(c) Appointment of Credentials Committee

(d) Appointment of Standing Orders Committee

ARTICLE VI: THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

(a) The Credentials Committee shall consist of five members, elected by the Congress.

(b) It shall:

(1) prepare lists of persons attending the Congress;

(2) report to the Congress on the composition of delegations and on their voting power;

(3) consider any objections to the credentials of delegates;

(4) receive and report to the Congress on nominations for the election of the General Council, the Executive Board, the Auditors and the General Secretary of the ICFTU.

(c) Objections raised to the seating of any delegate shall be submitted to the Credentials Committee. Pending final decision by the Congress on his admission, any delegate to whose seating objection has been raised shall enjoy full rights as a delegate.

(d) Delegates shall hand their credentials to the Secretary General who shall submit them to the Credentials Committee.

(e) The reports of the Credentials Committee shall be considered by the Congress immediately after their submission to the Chairman.

ARTICLE VII: THE STANDING ORDERS COMMITTEE

(a) The Standing Orders Committee shall consist of nine members elected by the Congress.

(b) The Standing Orders Committee shall:

(1) consider the draft Standing Orders and report on them to the Congress;

(2) fix the times for plenary sessions;

(3) consider the provisional agenda and recommend a final agenda for the approval of the Congress;

(4) make proposals relating to the setting up, the size, the questions to be dealt with, and the terms of reference of special Congress committees;

(5) make proposals with respect to any motions or resolutions not included in the printed agenda paper of the Congress;

(6) report to the Congress on any other questions requiring a decision for the proper conduct of its business.

ARTICLE VIII: SPECIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEES

After deciding to set up a special Congress Committee the Congress shall with the least possible delay determine the composition of such a committee. As soon as practicable each committee shall meet and appoint its Chairman and Rapporteur. Each committee shall submit its report to the Congress. The Secretary General shall appoint the Secretary of each committee.

ARTICLE IX: GENERAL PROVISIONS CONCERNING COMMITTEES

(a) The sessions of a committee shall be private.

(b) The only persons authorised to attend shall be:

(1) delegates duly appointed to such a committee by the Congress;

(2) delegates appointed as substitutes to any such delegates; such substitutes shall have the right to take part in the debates and to vote only in the absence of the regular members for whom they have been appointed as substitutes;

(3) an adviser or secretary designated by a delegate serving on the committee; such persons shall not have the right to take part in the debates or to vote;

(4) staff members appointed by the Secretary General;

(5) representatives of the International Trade Secretariats who shall attend in an advisory capacity; the number of such representatives for each committee shall be decided by the Congress.

(c) The Officers of the Congress may attend the sessions of any committee. The Secretary General may appoint a representative to act on his behalf at sessions of any committee.

(d) Voting in committees shall be by show of hands.

(e) Articles X, XI and XII of the Standing Orders shall also apply to all committee sessions.

ARTICLE X: LANGUAGES

The official languages of the Congress shall be English, French, German and Spanish. Any delegate wishing to speak in another language must provide a translation into one of the official languages.

ARTICLE XI: RIGHT TO ADDRESS THE CONGRESS

(a) Applications to speak shall be handed to the Chairman in writing except on a point of order or procedure. The speakers shall be called upon in the order in which they signified their desire to speak.

(b) A delegate shall speak only once on any subject unless otherwise agreed by the Congress, except, however, that the rapporteur of any committee shall have the right of reply at the close of the debate. The mover of a motion, resolution or amendment (except on a point of order or procedure) shall have the same right.

(c) The Secretary General shall at all times have the right to speak on any subject.

(d) Observers will be allowed to address the Congress with the permission of the Chairman.

(e) Guests invited to attend the Congress by the Executive Board of the ICFTU will be permitted to address the Congress at the request of the Chairman.

(f) In cases where a motion of closure has been made the Chairman shall read to the Congress the names of the delegates who have notified him of their desire to speak.

(g) Should the Chairman consider that there is no real difference of opinion among the delegates, he shall have the power to close the debate and if so required proceed to the taking of a vote.

(h) The Chairman may require a speaker to resume his seat if his remarks are not relevant to the subject under discussion.

(i) Unless otherwise agreed by the Congress, no speech shall exceed ten minutes exclusive of the time for interpretation, except however, that delegates appointed to introduce agenda items and rapporteurs shall be allowed a time limit of twenty minutes.

ARTICLE XII: MOTIONS, RESOLUTIONS, AMENDMENTS

(a) No motion, resolution or amendment shall, after having been moved, be discussed unless it has been seconded.

(b) All motions, resolutions or amendments (other than motions on a point of order or on procedure) must be submitted to the Secretary General in writing in one of the official languages.

(c) No motion or resolution (other than motions on a point of order or on procedure) which is not on the printed agenda paper of the Congress may be submitted to the Congress unless it has been previously submitted to the Standing Orders Committee.

(d) No motion or resolution shall be discussed by the Congress unless it has been circulated in the four official languages.

(e) Amendments may be submitted to the Congress during a sitting for immediate discussion. Such amendments shall be submitted in writing in one of the official languages.

(f) If there are several amendments to a motion or resolution the Chairman shall determine the order in which they shall be discussed and put to a vote.

(g) Any amendment may be withdrawn by the person who moved it unless an amendment to it is under discussion or has been adopted. Any amendment so withdrawn may be moved without previous notice by any other delegate.

(h) A delegate may not submit a motion, resolution or amendment (except on a point of order or on procedure) in a personal capacity, but only on behalf of a delegation.

(i) Motions of procedure may be moved verbally and without previous notice.

(j) Motions of procedure include the following:

- (1) motion to refer the matter back;
- (2) motion to postpone consideration of the question;
- (3) motion to adjourn the sitting;
- (4) motion to adjourn the debate on a particular question;
- (5) motion to vote on the subject under discussion;
- (6) motion that the Congress proceed with the next items on the agenda;
- (7) motion to suspend Standing Orders.

(k) A motion on procedure shall be put immediately to the vote. The Chairman may allow one delegate to speak in favour of it and one against it.

(l) Any delegate at any time may draw attention to the fact that the Standing Orders or the Constitution of the ICFTU are not being observed, and the Chairman shall give an immediate ruling on any question so raised.

(m) A motion challenging the Chairman's ruling on any matter shall be put immediately to the vote and one delegate shall be allowed to speak in favour of such motion and one other speaker against it.

ARTICLE XIII: VOTING

(a) Voting shall customarily be by show of hands.

(b) At the request of any two or more delegations, representing not less than twenty-five percent of the Congress membership, a roll call vote shall be taken. In the event of a roll call vote, each organisation shall cast its vote as a unit on the basis of the membership it represents.

(c) The vote shall be recorded by the Secretariat and announced by the Chairman.

(d) No motion, resolution or amendment shall be adopted if an equal number of votes is cast for and against it.

ARTICLE XIV: MAJORITY

In accordance with Article II*(g)* of the ICFTU Constitution, the endeavour of the Congress shall be to secure the widest possible measure of agreement rather than the carrying of simple majorities. When a vote is called for, however, the decision of the Congress shall be by simple majority, except in the case of proposals for the amendment of the ICFTU Constitution, the suspension of Standing Orders, or the expulsion of an organisation, all of which must secure two-thirds of the votes cast.

ARTICLE XV: PROCEDURE FOR ELECTIONS

(a) Nominations on behalf of organisations or areas shall be submitted to the Credentials Committee.

(b) In accordance with Article V*(a)* of the ICFTU Constitution, nominations for the General Council shall be made on the following basis of representation:

Up to 1,000,000 members	1 member
Between 1,000,000 and 3,000,000	2 members
Between 3,000,000 and 5,000,000	3 members
Over 5,000,000 members	4 members

For each regular member a deputy member shall be nominated.

(c) Nominations for the Executive Board shall be made on the basis of representation laid down in Article VI*(a)* of the ICFTU Constitution.

Nominations for a first and second substitute shall be made on the same basis.

(d) The Credentials Committee shall consider the eligibility of nominees in accordance with the provisions of the ICFTU Constitution and shall report to the Congress.

(e) On the basis of the Credential Committee's Report, the Congress shall then elect the members and substitutes of the General Council and of the Executive Board, the Auditors and the General Secretary.

(f) In cases where there are more nominations than seats allocated for certain areas on the Executive Board the Credentials Committee shall attempt to effect an agreement among the organisations in these areas; where no agreement is then reached the Congress shall take the final decision.

* * *

The above Standing Orders shall be applied at this Second World Congress and at subsequent Congresses of the ICFTU subject to any alterations decided by such bodies.

2 CA/5
4-12 July 1951

SECOND WORLD CONGRESS
of the
INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF FREE TRADE UNIONS
Palazzio del Ghiaccio, Milan, Italy

4-12 JULY 1951

PROPOSALS SUBMITTED BY AFFILIATED ORGANISATIONS

Agenda items 9, 10 and 11.

RESOLUTION I

EFFECTS OF INTEGRATION TRENDS ON THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IN WESTERN EUROPE

Submitted by the Netherlands Federation of Trade Unions

The Second World Congress of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions:

NOTES with approval the developments which have taken place in regard to the economic integration of Western Europe, more specifically the realisation of the Schuman Plan;

CONSIDERS that such economic integration is likely to be followed by trends toward political integration;

BELIEVES that as a result of these political and economic trends the trade union movements in Western Europe will be compelled to consider their place and tasks in this new political constellation and also encouraged to integrate many of their present functions;

AS A RESULT ASKS, the Secretariat of the ICFTU to prepare with the assistance of the interested organisations a detailed study of the question of how far political and economic integration in Western Europe will make necessary changes in the form, competence and mutual relations of the national and intra-continental trade union movement, and

RECOMMENDS that on the basis of this study intra-continental consultations take place through the European Regional Organisation of the ICFTU between national trade union organisations as well as between national unions who represent workers in similar industrial fields, with a view to meeting the new conditions brought about by the economic and political integration trends in Western Europe.

RESOLUTION II

ENQUIRY INTO WORKERS' PARTICIPATION IN INDUSTRY AND INDIVIDUAL INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISES

Submitted by the German Trade Union Federation

The Second World Congress of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions:

NOTES that now more than ever before the trade unions of various countries are attempting to influence the economic life of their respective countries. They are also attempting to influence the economic development of individual industrial enterprises by obtaining widespread direct participation in the management of these industries;

ALSO NOTES that these objectives are being accomplished according to different conceptions and conditions prevailing in various countries;

CONSIDERS that it is of special interest to all trade union movements to learn what form the respective trade unions have utilised to gain influence both in industry and in the economic affairs of the nation, and

DIRECTS the Secretariat of the ICFTU to carry out a detailed enquiry aimed at establishing,

(a) what form workers' participation in industry and the national economy has taken in various countries;

(b) what other influence the trade unions have attained on economic policy, especially in enterprises;

(c) the enquiry should also be extended to include not only regulations already established by law or by mutual agreement but also proposals on this question put forward as claims by trade unions.

RESOLUTION III

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF REARMAMENT

Submitted by the Netherlands Federation of Trade Unions

The Second World Congress of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions:

NOTES with grave anxiety the increase of international tension which has led to the war in Korea;

CONSIDERS that the non-communist world must make great sacrifices in the defence of peace and freedom;

EMPHASIZES that these added defence burdens must be limited as far as possible by such measures as increases in production and productivity, but where sacrifices are unavoidable

DEMANDS that they be equally distributed, not only among the free nations of the world, but also among the various social and economic groupings in each nation, and

BELIEVES that in order to attain this equality of sacrifice the following economic and social measures must be enacted either on an international, national, regional or industrial level:

(a) the immediate establishment of international commodity agreements, similar to the International Wheat Agreement, for all essential raw materials needed for the defence effort in order to ensure adequate supplies to the free nations of the world and to prevent further inflation in the price of these materials;

(b) the enactment of national price controls to supplement those brought about through international action;

(c) international production and investment regulations as well as coordination of national production and investment programmes;

(d) financial and technical aid for the development of underdeveloped areas; the amount of such aid, as proposed by a Vice-President of the Congress of Industrial Organisations, Walter Reuther, should be 13 billion dollars a year for a hundred years;

(e) the representation of trade unionists in all agencies dealing with defence programmes, through the ICFTU on an international level and through the national unions in their respective countries.

WARNS the governments of the free nations that if such international measures as suggested above are not taken, that national trade union movements will be forced to demand them in their own countries, thereby endangering the possibilities of successful international cooperation.

INSTRUCTS the Executive Board and the Regional Organisations of the ICFTU to pursue energetically the directives laid down in this resolution and

APPEALS to all organisations affiliated to the ICFTU to bring their national policies in accord with these directives.

RESOLUTION IV

ENCOURAGEMENT OF COOPERATIVE MOVEMENTS AND WORKERS' RIGHTS IN INDUSTRY

Submitted by the British Honduras General Workers Union

The Second World Congress of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions notes that:

WHEREAS throughout the history of free capitalism, the demands of the working people have never been able to keep abreast of excessive prices and other abuses of capitalism,

WHEREAS the normal functioning of trade unions towards mere basic aims have not been able to satisfy the aspirations of working people,

WHEREAS these aspirations of people toward a greater control of production and distribution of profits are frequently channelled into the worst abuses of Communism and Peronism.

WHEREAS the present trend even within democratic countries is towards the continued supremacy of industrial magnates in vital national boards of control affecting prices and wages,

AND WHEREAS even the less radical demands of Socialism for nationalization of basic industries have sometimes worsened instead of ameliorated the relations between prices, wages and supply,

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED that the ICFTU and all its Regional Organisations adopt a more positive, vigorous and clearly defined policy regarding the development of the Free Cooperative Movement, as it exists for example in Canada, Switzerland and England; that the Government of the United States and the UN be urged to apply the benefits of Point Four, ECA and the Marshall Plan towards the development of existing and new industries through bona fide Cooperative Societies; that towards the active realization of such a Cooperative programme all organizers of the ICFTU regional organizations be given a period of basic training in the cooperative ideology of Canada or Switzerland.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that this Congress formally endorses the principle of co-determination as recently legalized in Germany; that this Congress send to all Governments of member unions copies of this resolution, urging the early recognition and legalizing of the right of co-determination.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that this Congress calls upon the Governments of member organisations to legislate for the establishment of Industrial Councils, consisting of equal representation of all industries, both of management and labour.

RESOLUTION V

PRIORITY FOR FOOD, HOUSING, CLOTHING, EDUCATION AND MEDICAL SERVICES.

Submitted by the Dominica Trade Union

The Second World Congress of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions:

CALLS UPON all Governments to give priority to food, housing, clothing, education and medical services in their national expenditures.

RESOLUTION VI

COMPULSORY PENSIONS FOR WORKERS

Submitted by the Dominica Trade Union

The Second World Congress of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions:

CALLS UPON all Governments to enact legislation making it obligatory for employers to provide adequate pensions to their workers who have completed a certain number of years of service.

RESOLUTION VII

SPECIAL ECONOMIC POSITION OF GREECE

Submitted by the Greek General Confederation of Labour

The Second World Congress of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions:

CONSIDERING that Greece has continually been faced with severe economic problems primarily resulting from the unfavourable ratio of a large population to the scarcity of adequate resources and arable land, and

CONSIDERING that these problems have been severely aggravated by four years of Nazi plundering and occupation followed by three years of Communist devastation ;

NOTES that the present international situation has created further deterioration in the condition of the Greek economy because of both the rise in world prices and the necessity of increasing military expenditures which now comprise 47 % of the Greek government revenues ;

URGES

(a) the Governments of the United States and Western Europe to assist Greece in the implementation of an approved programme of recovery and industrialization and calls upon fellow trade unionists in these countries to support this objective ;

(b) the Confederation to cooperate with the International Labour Office in taking the necessary steps to promote emigration to Western Europe where there is a lack of manpower, thereby combatting the misery of unemployment in Greece ;

(c) the Governments of countries constituting the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) and the Atlantic Pact to place orders with Greek industries for production of articles necessary for the defence of Greece.

RESOLUTION VIII

ROLE OF THE ICFTU IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST WORLD COMMUNISM

Submitted by the Chinese Federation of Labour

WHEREAS the world is divided into two camps, the Communist and the democratic, and

WHEREAS workers in the democratic nations are not yet united under one organisation in the fight against International Communism, and

WHEREAS the ICFTU is in a position to lead workers of many democratic countries

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the ICFTU exert its leadership of democratic workers to fight against the spread of Communism.

RESOLUTION IX

ECONOMIC BOYCOTT OF COUNTRIES SUPPORTING AGGRESSION

Submitted by the New Zealand Federation of Labour

WHEREAS the Executive Board of the ICFTU has gone on record as condemning the aggression in Korea as a threat to world peace,

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED that the Second World Congress of the ICFTU call upon its affiliates to institute, unilaterally or multilaterally, an economic boycott of all war material to countries supporting the aggression in Korea.

RESOLUTION X

PROPOSAL TO ENCOURAGE EMIGRATION

Submitted by the Joint Council of Japanese Trade Unions

The Second World Congress of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions:

URGES the Governments of all countries to allow free entry of emigrants from countries with surplus populations as called for in the Declaration on Economic and Social Demands adopted by the Founding Congress of the ICFTU in London.

RESOLUTION XI

REPRESENTATION OF ASIAN COUNTRIES ON THE GOVERNING BODY OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION

Submitted by the Indian National Trade Union Congress

The Second World Congress of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions:

HAVING REGARD to the increased importance which many Asian countries have attained in the post-war period as a result of their successful struggle for national independence, and

CONSIDERING that representation of Asian countries is inadequate on the Governing Body of the International Labour Organization;

NOTES the unanimous resolution of the Asian Regional Conference of the International Labour Organization held in Ceylon in 1950 urging more adequate representation of Asian countries on the Governing Body of the ILO, and

URGES the International Labour Organisation to give this problem its most serious consideration by devising a practical means of implementing these changes at the next election of the Governing Body.

RESOLUTION XII

UNION OF CYPRUS WITH GREECE

Submitted by the Greek General Confederation of Labour

The Second World Congress of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions:

NOTES that the occupation of the Greek island of Cyprus by Great Britain constitutes a flagrant violation of the letter and spirit of the Atlantic Charter and of the United Nations' declaration concerning the rights of man and of the rights of self-government;

VIGOROUSLY PROTESTS to the British Government, the British Trades Union Congress and the United Nations against this action of the government of Great Britain;

DEMANDS an immediate union of Cyprus with Greece, and

INSTRUCTS the General Secretary to inform the Labour Confederation of Cyprus and Etharchia of this resolution.

RESOLUTION XIII

UNION OF CYPRUS WITH GREECE

Submitted by the Cyprus Workers' Confederation

The Second World Congress of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions:

HAVING NOTED the decree submitted to the Founding Congress of the ICFTU in London by the Cyprus Workers' Confederation

RECOMMENDS an immediate organic union of Cyprus with Greece.

RESOLUTION XIV

JAPANESE PEACE TREATY

Submitted by the Joint Council of Japanese Trade Unions

The Second World Congress of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions:

RECOMMENDS that an international peace conference for Japan be convened as soon as possible with a view to admitting Japan into full membership in the international family of nations.

RESOLUTION XV

SEIZURE OF JAPANESE FISHING BOATS BY CHINESE COMMUNISTS

Submitted by the Joint Council of Japanese Trade Unions

The Second World Congress of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions:

NOTES that since December 1950, a large number of Japanese fishing boats have been seized by Chinese Communists while these boats were operating in the authorized fishing areas of the East China Sea and that the crews of certain boats have been detained by Chinese authorities;

ALSO NOTES that, according to the reports of members of the crews who were not detained, the Chinese Communists disclosed their intentions of continuing and extending such seizures;

PROTESTS against these actions which affect the social and economic life of the workers in the Japanese fishing industry as well as the masses of Japanese people who are dependent on the fishing industry as a major source of food consumption; and

DEMANDS that the Chinese Communist authorities cease their seizures of Japanese fishing vessels in the East China Sea and return those already taken to the Japanese Government.

RESOLUTION XVI

REMOVAL OF RESTRICTIONS ON JAPANESE FISHING ON THE HIGH SEAS

Submitted by the Joint Council of Japanese Trade Unions

The Second World Congress of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions:

CONSIDERING the economic difficulties which are persistently faced by the people of Japan because of the large population on the one hand and the limited resources on the other, and

NOTING that the present standard of living of the Japanese people is far below even the inadequate pre-war level and that the fishing industry constitutes an important source of earnings which could ameliorate this situation to a certain degree;

RECOMMENDS that the inter-allied Far Eastern Commission

(a) lift the ban on Japanese fishing in the northern waters; more specifically the Okhotok fishing grounds, the North Pacific fishing waters, and the Kurile fishing grounds;

(b) ease the restrictions on Japan regarding fishing areas in the East China Sea and Yellow Sea;

(c) extend fishing grounds in the Pacific so as to allow Japanese fishermen to operate from zero latitude rather than from only the present 24 degree north latitude;

(d) permit an increase in the Japanese Antarctic whaling fleet to three.

RESOLUTION XVII

READMISSION OF JAPAN TO INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION

Submitted by the Joint Council of Japanese Trade Unions

The Second World Congress of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions:

APPEALS to the International Labour Office to readmit Japan as a regular member of the ILO.

RESOLUTION XVIII

REPATRIATION OF JAPANESE FROM COMMUNIST CHINA AND THE SOVIET UNION

Submitted by the Joint Council of Japanese Trade Unions

The Second World Congress of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions:

DEMANDS that Japanese nationals who are now detained by the Communist Governments of China and the Soviet Union be repatriated to Japan as soon as possible.

RESOLUTION XIX

MEASURES TO PREVENT ADMISSION OF FRANCO SPAIN IN THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Submitted by the Spanish General Workers Union in Exile.

The Second World Congress of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions:

RESTATES its continued opposition to the Franco phalangist regime and

ANNOUNCES its intention of doing everything possible to prevent admission of Franco Spain in the Specialized Agencies of the United Nations.

RESOLUTION XX

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

Submitted by the British Honduras General Workers Union

The Second World Congress of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions notes that:

WHEREAS any type of discrimination or racial segregation is inimical to the aims and objects of the ICFTU and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and is fraught with danger to the progress of free democracy,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that this Congress lodge a strong protest against the practices of racial discrimination and segregation of the Malan Government of South Africa, and of any other Government which may be guilty of similar actions.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that if no good results are achieved by these formal protests, that the ICFTU through its member organisations gird itself to fight this evil with every legitimate weapon known to trade unionism.

RESOLUTION XXI

SUPPORT FOR WORKERS KEPT IN BONDAGE

Submitted by the Cyprus Workers' Confederation

The Second World Congress of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions:

SUPPORTS all workers kept in bondage because of their efforts to further the causes of national independence, economic freedom and justice.

RESOLUTION XXII

THE THREAT OF POVERTY TO HUMAN DIGNITY

Submitted by the Dominica Trade Union

BE IT RESOLVED that this Congress places on record the fact that poverty is the greatest enemy of human dignity.

RESOLUTION XXIII

ASIAN BRANCH OFFICE OF THE ICFTU IN TAIWAN (FORMOSA), THE PHILIPPINES OR JAPAN

Submitted by the Chinese Federation of Labour

The Second World Congress of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions:

RECOGNIZING the importance which the Asian Continent has assumed in the present world situation

NOTES that Taiwan (Formosa) is the most secure place, militarily, economically and politically in which to work against the spread of Communism in Asia;

RESOLVES to establish immediately an Asian Branch Office of the ICFTU in Taiwan. Should there be any difficulty in doing so at the present time, an Asian Branch Office should be set up in the Philippines or in Japan within the year 1951.

RESOLUTION XXIV

CONDITIONS OF SEAMEN IN ASIA AND THE FAR EAST

Submitted by the Indian National Trade Union Congress

The Second World Congress of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions:

NOTES with grave concern the serious handicaps faced by seamen in Asia and the Far East due to the lack of security of service and the unsatisfactory method of recruitment;

RECORDS the attempts that have been made in the past by the International Labour Organization and the International Trade Secretariats, but

CONSIDERS that these problems have not as yet been solved in a satisfactory manner and

RECOMMENDS that the Confederation convene a special conference of representatives of seamen s trade unions in Asia and the Far East with the purpose of strengthening national unions in this field and coordinating their activities so that the working conditions of seamen can be improved.

RESOLUTION XXV

ICFTU TRAINING CENTRE IN TAIWAN (FORMOSA)

Submitted by the Chinese Federation of Labour

WHEREAS the ICFTU is planning to set up training centres in Pakistan and in Singapore for the purposes of increasing the knowledge of workers in the fields of trade union organisation and techniques of industrial production, and

WHEREAS both Pakistan and Singapore are too remote to permit easy access for the workers of Taiwan, Japan and the Philippines, and

WHEREAS the training of workers in the Pacific region is of no less importance than those of Pakistan and Singapore,

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED that an ICFTU Training Centre be established in Taiwan within the year 1951.

RESOLUTION XXVI

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING RIGHTS FOR JAPANESE CIVIL SERVANTS

Submitted by the Joint Council of Japanese Trade Unions

The Second World Congress of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions:

DEMANDS that the Japanese Government and the Supreme Commander Allied Powers (SCAP) restore the rights of collective bargaining for Japanese Civil Servants.

RESOLUTION XXVII

MAINTENANCE OF RIGHTS OF JAPANESE LABOUR

Submitted by the Joint Council of Japanese Trade Unions

The Second World Congress of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions:

FULLY SUPPORTS the actions of the Japanese Trade Unions in their struggle to prevent infringements on their fundamental trade union rights.

RESOLUTION XXVIII

REGIONAL ORGANISATION FOR MIDDLE EAST

Submitted by the Greek General Confederation of Labour

The Second World Congress of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions:

CONSIDERING the importance of the Middle East in the present international situation; and

CONSIDERING the necessity of assisting the free trade unions of this area in their struggle to improve the standard of living of the peoples of these under-developed countries;

RECOMMENDS:

(a) that an ICFTU Regional Organisation for the Middle East be set up;

(b) that this Regional Organisation be comprised of the trade unions of Syria, Palestine, Lebanon, Egypt, Irak, Iran, and Saudi Arabia;

(c) that because it is not possible at the present time to establish a Balkan Regional Organisation, Greece and Turkey be included in the Regional Organisation for the Middle East.

RESOLUTION XXIX

ESTABLISHMENT OF ICFTU REGIONAL ORGANISATION FOR THE MIDDLE EAST

Submitted by the Cyprus Workers Confederation

The Second World Congress of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions:

NOTES that the trade union movements of the Middle East require guidance and assistance to the same extent as those of Africa and the Far East;

RECOMMENDS the establishment of an ICFTU Regional Organisation for the Middle East.

RESOLUTION XXX

ICFTU DELEGATION TO LEEWARD AND WINDWARD ISLANDS

Submitted by the Dominica Trade Union

BE IT RESOLVED that a small ICFTU delegation be sent to the Leeward and Windward Islands.

RESOLUTION XXXI

REPRESENTATION OF THE ICFTU AT NATIONAL TRADE UNION CONFERENCES

Submitted by the Cyprus Workers' Confederation

The Second World Congress of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions:

RECOMMENDS that affiliated centres notify the General Secretary in due time of coming conferences of their organisation;

ALSO RECOMMENDS that at least one representative of the ICFTU be present at such conference.

RESOLUTION XXXII

PROBLEM OF PLANTATION WORKERS

Submitted by the Indian National Trade Union Congress

The Second World Congress of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions:

NOTES that plantation workers occupy a dominant position among the working classes of Asia and the Far East;

ALSO NOTES that the wages and working conditions of this important section of the population are far from satisfactory;

CONSIDERS that a rise of the living standards of plantation workers will have a beneficial effect, not only on other sectors of labour in this region, but also on the general masses of the people as a whole, and

WHILE APPRECIATING the efforts of the International Labour Organisation in regard to plantation workers,

RECOMMENDS that the ICFTU should, on its own initiative, take the following steps to improve the conditions of plantation workers:—

(a) convene a conference somewhere in Asia, of plantation workers from all over the world, to formulate ways and means of assisting such workers;

(b) set up an International Trade Secretariat for the purpose of coordinating the different national trade unions of plantation workers;

(c) establish special Plantation Committees under the machinery of the Regional Organisations of the ICFTU.

RESOLUTION XXXIII

ASSISTANCE TO SPANISH WORKERS IN EXILE

Submitted by the Spanish General Workers Union in Exile

The Second World Congress of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions:

PLEDGES ITS SUPPORT to the Spanish General Workers' Union in Exile in its underground activities against the Franco regime.

INSTRUCTS the General Secretary to assist this trade union organisation in whatever manner possible.

RESOLUTION XXXIV

YOUTH PROBLEMS

Submitted by the German Trade Union Federation

BE IT RESOLVED that the Second World Congress of the ICFTU call an international trade union conference to deal with the following questions:

(1) youth problems from a general point of view and from that of social policy;

(2) problems of vocational training, juvenile unemployment, organisation of trade union youth groups, international exchange of youth and relations with bodies dealing with international youth questions (e.g. World Association of Youth—WAY).

RESOLUTION XXXV

I.C.F.T.U. SCHOLARSHIPS FOR TRADE UNIONISTS IN UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES

Submitted by the Cyprus Workers' Confederation

The Second World Congress of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions:

NOTES the importance of developing leadership in the trade unions of underdeveloped countries and

INSTRUCTS the General Secretary to set up a system of scholarships to be granted to trade unionists for study of trade union methods in Europe and America.

RESOLUTION XXXVI

MINUTE OF PRAYER AND FOUNDING OF LABOUR DAY OF PRAYER BY ICFTU

Submitted by the British Honduras General Workers' Union

WHEREAS the history of man's efforts in the greatest and noblest fields of endeavour is spotted with the curse of failure, however mighty their guiding hands, as in the case of the League of Nations and the World Federation of Trade Unions,

BE IT RESOLVED that this Congress recognize publicly the ever present need of the assistance of that Divine Providence, Whom the enemies of freedom repudiate, in all our endeavours; and that, towards this end, this Congress recommend to the Executive Board an official adoption of the observance of a minute's silent prayer, before and after all deliberations of the various bodies of the ICFTU.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that toward this same end an International Labour Day of Prayer be established by the ICFTU for Bread, Freedom and Peace among all Nations.

RESOLUTION XXXVII

SPECIAL I.C.F.T.U. SECTION FOR LABOUR CORRESPONDENCE COURSES

Submitted by the Cyprus Workers Confederation

The Second World Congress of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions:

INSTRUCTS the General Secretary to set up a special office for the circulation of correspondence courses in trade unionism to rank and file members of affiliated organizations.

RESOLUTION XXXVIII

REGIONAL ACTIVITIES OF THE ICFTU

Submitted by the Cuban Confederation of Labour

The Second World Congress of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions:

WHEREAS the working class as a whole, and particularly that of highly developed countries where it has obtained direct participation in national, political, economic and social affairs, should not only strive to fulfil the aims which it has set for itself but should also do everything to consolidate its present position and to show its solidarity with the workers of those countries which have not reached as high a degree of development as the others and should therefore assist them;

WHEREAS it is absolutely necessary, in order to defend the democratic principles for which the trade union movement is fighting, that those workers who enjoy a high living standard show their solidarity on an international level with those who, owing to circumstances, have not reached the same standard, and that they do this not merely by making public declarations but by extending their assistance in the technical and cultural field;

WHEREAS international capitalism continues, as it has done in the past, to exploit the workers of the under-developed areas in an attempt to maintain its present position, with a view not only to acquiring personal wealth but also to annihilating the advantages obtained by the workers of the other countries who, by their struggles and sacrifices, have succeeded in limiting the exploitation to which they were previously subjected;

WHEREAS modern science has accomplished such progress that, in a world where distances no longer matter, all men should feel that they belong more and more to one single nation and should work together towards the solution of all their problems;

WHEREAS the world labour movement, in order to show its solidarity with the workers who, throughout the world, struggle against the dictatorships which oppress them, especially in the Iron-curtain countries, should do all in its power to free them;

WHEREAS the ICFTU is the only organisation which, by its very nature, is in a position to carry out any action for the defence of the interests of the workers subjected to dictatorships, which defence can only be properly organised with powerful financial means;

WHEREAS the ICFTU, in fulfilling its objectives, should strive to ensure the economic liberation of the democratic workers of the world, and to improve their social conditions, in the present as well as in the future;

WHEREAS it is imperative that the workers of the whole world should be fully aware of the purposes and importance of their international organisations, the task which the latter are fulfilling and the part played by every worker within these organisations, so as to ensure true international solidarity, in contrast with the present situation whereby, even in the most progressive countries, this solidarity exists only amongst the leaders, of whom only a few really understand international problems, with the result that our trade union action in each individual country is weakened by the same mistakes as those made by many other international bodies;

WHEREAS the Cuban Confederation of Workers is of the opinion that the proposed fund of 700,000 dollars is totally inadequate to finance the work of the ICFTU throughout the world, if this task is to be carried out with the speed and energy required by the present world situation and that it is therefore necessary to provide a more substantial fund;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED:

(1) That this Second World Congress of the ICFTU, meeting in Milan, shall institute an International Labour Week, to be observed by workers throughout the world in the first week of May each year.

(2) That all the organisations affiliated to the ICFTU shall organise during that week public meetings, lectures, demonstrations etc. at which speakers representing the workers shall lay down the fundamental necessity for the unity of democratic workers throughout the world against the dictatorship of Stalin and all other dictatorships which subject humanity to various forms of oppression, stressing the necessity of developing our activities on the international level so as to prevent the triumph of those forces.

(3) That a voluntary contribution of one dollar per head shall be instituted for organised workers throughout the world, but mainly in the United States, Canada, Cuba, Great Britain, Germany etc.; this contribution to be paid each year during the International Labour Week and to be used by the ICFTU for its work of trade union organisation and fostering culture in the countries of Asia, Africa, Australasia, Latin America, as well as in those countries behind the Iron Curtain.

(4) That the contributions to this fund shall be collected by each of the various organisations by means of special bonds issued for this purpose in various languages by the ICFTU, and that each organisation shall be authorised to retain 20% of all the contributions collected to cover the costs entailed by this campaign, public meetings etc. etc.

(5) That the Executive Board appoint a special committee responsible for administering this fund; this Committee shall not be borne on the ordinary ICFTU budget, but shall have a separate account.

(6) That the contributions shall be utilised as follows:

25% for Asia and Australasia,

25% for Africa,

20% for America, excluding Canada, United States and Cuba, but including the West Indies,

20% for Europe and for activities behind the Iron Curtain,

10% for expenses entailed in the administration and development of this fund by the ICFTU.

(7) That the special committee administering the fund shall draw up its budget in consultation and agreement with the regional organisations of these different areas, and that these budgets shall be drawn up at the latest 45 days after the Milan Congress has approved the present proposal, and thereafter annually.

(8) That the General Secretary of the ICFTU, in agreement with the Executive Board, shall appoint a special representative with each regional executive who, in collaboration with the General Secretary of the regional organisation concerned, shall organise this work; and that these two persons shall be authorised to sign cheques, shall made an annual report and, with the Executive Committee of the region concerned, shall be jointly responsible to the ICFTU.

(9) That the ICFTU Executive Board shall have 30 million subscription bonds printed of the value of one dollar each, and distribute them in the following way:

Canada	**CCL:**	**1,000,000 bonds**
	TCL:	**1,000,000 bonds**
United States	**AFL:**	**8,000,000 bonds**
	CIO:	**6,000,000 bonds**
	UMW:	**1,000,000 bonds**
Great Britain	**TUC:**	**7,000,000 bonds**
Germany	**DGB:**	**2,000,000 bonds**
Other countries **(France, Belgium, Italy, etc.)**		**3,000,000 bonds**

AMENDMENTS TO CONSTITUTION

RESOLUTION XXXIX

COMPOSITION OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD

Submitted by the Indian National Trade Union Congress

ARTICLE VI(*a*) OF THE CONSTITUTION. — EXECUTIVE BOARD

BE IT RESOLVED: that the number of three members for Asia and the Middle East on the Executive Board be raised to four.

RESOLUTION XL

COMPOSITION OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD

Submitted by the Hind Mazdoor Sabha, India

ARTICLE VI(*a*) OF THE CONSTITUTION. — EXECUTIVE BOARD

(1) DELETE the word "nineteen" in line 1 of Clause (*a*) and substitute "twenty-one".

(2) For "Asia and the Middle East ... ... 3"

SUBSTITUTE: "Asia and the Middle East ... ... 5"

RESOLUTION XLI

VACANCIES ON THE EXECUTIVE BOARD

Submitted by the Executive Board of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions

ARTICLE V. — GENERAL COUNCIL

DELETE—Clause *(g)* (iv), reading :

> "fill by election any vacancies in the Executive Board and offices of the Confederation."

AND SUBSTITUTE by the following :

> "ratify the filling of vacancies on the Executive Board with the proviso that, should the area or organisation concerned fail to reach agreement on the replacement of a member or substitute member of the Executive Board, in conformity with Article VI*(g)* hereunder, the final decision shall rest with the General Council."

AND ADD as clause *(g)* (v) :

> "fill by election any vacancies in the offices of the Confederation."

ARTICLE VI. — EXECUTIVE BOARD

INSERT new clause *(g)* :

> "Vacancies on the Executive Board shall be filled as follows :
>
> "(i) in the event of a vacancy arising owing to the decease or the resignation of a member or of one of his substitutes, full freedom as to the manner of replacing him will be left to the area concerned, subject to ratification by the General Council;
>
> "(ii) in the event of a vacancy arising owing to the fact that a member or substitute has ceased to be an accredited representative of the organisation to which he belonged at the time of his election, his place will be taken by a person nominated by the organisation concerned, subject to ratification by the General Council;
>
> "(iii) In the event of a vacancy arising owing to the fact that the organisation, to which a member or a substitute belonged at the time of his election, has ceased affiliation with the Confederation, or which is, without valid reason approved by the Executive Board, in arrears of payment of more than one quarter affiliation fees, full freedom as to the manner of replacing him will be left to the area concerned. subject to ratification by the General Council."

CHANGE the heading letters of the following clauses in Article VI to conform with the insertion of the above new clause.

RESOLUTION XLII

ADDITION TO PREAMBLE

Submitted by the British Honduras General Workers Union

ADD at the beginning of the Preamble :

> "The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions holds these truths to be self-evident and uncontradictable : that all men are created equal ; that Governments and peoples derive their rights and duties from a common Divine and Infinite Source, and not from purely natural and human sentiments; that these rights and duties being rooted in such supernatural and Divine sources, they are not subject to change at the evolutionary or revolutionary whims of men."

MEMO From the Desk of
GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

Date. June 6, 1951

Dear Randolph:

In reply to yours of May 29th, as soon as you let me know exactly which of the Cities on your list you intend to visit, I shall be glad to drop a line to the contacts there.

I feel quite certain that Irving Brown, European representative of the A.F. of L. will be at the Milan conference. He can be very helpful to you because he knows Europe like a book.

Awaiting further word from you, I am

COrdially yours,

Schuyler

George S. Schuyler,
New York Editor.

GSS:p

June 19, 1951.

Mr. Paul Fabo, Editor
L'Frique et le Monde 35,
rue de Ruysbroeck
Brussels, Belgium

My dear Friend Fabo:

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, a very good friend of mine, will be in Brussels sometime in mid-July, and will probably be stopping at the Hotel Metropole.

I have requested him to make contact with you when he arrives in your City, and I wish you would also put him in contact with Mr. Albert Maurice.

With assurances of my high esteem, I am

Sincerely yours,

George S. Schuyler,
New York Editor.

GSS:p

June 19, 1951.

Mr. Eugene Gessel
Erik de Roode
Strasse 9
(third floor)
Amsterdam, Netherlands.

Dear Mr. Gessel:

A very good friend of mine, Mr. A.Philip Randolph, will be visiting Amsterdam sometime in mid-July and will probably stay at the Victoria Hotel.

I am sure that you will want to meet him and I have asked him to make contact with you upon his arrival.

Assuring you of my high esteem, I am

Sincerely yours,

George S.Schuyler,
New York Editor.

GSS:p

June 19, 1951.

Mrs. Nola Hatterman
9 Folkestraat
AMSterdam, Holland

Dear Mrs. Hatterman:

A very good friend of mine, Mr.A. Philip Randolph, will be visiting Amsterdam sometime in mid-July and will probably stay at the Victoria Hotel.

I am sure that you will want to meet him and I have asked him to make contact with you upon his arrival.

Assuring you of my high esteem, I am

Sincerely yours,

George S. Schuyler,
New York Editor.

GSS:p

June 19, 1951.

Mrs.Ann Schjelderupe
Skogryggen
Vettakillen
Oslo, Norway.

Dear Ann:

A. Philip Randolph will visit Oslo, briefly, around the latter part of July and I have asked him to get in touch with you, or if you are not there to contact Thorleif.

I have recommended that he stop at the Bristol.

With every good wish, I am

Cordially yours,

George S. Schuyler,
New York Editor.

GSS:p

June 19, 1951.

Mr. Philip Boardman
University of Oslo Summer School
Oslo, Norway.

Dear Mr. Boardman:

You will probably be interested in knowing that Mr. A. Philip Randolph, the distinguished Labor Leader, will visit Oslo around the latter part of July, and I have suggested that he make contact with you upon his arrival.

He will probably stay at the Bristol Hotel.

With every good wish, I am

Cordially yours,

George S. Schuyler,
New York Editor.

GSS:p

June 19, 1951.

Mr. Ollie Stewart
55 Avenue Junot
Paris (18) France.

Dear Mr. Stewart:

This is to advise you that Mr. A. Philip Randolph, a good friend of mine, will be in Paris on or about June 27th, and I have asked him to make sure to visit you.

I shall greatly appreciate every courtesy shown Mr. Randolph.

Assuring you of my high esteem, I am

Sincerely yours,

George S. Schuyler,
New York Editor.

GSS:p

June 19, 1951.

Madam Jane Vialle
11 Rue de la Tour
Paris, France.

Dear Senator Vialle:

This is to advise you that Mr. A. Philip Randolph, a good friend of mine, will be in Paris on or about June 27th, and I have asked him to make sure to visit you.

I shall greatly appreciate every courtesy shown Mr. Randolph.

With assurances of my high esteem, I am

Sincerely yours,

George S. Schuyler,
New York Editor.

GSS:p

June 19, 1951.

Hon. Gaston Monnerville, President
Council of State
Luxemburg Palace
Paris, France.

Dear Mr.Monnerville:

This is to advise you that Mr. A. Philip Randolph, a good friend of mine, will be in Paris on or about June 27th, and I have asked him to make sure to visit you.

I shall greatly appreciate every courtesy shown Mr. Randolph.

With assurances of my high esteem, I am

Sincerely yours,

George S.Schuyler,
New York Editor.

GSS:p

June 19, 1951.

Mr. Harry Williams
Nansensgade 58 (B-2)
Copenhagen, Denmark

Dear Mr. Williams :

THE great Negro Labor Leader, A. Philip Randolph, will visit Copenhagen sometime in the latter part of July and will probably be staying at the Palace Hotel. If you are in town, I do hope that you and Miss Fleming will try to meet him. He is quite a regular fellow and I feel quite sure that you two will get on well.

I am still looking forward to receiving from you the information I requested sometime ago regarding the positions held by Negroes and the businesses in which they are engaged in Denmark.

I would also like a black and white picture of you and Mrs. Williams and also one of Miss Fleming and her husband. We cannot use pictures that have been colored. If youcould have these sent right away, I would be greatly pleased.

With pleasant memories of our interesting chat last December, I am

Sincerely yours,

George S. Schuyler,
New York Editor.

GSS:p

June 15, 1951

Mr. George Padmore
22 Cranleigh House
Cranleigh Street
London, N.W. 1, England

Dear Mr. Padmore:

Just a word to say that I plan to visit London on my return from the Conference of the International Confederation of Free Trade Union at Milan, Italy, beginning July 6th. I am looking forward to seeing you. When I plan to leave Milan, I will wire you to make reservations for me at the Park Lane Hotel, London.

Sincerely yours,

APR:ha

A. Philip Randolph
International President

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cable-gram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=Int'l Letter Telegram
VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

QTH 1 STRAIGHT JUNE 15 1951=
GEORGE MEANY AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR
AFL BUILDING WASHINGTON DC=

PLAN TO ARRIVE IN MILAN ITALY JULY 3RD FOR CONGRESS AND WILL APPLY FOR RESERVATIONS AT THE CONTINENTAL HOTEL AS YOU SUGGEST=

A PHILIP RANDOLPH.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

PRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE 1280

WESTERN UNION
BIG VALUE
LITTLE COST
...AND SAVE
6223 (50)

STERN UNION
ABLEGRAM (24)

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS	
LC	Deferred Cablegram
NLT	Cable Night Letter
	Ship Radiogram

Received at

1951 JUN 19 AM 10 29

NA059 118 1/50 PD INTL FR USGOVT=ZP PARIS VIA WUCABLES 19

MR A PHILIP RANDOLPH= 1530=

217 WEST 125 ST NYK=

PLEASE ADVISE HOW LONG YOU CAN STAY IN EUROPE AFTER MILAN I DEPART ITALY BEFORE 27TH BUT GAUSMANN WILL CONTACT YOU EVENING 27TH AND IF YOU AGREE SOME VISITS TRADE UNIONS OTHERS GROUPS IN WHICH YOU HAVE INTEREST CAN BE ARRANGED=

THE QUICKEST, SUREST AND SAFEST WAY TO SEND MONEY IS BY TELEGRAPH OR CABLE

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE 1280

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION CABLEGRAM

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS	
LC	Deferred Cablegram
NLT	Cable Night Letter
	Ship Radiogram

Received at 1951 JUN 19 AM 10 29

NA059 2/68=

PRIOR JULY 2 PRESS AND RADIO WILL BE INTERESTED OUR OFFICE MAY WISH RECORD INTERVIEWS AFTER MILAN CAN YOU VISIT "UK FOR ONE WEEK GERMANY FOR FIVE DAYS HOLLAND SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES BELGIUM AUSTRIA FOR ABOUT THREE OR FOUR DAYS EACH IF SO INDICATE ORDER OF PREFERENCE AND IF POSSIBLE EXACT DATES YOUR AVAILABILITY WOULD APPRECIATE IMMEDIATE REPLY SEE YOU IN MILAN ROOM BATH RESERVED CRILLON HOTEL=

LEM GRAVES=

LEM= UK

THE QUICKEST, SUREST AND SAFEST WAY TO SEND MONEY IS BY TELEGRAPH OR CABLE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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QTH 1 INT PARIS FRANCE VIA WESTERN UNION CABLES

JUNE 19TH FULLL RATE CABLE =

LEM GRAVES= 5 AVENUE GABRIEL PARIS FRANCE VIA WU CABLES =

WILL REMAIN IN EUROPE FOLLOWING MILAN CONFERENCE UNTIL JULY 17TH. CAN ARRANGE TO VISIT PLACES SUGGESTED IN MOST CONVENIENT ORDER FOR TRAVEL. DAYS IN EACH PLACE MUST BE LIMITED TO PROVIDE FOR SAILING DATE FROM SOUTHAMPTON ENGLAND. WILL BE AVAILABLE FOR RADIO AND PRESS ENGAGEMENTS . SUGGEST YOU WORK OUT AN ITINERARY WITHIN LIMITS OF TIME SUGGESTED.

A.PHILIP RANDOLPH.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGE RVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

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QTH 2 INT PARIS FRANCE VIA WESTERN UNION CABLES ✓

JUNE 15 1951= FULL RATE CABLE

~~MR LEM~~ GRAVES JR ~~ECONOMIC COOPERATION ADMINISTRATION~~
LEM GRAVES=5 AVENUE GABRIEL PARIS (FRANCE ~~VIA WUCABLES~~)=OPE
~~5 AVENUE GABRIEL PARIS FRANCE~~=..

LEAVING ON QUEEN ELIZABETH JUNE 22ND ARRIVING IN CHERBORG AFTERNOON OF JUNE 27TH. LEAVING THERE FOR PARIS IMMEDIATELY.KINDLY MAKE RESERVATIONS FOR ME AT ONE OF THE BETTER HOTELS.

A PHILIP RANDOLPH=..

June 19, 1951.

Mr. Eugene Roberts
Camille Colletts,vei
Street 15
Oslo, Norway.

Dear Mr.Roberts:

You may be interested to know that my good friend, Mr. A.Philip Randolph, will arrive in Oslo around the latter part of July and will probably be staying at the Hotel Bristol.

I have asked him to contact you and I trust that you will be able to meet him. He is quite regular, and will probably not be in as much of a hurry as I was !

With best wishes, I am

Cordially yours,

George S.Schuyler,
New York Editor.

GSS:p

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W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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QTH 1 INT PARIS FRANCE VIA WESTERN UNION CABLES
JUNE 20 1951 FULL RATE=
KENNETH DOUTY AMERICAN EMBASSY PARIS FRANCE=

WILL BE GLAD TO MEET VARIOUS LABOR AND SOCIAL GROUPS AND HAVE PRESS CONFERENCE WHILE IN PARIS.

A PHILIP RANDOLPH.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

June 19, 1951

Mr. Kenneth Douty
Chief, Labor Division
Economic Cooperation Administration
Special Mission to France
American Embassy, Paris

Dear Brother Douty:

Permit me to thank you for your letter of June 8th informing me that you will be pleased to have me stop over in Paris to meet various labor and Socialist groups as well as have a press conference.

I plan to be in Paris June 27th, since I am leaving here June 22nd and hope to meet you and participate in some activities pending my departure for Milan, Italy.

Upon my arrival in Paris, I will get in touch with you.

Fraternally yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR:RB

ECONOMIC COOPERATION ADMINISTRATION
SPECIAL MISSION TO FRANCE

AMERICAN EMBASSY, PARIS

JUN 5 1951

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, AFL
President Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th St., Suite 301
New York 27, N.Y.

Dear Brother Randolph:

We very much hope that on your way to the ICFTU Congress in Milan, you will be stopping through Paris.

It would certainly be helpful, if you do come here, to have you meet particularly with the labor and socialist groups as well as have a general press conference.

I do not know what you are doing about your schedule or if someone is arranging the work of the AFL delegation, but we would like very much to offer our services in making any arrangements which would be useful, and we would appreciate hearing at least what your schedule is.

Yours sincerely,

Kenneth Douty
Chief, Labor Division

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

(36)

1201

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WM66

W=BMA054 PD=BM WASHINGTON DC 21 430P=

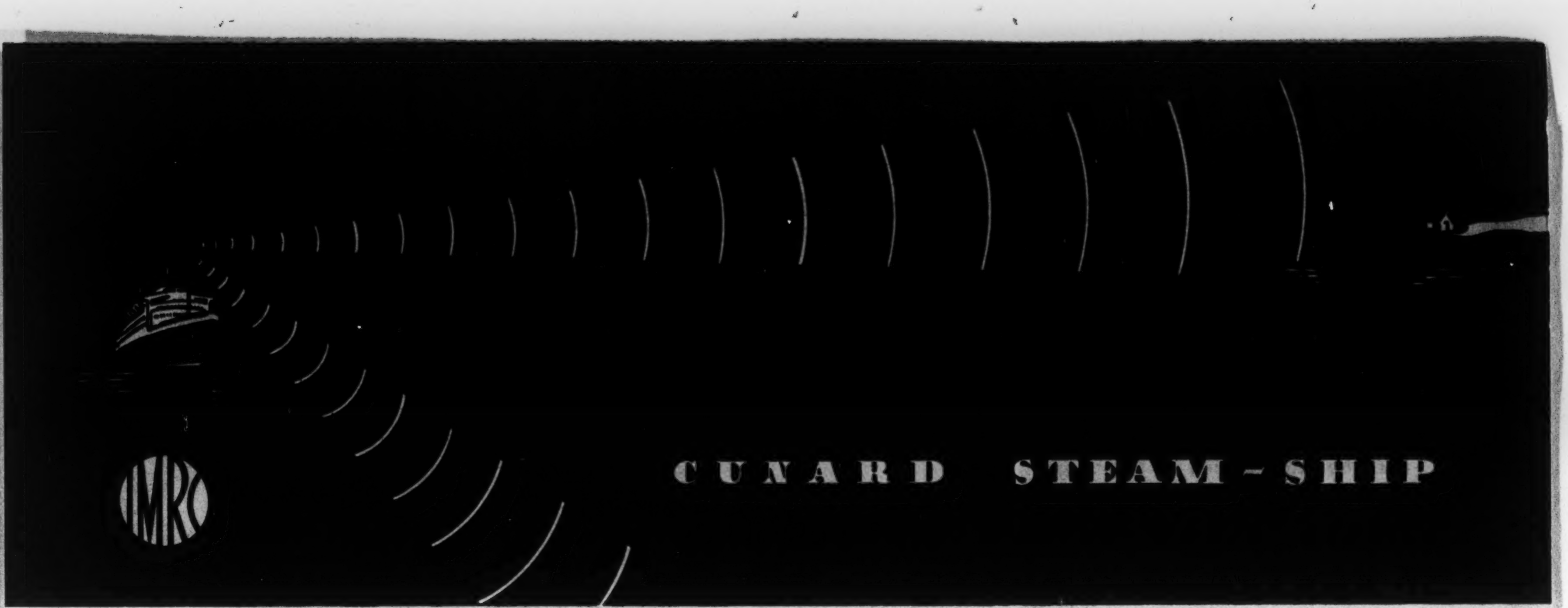
[illegible] PM 4 43

A PHILIP RANDOLPH=
STEAMSHIP QUEEN ELIZABETH NYK=

BEST WISHES FOR A PLEASANT AND SUCCESSFUL VOYAGE AND A SAFE RETURN HOME=

GEORGE MEANY=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE



CUNARD STEAM-SHIP

Received by R.M.S. "QUEEN ELIZABETH" Date....23RD JUNE..................

Form B.52-E.46
Printed in England

PREAMBLE:	PREFIX	OFFICE OF ORIGIN NUMBER	NO. OF WORDS	DATE	TIME
RADIO:		1 NEWYORK	17	22	

SERVICE INSTRUCTIONS

TO A PHILIP RANDOLPH SS
"QUEEN ELIZABETH"

RECEIVED		
FROM	TIME	BY
WSF	0100	R

YOU can telephone or telegraph to any part of the world from this ship. You can thus use the radio service to reply to this message, to reserve accommodation on shore, and make railway and aeroplane reservations from mid-ocean in advance of your arrival.

You can also communicate with your home or business at any time during the voyage.

Enquiries respecting this message should be made at the International Marine Radio Co. Ltd's Radio Office on board, or addressed to the International Marine Radio Co. Ltd., Progress Way, Croydon, Surrey, and must be accompanied by this form.

Please read on the back of this form the conditions under which this message has been transmitted.

GOOD VOYAGE GOOD BUSINESS GOOD TIME SAFE RETURN

ROY WILKINS

GEORGE V PARIS WALDORF-ASTORIA NEW YORK

CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH MESSAGES ARE ACCEPTED

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THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

22 Cranleigh House
Cranleigh Street
London N.W.1.

24th June 1951

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
International President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York 27 N.Y.
U. S. A.

Dear Mr. Randolph:

I have just received your letter of June 15, saying that you will be visiting London on your return from the Conference of the I.C.F.T.U. at Milan, starting on July 4th. I am hastening to let you know that I am leaving in a few days' time for West Africa, and I shall not be in London at the time you will visit here.

I am sorry I shall not have the pleasure of meeting you. Regarding hotel accommodation, I suggest that you wire immediately direct to the Regent Palace Hotel, Piccadilly, London. Hotel are very full here, and if you wait until you are about to leave Milan, you may find it very difficult to get a room.

Sincerely yours,

George Padmore

CONGRATULATIONS

by WESTERN UNION

E71CC JG NL PD

CHICAGO ILL JUN 21 1951

A PHILIP RANDOLPH QUEEN ELIZABETH CUNARD PIER WEST
50 ST SAILING NOON JUN 22 NYK

MAY YOU HAVE A SAFE CROSSING AND PLEASANT VACATION ABROAD WITH THE SINCERE HOPE THAT THE TRIP AND CONTACTS WILL REVIVE. RESUSCITATE. STIMULATE AND REJUVENATE YOU. SO THAT WHEN YOU RETURN YOU WILL BE THE SAME COURAGEOUS, FIGHTING RANDOLPH THAT I ONCE KNEW WAY BACK IN THE DAYS OF THE MESSENGER. BON VOYAGE

R R CHURCH

451A JUN 22

PARTI SOCIALISTE
S.F.I.O.

SECRÉTARIAT GÉNERAL

12, Cité Malesherbes PARIS 9e
Tél. : Trudaine 40-73 (4 lignes)

PARIS, le 26 Juin 1951

PC/OB

Europe

Monsieur A.Philip RANDOLF
Président de la
BROTHERHOOD of SLEEPING CAR PORTERS
Hôtel MEURISS
PARIS
-=-=-=-=-

Monsieur le Président,

Le Secrétariat Général du Parti Socialiste organise en votre honneur un déjeuner amical le vendredi 29 Juin à 13 heures, au restaurant LARUE, 3, Place de la Madeleine.

A ce déjeuner, les personnalités ci-dessous nous ont fait l'honneur d'accepter notre invitation :

Mr. et Mme Kenneth DUTY, Fonctionnaires de l'E.C.A.
Mr.Robert FAHERTY, Chef de la mission syndicale E.C.A. pour la France,
Mr.Roland FAVEREAU, Journaliste
Mrs.CASTALDI, Secrétaire de Mr.FAHERTY
Mr.LAMINE GUEYE, ancien Député du Sénégal, membre du Comité Directeur du Parti Socialiste
Mr.BIDET, Conseiller de l'Union Française, membre du Comit Directeur du Parti Socialiste
Mr.RIBIERE, Membre du Comité Directeur du Parti Socialiste
Mr.LONGUET, Journaliste
Mr.ALDUY, Président du Groupe Socialiste à l'Assemblée de l'Union Française
Mr.DIOP BABAKAR, Conseiller de l'Union Française, Membre d Comité Directeur du Parti Socialiste
Mr.Gustave ROBERT, Président de l'Amicale de la Presse Démocratique
Mr.C.G.LAGARDE, Directeur de l'Agence Coopérative du B.E.D.A.P.
Mr.P.COMMIN, Secrétaire Général Adjoint du Parti Socialist
Mr. Pierre METAYER, Secrétaire d'Etat à la Fonction Publique, qui présidera le déjeuner.

Je vous prie de croire, Monsieur le Président, à l'assurance de mes sentiments les meilleurs.

P.COMMIN
Secrétaire Général Adjt.

STRENGTH FOR THE FREE WORLD FROM THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
ECONOMIC COOPERATION ADMINISTRATION
SPECIAL MISSION TO FRANCE

Europe

Room 404
American Embassy Annex
4 Avenue Gabriel
June 27, 1951

Dear Brother Randolph:

This will supplement the note already left for you by Bob Faherty, Labor Information officer of the Mission.

We have taken up most of your day on Friday, the 29, as follows:

10:30 A.M.	Visit to headquarters of the CFTC, French Confederation of Christain Unions; meeting with group of CFTC leaders.
1 P.M.	Lunch arranged by Socialist Party group, Restaurant La Rue, Place de la Madeleine.
5 P.M.	Press Conference, International Center, 24 Avenue Gabriel

Since Andre Lafond of Force Ouvriere tells me he has plans for meeting you, I am taking for granted that he will take care of F.O. contacts.

On Friday, I will stop by at the Hotel Crillon at 10 A.M. to begin the day's program.

Yours sincerely,

Kenneth Douty
Chief, Labor Division

FOR EUROPEAN RECOVERY
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
ECONOMIC COOPERATION ADMINISTRATION
OFFICE OF THE UNITED STATES SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE IN EUROPE
2, Rue Saint-Florentin
Paris, France

June 28, 1951

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
Hotel Crillon
Paris

Dear Mr. Randolph:

Herewith is the itinerary which the Visitors' Bureau worked out for you, following your schedule as closely as possible. All travel is by air, except between Amsterdam and Brussels, where best connections are by train.

Leave Milan	7:30 a.m.,	Sat.	July 14	via	LAI (Italian line) 405
Arrive Rome	9:20 a.m.	"	" "		
Leave Rome	9:00 a.m.,	Wed.	July 18	via	SK (Scandinavian) 664
(arrive Frankfurt	2:10 p.m.	"	" "		
(leave Frankfurt	7:00 p.m.	"	" "	via	Pan American 190
Arrive Berlin	8:55 p.m.	"	" "		
Leave Berlin	12:00 noon,	Fri.	July 20	via	Pan American 187
(arrive Frankfurt	1:55 p.m.	"	" "		
(leave Frankfurt	7:00 p.m.	"	" "	via	KL (Dutch) 258
Arrive Amsterdam	8:20 p.m.	"	" "		

Amsterdam to Brussels, Sun. July 22 (train connections are frequent and good)

Brussels to London, Tues. July 24 -- BEA (Belgian line) flights at 8:30-10:15; 9:05-10:45; 12:00-13:40; 13:00-14:15; 16:40-18:20; 17:10-18:25; 21:50-23:05

You will note that travel connections to and from Berlin are, at best, none too good. It takes a full day's travelling time either way.

Sincerely yours,

Margaret Jacobson

Margaret Jacobson
Labor Information Division

W

June 29, 1951

Mr. Bill Worthy
University of Oslo Summer School
Blindern Student Dormitory
Oslo, Norway

Dear Mr. Worthy:

I received your letter after Mr. Randolph departed. I am forwarding it to him.

He is stopping at the Hotel Continental, Milan, Italy and will be there from July 4 to 14th. He will visit Rome, Florence and then go on to Austria, Belgium, Amsterdam, Switzerland, Norway, Denmark, Sweden and England.

Sincerely yours,

Hazel Alves Miller

s/s STAVANGERFJORD
DEN NORSKE AMERIKALINJE
(THE NORWEGIAN AMERICA LINE)

LUFTPOST

on board ship
Wednesday, June 20th

Dear Phil,

After 8 lazy days and nights on the ship I'm dashing off half a dozen notes to mail tonight when the boat stops at Bergen, Norway for several hours. Will be the first land we've seen since a week ago yesterday in New York.

Meant to call you before I sailed but got terribly snarled up the last few days. My mother and one sister came over from Boston and stayed in the apartment. With them and packing the place was one grand bit of confusion. Some friends who know me were really surprised when I got on board 45 full minutes before the boat sailed: they had expected a lot smaller margin. It was close enough for me, tho. In fact, I was worried.

Would appreciate getting your address in Milan and the dates you will be there, plus any other places and dates on your itinerary. I'm still hoping that you'll get up to Oslo before the Summer School ends on August 4th. In case you've misplaced my address:

University of Oslo Summer School
BLINDERN STUDENT DORMITORY
Oslo, Norway.

Be sure to write via AIR MAIL.

There are half a dozen Negro students out of 122: from Columbia, Chicago, UCLA, NYU. Also a St. Louis teacher who knows Ted McNeal.

The courses I'll be taking, on a pretty rigid schedule (each class meets every day Monday to Friday), are the Norwegian language; Survey of Norwegian Culture; Norwegian Economy and Problems of European Recovery; and Political Institutions of Norway. Several Labor Party officials are on the faculty. The language will serve me well when I get to the Danish folkschool in mid-August: all theScandinavian languages are very similar, they tell me.

Regards to everyone, and I hope to see you in Oslo. They say that Scandinavia gets under your skin quite easily, and there certainly seems to be a good bit of rational planning in their economies. On the boat you ought to try to read one of the Pocketbook (Signet) copies of George Orwell's novel""1984". Frightening and revealing.

Sincerely,

Bill

Hasn't been dark for 3 days as we approach the Midnight Sun.

STRENGTH FOR THE FREE WORLD
FROM THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
ECONOMIC COOPERATION ADMINISTRATION
SPECIAL MISSION TO FRANCE

July 3, 1951

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
Hotel Continental
Milan, Italy

Dear Phil:

I thought you might want for your files the names of the C.F.T.C. people you met with.

Yours sincerely,

Kenneth Douty
Kenneth Douty
Chief, Labor Division

Enclosure:
As above.

NAMES and Titles of those who talked with A. Philip RANDOLPH

at the C.F.T.C.; on the 29th of June

Robert VASLELEGHEM	, Secrétaire général adjoint	
Gerad ESPERET	, "	(Overseas Frenc Territories)
Jean ALLBIERES	, "	
Pierre MICHON	, "	
Gustave SALMON	, Secrétafre Confédéral	[illegible]
Leon DELFERT	, Secrétaire général adjoint	(Fédération des Cheminots)
Jan VANDENBUFFCHE	, Secrétaire de la Fédération générale des Syndicats chrétiens de Fonctionnaires	

Confederation Francaise du Travilleurs Chretein
26 Rue Montholon
Paris

THE Pittsburgh Courier

MEMBER OF THE
AUDIT BUREAU
OF CIRCULATIONS

P. O. BOX 1828 PITTSBURGH 30, PA. MAyflower 1401

2091 Seventh Avenue • NEW YORK BUREAU • New York 27, N. Y.
MOnument 2-4550-4511 • George S. Schuyler, Editor

Cable Address: PITCOURIER

July 3, 1951.

Dear Phil:

This is to express the hope that you are enjoying Milan and will find the conference fruitful.

The purpose of this letter is to advise you that when you get to Copenhagen, Denmark to contact Mr. Harry Williams, Nansensgade 58, B-II., and also Mr. Cornelius, a school inspector of Nakskov, Denmark. Both of these men are Danish Negroes and can probably make your visit more pleasant.

The enclosed copy of a letter to Miss Marianne Schmock, who will also prove helpful, is for your convenience.

I am also enclosing a letter from Albert Maurice, in Brussells, which is self-explanatory.

Cordially yours,

George
George S.Schuyler,
New York Editor.

GSS:p

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
International President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
U.S. Delegation
International Confederation of Free Trade Unions
Milan, Italy.

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THE Pittsburgh Courier
NEW YORK SEABOARD OFFICE
AMERICA'S BEST WEEKLY

2091 SEVENTH AVENUE . . NEW YORK 27. N. Y.
TELEPHONE MONUMENT 2-4550-1

GEORGE S. SCHUYLER
NEW YORK EDITOR

June 19, 1951.

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
International President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

Dear Randolph:

Pursuant to our conversation of yesterday, the hotels are as follows:

BRUSSELS:- Hotel Metropole(the better)
Hotel Atalnta

BERLIN: - Hotel am Steinplatz, Berlin Charlottenburg....Diagnolly across the street from the hotel is an apartment house at #3 Ulandstrasse. On the second floor of this apartment house lives Miss Marianne Schmock. Please remember me to her.

AMSTERDAM:- Hotel Victoria (opposite railroad station),the manager is a Mr. Rosen

COPENHAGEN:-Palace Hotel..on the central square of the city and owned by the same man who owns the Bristol Hotel in Copenhagen where I suggested that you stop. In the lattar connection, I advise you to wire before hand because all of the rooms do not have baths.

THANks, very much,for that wonderful lunch.

Cordially yours,

George

New York Editor.

GSS:p

Member of The Audit Bureau of Circulations

UNION AFRICAINE DES ARTS ET DES LETTRES

Revue " Jeune Afrique „
C.C.P. N°

Commission Consultative

AM/AD.

BRUXELLES, le 28 JUIN 1951
134, rue Defacqz,

Mr.George S. Schuyler,
New York Editor,
2091 Seventh Avenue,
NEW YORK 27 N.Y.
------------ U.S.A.

Cher Monsieur Schuyler,

Notre ami, Monsieur Paul Fabo, Directeur de l'Afrique et le Monde,m'a fait part du voyage en Belgique mi-juillet, de Monsieur Philippe Randolph.

J'aurais beaucoup aimé le rencontrer personnellement,mais malheureusement je serais en voyage en Afrique du Nord pour deux mois, à partir du Ier juillet.

J'ai néanmoins insisté auprès de Monsieur Fabopour qu'il présente Monsieur Randolph à différentes personnalités à Bruxelles, et notamment à mon ami,Monsieur Maurice LAMBILLIOTTE, Directeur de la RevueInternationale SYNTHESES, conseiller personnel de Monsieur Paul-Henri SPAAK, ancien Premier Ministre, 58,rue Belliard,Bruxelles, téléphone II.37.5I.

Je crois que cette entrevue pourrait être très fructueuse car comme vous avez pu le constater dans le numéro de SYNTHESES que je vous ai envoyé ,Mr.Lambilliotte y parle du problème africain sous un angle qui l'intéressera directement.

J'ignore si vous avez reçu les documents du Musée du Congo Belge à Tervueren(Bruxelles). J'ai de mon côté fait les rappels nécessaires auprès du Directeur du Musée,Mr.Olbrechts.

J'espère avoir régulièrement de vos nouvelles,et vous prie de croire,Cher Monsieur Schuyler, en l'assurance de mes sentiments très cordialement dévoués.

Albert MAURICE

P.S.Pouvez-vous me donner l'adresse de Mr. Yergan.Merci.

July 3, 1951.

Dear Miss Schmock: July 3, 1951.

Youwill remember that it was just a year ago that I was in Berlin and had the pleasure of visiting your home.

I am now writing to say that a very good friend of mine, a noted Negro Labor Leader, A. Philip Randolph, plans to be in Berlin the latter part of this month, and I have suggested that he call upon you while there. I have already told him about you.

With every good wish, and regards to your friend, I am

Sincerely yours,

George S. Schuyler,
New York Editor.

GSS:p

Miss Marianne Schmock
3 Ulandstrasse
Berlin-Charlottenberg
Germany.

Copy to Mr.Randolph

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
ECONOMIC COOPERATION ADMINISTRATION
OFFICE OF THE UNITED STATES SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE IN EUROPE

5, ave. Gabriel
Paris-France.

July 26, 1951

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 W, 125 Str.
New-York, N.Y.

Dear Phil,

I am sending you a translation of an article which appeared in "L'Aube" following your appearance in France. There is also a translation from "Franc-Tireur" and "Le Monde". I thought you might be interested in having this for your own files.

I am also enclosing a few pictures which I think you might like to have either for yourself or for "The Black Worker".

I sincerely hope you thoroughly enjoyed your tour of Europe and that you have been able to make a few useful contacts through the good offices of our Labor Information personnel.

Mr. Gausmann, Mr. Maas, Mr. Toughill and the others of our organization join me in sending you our kindest regards.

Sincerely yours,

Graves, Jr

Lem E. Graves, Jr.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
ECONOMIC COOPERATION ADMINISTRATION
OFFICE OF THE UNITED STATES SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE IN EUROPE
2, Rue Saint-Florentin
Paris, France

July 18, 1951

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
c/o Harry Turtledove
ECA Mission to the U. K.
33 Davies Street
London, W. 1

Dear Mr. Randolph:

Oh, what customs can do to foul one up completely! Your purchase of perfume caused a minor rumpus in Labor Information, as we ran into one complication after another, trying to ship your package off to you.

First, I discovered that you had bought 12 bottles of Shocking and 5 of Canasta, and if Customs are adamant about one thing, it's that you can't take more than one bottle of each kind of perfume back into the States. So I loaded up the Shocking and Canasta and went back to Aux Tois Quartiers (they should have known better and given you the proper information in the first place) to trade it all back. This I hope you don't mind--there was little else I could do. I swapped it for 17 different brands of good French perfume. Then came the problem of wrapping it. The store put it in a wooden crate, marked fragile, which is the best way of sending merchandise like that. Then, I had to get an invoice for the perfume, which is enclosed and very important at Customs in New York. Without it you'd have no way of proving how much you paid for the perfume, etc. So don't lose your invoice. It's a valuable piece of paper.

That was the end of struggle number one. Number two was to get it mailed. For a while we thought we'd have to get an export license from the French because of the package's value. Fortunately, no. So I took the crate to American Express, where they made plans to have it shipped directly to your boat, the Queen Mary. Enclosed, find your Cunard Lines receipt. This should simplify matters for you, because the crate will be right there with the rest of your baggage. Otherwise, you'd have a first-class headache trying to locate it in the Customs shed in New York.

I hope all these arrangements are satisfactory and cause you a minimum of trouble in redeeming your package. Best wishes for a continued good "vacation" in Europe and a pleasant trip home.

Sincerely yours,

Margaret Jacobson

Margaret Jacobson
Labor Information Division

Enclosures - 2

RTO- Bahnhof

7:40 pm
Tr. 19

Res requested on 7.40 pm train to Berlin for tonight - July 21 in the name of

Mr A. Philip Randolph (VIP)

RTO window will have space for Mr. Randolph
See Sgt Sha[illegible]r or Sgt Wolfe if they are on duty.

Requested by HICOG Travel Branch 11.15 am, July 21

Don Hodson

Form HICOG - 233 (24 Aug. 50)

OFFICE OF THE U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY

AUTHORIZATION OF OFFICIAL TRAVEL

AUTHORIZATION NO.
FK-L-7-H-990

NAME OF TRAVELER
Mr. A. Philip Randolph

AUTHORIZATION DATE
July. 21, 1951

NATIONALITY AND IDENTIFICATION
U.S. Civ (PP No. 453772)

STATUS

OFFICIAL STATION
Frankfurt/Main

YOU ARE HEREBY AUTHORIZED TO PERFORM OFFICIAL TRAVEL [illegible] AS INDICATED HEREON. THIS TRAVEL IS NOT ORDERED AT YOUR REQUEST NOR FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE EXCEPT AS PROVISION IS MADE FOR LEAVE AS ALLOWED BY LAW. YOU ARE TO PROCEED IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE INSTRUCTIONS CONTAINED HEREIN OR AS AMENDED. TRAVEL VIA THE MOST DIRECT ROUTE BY FACILITIES INDICATED [illegible] THE REGULATIONS AS LISTED BELOW ARE AUTHORIZED UNLESS OTHERWISE NOTED. VOUCHERS SHOULD BE SUBMITTED PROMPTLY AS PROVIDED IN APPLICABLE REGULATIONS.

ITINERARY, PURPOSE, REMARKS, SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS AND AUTHORIZATIONS

Invitational Orders

Leave Frankfurt am Main on/or about July 21, 1951 for Berlin and return Frankfurt am Main.

Temporary detail seven (7) days--Including travel time.

[illegible]

Clearance No. 307, V.B. Berlin.

All cost of travel will be borne by individual concerned.

SPECIAL AUTHORIZATIONS

CARRY CLASSIFIED MATERIAL CENSORSHIP EXEMPT		USE OF COMMERCIAL TRANSPORTATION FACILITIES		USE OF MILITARY TRANSPORTATION FACILITIES	RAIL ☒	AIR ☒	OTHER	EXCESS BAGGAGE

POUNDS	UNACCOMPANIED BAGGAGE	POUNDS

APPROPRIATION CHARGEABLE - - - - - - - - - - - -	APPROPRIATION SYMBOL - - - - - - - - - - - - -	ALLOTMENT NO. - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
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APPLICABLE REGULATIONS

FOREIGN SERVICE REGULATIONS	HICOG REGULATIONS	STANDARDIZED GOVERNMENT TRAVEL REGULATIONS	OTHER EUCOM

TRAVEL REQUESTED BY (Office) OHC	OFFICER G.T. Stump Lt Colonel	AUTHORIZING OFFICER (Signature) Don Hodson Don Hodson D/Chief, Travel Branch

ap

IMPORTANT: Every Voucher and Message Concerning This Travel Must Refer to Authorization Number and Date at Top.

OFFICE OF THE U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF ADMINISTRATION
APO 757-A

July 21, 1951
/Число/
(Date)

КАСАЕТСЯ: Приказ на поездку в Берлин/Германия/ и обратно.
SUBJECT: Orders for travel to Berlin, Germany, and return.

АДРЕСАТ: Mr. A. Philip Randolph, US Civ (PP# 453772)
TO: (Name, rank, serial number and branch of service)

Вышеуказанное лицо, American
The person named above, (Nationality)

национальности, уполномочено отправиться в Берлин/Германия/
is authorized to proceed to Berlin, Germany,

и обратно. 21,22,23,24,25,26,27,28,29 July 1951.******************
and return.

По приказу директора администрации:

* * *
ГЛАВНАЯ СТАВКА
БЕРАИН
АРМИЯ CUIA
* * *

Hodson
[illegible] HODSON
D/Chief, Travel Branch

August 6, 1951

Mr. Lem E. Groves
Economic Cooperation Administration
Office of U. S. Special Representative in Europe
5 Avenue Gabriel
Paris, France

Dear Lem:

Just a word of remembrance and to express my sincere appreciation for your interest and fine spirit of cooperation in getting contacts for me in the various places I planned to visit while in Europe. I had a good time in Berlin with our mutual friend, Kramer. He is very fond of you.

I also had a good time in London with Turtledove although you perhaps have heard by now that I was almost barred from entrance in England. I was held up for more than two hours upon arrival from Oslo by immigration officials who spared no pains in rifling my bags for every scrap of material which might serve to justify my exclusion from England.

I cannot say there was discourtesy but certainly there was a sort of mechanical civil service efficiency with overtones of unfriendliness. But with due credit to the British Trade Union Congress and the leaders of the British Labor Party, may I say that due apologies were made to me for the inconvenience and the embarrassment I underwent with the immigration officials.

After having been searchingly questioned as to my purpose for visiting England at this time, I was finally admitted and given the generous courtesy of a seven day limit stay in England. Of course, my ticket was scheduled for me to leave on the Queen Mary July 28th, three days before the seven day limit was up and I graciously expressed appreciation for the extension of time but assured them that I would not take advantage of it, since I had to return to the States.

Leaders of the British Trade Union Congress and the British Labor Party assured me that the seven day limit meant nothing and that I could remain in England as long as I wished and they would be happy to have me. They stated that they would investigate the matter immediately and write me about it. While I was a bit set back by the incident, I was not disturbed.

I want to keep in touch with you for I plan to return to Europe, perhaps in another year and especially do I hope to visit Paris, a city of charm, dignity, beauty, and a delightful femininity.

Kindly remember me to the Madam and your beautiful little daughter.

Cordially,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR:bw

ECONOMIC COOPERATION ADMINISTRATION
OFFICE OF THE SPECIAL MISSION TO GERMANY
FRANKFURT, GERMANY
APO 757 -A

6 August 1951

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West, 125th St., Suite 301
New York 27, N.Y.

Dear Brother Randolph,

I was very sorry that I did not get a chance to see you while you were in Germany. I had made some tentative arrangements to have you visit Bonn and see Ollenhauer and Schumacher, and then to go on to Duesseldorf to meet with the heads of the German Trade Union Federation. But the best laid plans of men and mice oft gang agley.

I am very glad that you did manage to get to Berlin. They are all very enthusiastic about your visit. Senator Hertz told me that you made a very deep impression on all of them. He asked me to convey to you his regards.

Enclosed is a copy of the August 3rd issue of "Stimme der Arbeit". This is a central publication of the German Trade Union Federation. This issue carries a picture of yours together with the Berlin trade unionists.

With best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Phil Heller

Philip A. Heller
Labor Information Officer

August 6, 1951

Mr. Henry Ruts, Secretary
American Federation of Labor
Fraunstein 13
Frankfurt, Germany

Dear Brother Ruts:

Just a word of remembrance and to say that I am back in New York, U. S. A. hard at work on the day to day problems of our organization.

Permit me to express my great appreciation to you and Mrs. Ruts for the fine hospitality extended me in your home while in Frankfurt.

I had a very splendid and interesting trip through Europe and I am glad that it was my privilege to meet you and to visit your home.

Success to your every effort in doing the great job you are doing for the cause of free trade unions.

Fraternally,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR:bw

August 6, 1951

Mrs. Aage R. Nielsen
278 Farmington Avenue
Hartford 5, Connecticut

Dear Mrs. Nielsen:

Thanks a lot for your letter of July 10 suggesting my stopping in Denmark on my trip through Europe. I did stop in Copenhagen, a city of great beauty and grace, but not for long, since my schedule was tight and I had but a day, as a rule, for a city.

I was unable to contact many people in Copenhagen since I wanted to spend the day with Bill Worthy in Oslo. However, I plan to go back to Europe, perhaps in another year, and will spend more time Copenhagen, a city which I like very much.

Cordially,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR:bw

AN EXPERIMENTAL GROUP IN THE DANISH FOLKSCHOOL MOVEMENT
278 Farmington Avenue Hartford 5, Connecticut

July 10,1951

Dear Philip Randolph:

William Worthy has given me your name and informed me that you are going to Europe this summer, and probably also to Denmark. We, of course, would like to see you over in Denmark and I will be happy to do what I can to get in contact with just those people that you want to meet. So if you go to Denmark or close to Denmark be sure to write us at the following address: Aage Rosendal Nielsen, Stagstrup, Thordum, Thy, Denmark!

We are very happy that we are going to have William Worthy with us and if you also could be with us, it would be very fine.

Best Greetings,

Aage Nielsen

Aage R. Nielsen

August 6, 1951

Reverend Joseph J. Sullivan
N.C.W.C. News Service
Rome Bureau
Via Di Campo Marzio 69
Rome, Italy

My dear Reverend Sullivan:

Just a word of remembrance and to say that I am back in New York City, U. S. A. hard at work on the day to day problems of my organization.

Permit me to assure you of my great appreciation for the fine hospitality extended me while in Rome. The trip to the summer home of the Holy Father was delightful. I would have been quite up against it had I attempted the trip alone. Your intercession helped greatly in getting me to meet with the Holy Father despite the immense crowd.

I hope to return to Rome some time in the near future and will be certain to contact you beforehand.

With cordial good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR:bw

August 6, 1951

Miss Margaret Jacobson
Labor Information Division
Economic Cooperation Administration
Office of U. S. Special Representative in Europe
2, Rue Saint-Florentin
Paris, France

Dear Miss Jacobson:

Just a word to thank you for your letter of July 18, 1951 with description of problems encountered in getting the package off to me. You certainly displayed the qualities of Houdini in working out the involved and tangled procedures to get the material off to me. I assure you that I appreciate it immensely. I hope I may be able to serve you some time in a comparable way.

When I got to Southampton the box was there on board the Queen Mary. When I arrived in New York the box was place with all of my bags under the letter 'R' and so I had nothing to do but to get clearance with the customs office, which I did with little difficulty. In fact, I was out of the toils of the customs people less than a half hour after I arrived, as a result of some friendly intercession of some of our co-workers.

Now if you want me to do a good turn for you at any time don't hesitate to call on me even though you be in Paris and I am now back in the good old U. S. A.

Kindly remember me to all of the friends and especially to Bill.

Cordially,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR:bw

August 7, 1951

Mr. Kenneth Douty
Labor Division
Economic Cooperation Administration
Special Mission
Room 404, American Embassy Annex
4, Avenue Gabrielle
Paris, France

Dear Ken:

Just a word of remembrance and to express my appreciation for your interest and fine spirit of cooperation in helping me with contacts in Paris. May I also thank you and the Madam for the great amount of time you took in enabling me to have a delightful stay there.

I plan to return to Europe some time in the next year or so and will be certain to look for you and the Madam.

My trip through various sections of Europe was interesting though strenuous. I had a good time in London although you perhaps have heard by now that I was almost barred from entrance in England. I was held up for more than two hours upon arrival from Oslo by immigration officials who spared no pains in rifling my bags for every scrap of material which might serve to justify my exclusion from England.

I cannot say there was discourtesy but certainly there was a sort of mechanical civil service efficiency with overtones of unfriendliness. But with due credit to the British Trade Union Congress and the leaders of the British Labor Party, may I say that due apologies were made to me for the inconvenience and the embarrassment I underwent with the immigration officials.

After having been searchingly questioned as to my purpose for visiting England at this time, I was finally admitted and given the generous courtesy of a seven day limit stay in England. Of course, my ticket was scheduled for me to leave on the Queen Mary July 28th, three days before the seven day limit was up and I graciously expressed appreciation for the extension of time but assured them that I would not take advantage of it, since I had to return to the States.

Leaders of the British Trade Union Congress and the British Labor Party assured me that the seven day limit meant nothing and that I could remain in England as long as I wished and they would be happy to have me. They stated that they would investigate the matter immediately and write me about it. While I was a bit set back by the incident, I was not disturbed.

Kindly remember me to Mrs. Douty.

Cordially,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR:bw

August 7, 1951

Mr. William Gausmann
Labor Information Division
Economic Cooperation Administration
Office of U. S. Special Representative in Europe
2, Rue Saint-Florentine
Paris, France

Dear Bill:

Just a word of remembrance and to say I am back in New York, U. S. A. hard at work on the day to day problems of our organization.

I want to particularly express my appreciation for the delightful time you and the Madam made possible for me while in Paris. I want you to know that I am deeply grateful for the great amount of time you took to help me see Paris in its various and delightful moods.

I made the contacts you gave me in various cities where time allowed and I want to assure you that they were most helpful.

Margaret Jacobs, your competent secretary, handled the package matter most efficiently and I had no trouble in getting it when I got off the ship in New York City.

I had a good time in London although you perhaps have heard by now that I was almost barred from entrance in England. I was held up for more than two hours upon arrival from Oslo by immigration officials who spared no pains in rifling my bags for every scrap of material which might serve to justify my exclusion from England.

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Kindly remember me to Mr. Mass, Mr. Toughill,and all of our mutual friends.

Cordially,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR:bw

Europe

August 6, 1951

Mr. A. Most
Economic Cooperation Administration
Special Mission to Italy
62 Via Veneto
Rome, Italy

Dear Allen;

Just a word to say that I am sorry that I missed you while in Rome. Mrs. Most telephoned me and graciously suggested taking me out to dinner one evening but unfortunately I was engaged with some African men of labor who were in Rome at the time. I want you to know that I appreciate immensely your interest in helping me to see Rome and when I return in the not too distant future, I will get in touch with you. Kindly remember me to Mrs. Most.

Cordially,

APR:ha

A. Philip Randolph
International President

E. R. P.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
ECONOMIC COOPERATION ADMINISTRATION
SPECIAL MISSION TO ITALY
62 VIA VENETO, ROME

CABLE ADDRESS
"ITALECA"

July 9, 1951

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
% Hotel Continental
Milano.

Dear Mr. Randolph:

I have just had word that you are in Italy. I hope that you will come to Rome and that we can see each other. I would like very much to show you Rome and talk about old times together in the states.

Best regards,

Sincerely,

A. Most.

TRADE UNION INTERNATIONAL OF LAND AND AIR TRANSPORT
WORKERS (T. D. of the W. F. T. U.)
UNION INTERNATIONALE DES SYNDICATS DES TRAVAILLEURS DES
TRANSPORTS TERRESTRES ET AERIENS (D.P. de la F. S. M.)
UNION INTERNACIONAL DE SINDICATOS DE TRABAJADORES
DEL TRANSPORTE TERRESTRE Y AEREO (D.P. de la F. S. M.)
МЕЖДУНАРОДНОЕ ОБЪЕДИНЕНИЕ ПРОФСОЮЗОВ ТРУДЯЩИХСЯ
СУХОПУТНОГО И ВОЗДУШНОГО ТРАНСПОРТА (ПО ВФП)

8 Calomfirescu St., BUCHAREST RUMANIA
Telephone: 4.17.24, 3.89.24, 3.74.69
Telegr.: Unitrans Fesymond BUCHAREST

Bucharest, August 9, 1952

TO ALL AFFILIATED AND FRIENDLY ORGANIZATIONS AND SYMPATHISERS' GROUPS !

Dear Comrade,

During its third session held in Bucharest on the 23 - 26th July 1952, the Administrative Committee of our Trade Union International examined a draft programme common to all transport workers.

According to the decisions of the Administrative Committee, this programme has been drawn up in accordance with the observation made during the session. We send you herewith a copy to have it attentively examined by your organization.

The Administrative Committee suggested that this programme be discussed by transport workers of all countries, in order they could make their observations and show their aspirations. The distribution of this programme will also result in more widely popularizing among the rank and file our Trade Union International and the World Federation of Trade Unions of which our International is a trade department.

We draw your attention on the fact that certain claims may be inferior to your own claims or even to the present condition of workers of your branch.

In either of these cases, it is obvious that to have it popularized within your organization, the international programme must correspond to your own national programme. This can be made by crossing out of the international programme all litigious points. In this way the international programme will be further completed by the national programme.

It would be helpful to keep us informed on these differences for every case they may occur.

We are confident that you will understand that these differences can be accounted for by the great diversity in situations of transport workers, after branches or countries. An international programme including in all its parts the strongest claims to be found in various countries could easily seem for some countries as unreal thing with no chances whatever to mobilize the workers.

The observations our organizations and correspondents will send us will enable us to draw up this programme more satisfactorily ; may be we will have to condense, leaving aside certain details or stressing on other points, etc.

After having it discussed among the rank and file and drawn up by the Secretariat, the new draft will be submitted to the International Statute Conference of the Trade Union International, early in 1953, for being adopted.

You will certainly realize that the draft we are just sending in doesn't contain many claims specific to various branches of transport workers. Our wish would be to have the common programme completed by appendixes applying to each branch of our Trade Union International : railways, municipal transport, rural and international road transport, air transport and even to the workers employed with the big international firms.

Our insufficient documentation prevented us from making up suitable appendixes for each of these branches. We should very much appreciate if you could enrich our study by all useful suggestions. It may be possible that certain parts of the programme we propose should need being taken out of the common programme and included in the appendixes by adapting them to the particular situation of each branch.

Wide-range explanations from you will greatly assist us.

Confident that you will make your contribution in all these matters, we kindly request you to accept our most fraternal trade union greetings.

SECRETARIAT

TRADE UNIONS INTERNATIONAL OF LAND AND AIR TRANSPORT WORKERS
T.D. of the W.F.T.U.

TRADE UNION INTERNATIONAL OF LAND AND AIR TRANSPORT WORKERS (T. D. of the W. F. T. U.)

UNION INTERNATIONALE DES SYNDICATS DES TRAVAILLEURS DES TRANSPORTS TERRESTRES ET AERIENS (D.P. de la F. S. M.)

UNION INTERNACIONAL DE SINDICATOS DE TRABAJADORES DEL TRANSPORTE TERRESTRE Y AEREO (D.P. de la F. S. M.)

МЕЖДУНАРОДНОЕ ОБЪЕДИНЕНИЕ ПРОФСОЮЗОВ ТРУДЯЩИХСЯ СУХОПУТНОГО И ВОЗДУШНОГО ТРАНСПОРТА (ПО ВФП)

8 Calomfirescu St. BUCHAREST RUMANIA
Telephone : 4.17.24 . 3.89.24 . 3.74.69
Telegr.: Unitran. Feaymond BUCHAREST

Project

August 9, 1952

PROGRAMME

of economic and social claims

I. TRADE UNION RIGHT AND COLLECTIVE LABOUR AGREEMENTS

A) Enactment of a legislation ensuring full exercise of trade union liberties and the workers' rights to freely organize themselves for the defence of their economic and social interests.

Trade union liberties and the workers' right to freely organize themselves will not be guaranteed unless the following conditions are complied with :

a) workers of all categories, operative and clerical staff, supervisory staff, technicians, engineers, managing staff must be given the possibility to associate in trade unions, to organize themselves and to act for their interests according to decisions of their union meetings and without any interference on the part of public authorities.

b) the trade unions must be in a position to associate on a local, regional and national scale, to set up industrial or interindustrial organizations.
They must be able to join professional or inter-professional international trade union organizations.

c) the trade union organizations must be able to organize and freely hold all kinds of reunions, branch or general meetings without any interference on the part of the police or the administration in order to ensure their functioning. These organizations must be given all facilities to enable them to hold such meetings and to have their own headquarters at suitable premises placed at their disposal. These organizations must be able to carry on their propaganda by means of occasional or periodical publications, as well as by posters, cinema and radio.

d) the trade union organizations must enjoy unreservedly the right of defending the workers' interests by means of collective negociations and by concluding collective labour agreements.

e) the trade union organizations must not be dissolved through legislative, administrative or judicial measures. As to regards to trade-union activities, the trade union militants are neither to be prosecuted nor subjected to disciplinary penalties on the part of the employers ; their worker's rights must be observed and no material or moral prejudice should be brought to them on account of their union functions.

B) Full and thorough observance of the right to strike

The exercise of the right to strike cannot be fully secured without the following conditions being complied with :

a) no restriction should be imposed on the initiative of the workers and the trade union organizations which they set up as regards both the form of their decisions and means of putting them into application. Compulsory arbitration as well as any system aiming at imposing a procedure of preventive conciliation or terms of previous advice constitute an obstacle to the free exercise of the right to strike.

b) the collective labour agreements must not be denounced by the employers under the pretext of the workers' having exercised the right to strike.

c) no sanction should be taken against the workers who used their right to strike no matter whether they are or not union militants whether they belong or not to a trade union organization.

d) the public authorities must not interfere in any way by raising obstacles against the right to strike, by providing substitutive manpower for the employers or by ensuring labour exchanges or by handicapping the progress of the strike.

The employment of substitutive personnel or the use of the non-striking personnel for other functions than their usual ones, constitute obstacles in the way of the free exercise of the right to strike.

C) Conclusion of collective labour agreements

Collective labour agreements must be concluded wherever they do not exist.

The existing collective agreements must be revized and completed in all their parts which are in consistent with the programmes for claims of the workers concerned.

These agreements must contain clauses fixing the rates of wages and bonuses, establishing the proportions of these rates according to the professional training and guaranteeing the real value of the remunerations in keeping with the rise of prices.

These agreements must be revisable at any moment following the request of the trade union organizations without such request entailing the desuetude of the agreement. The fixing of a determined period during which no revision is possible, constitute an obstacle to the exercise of the right to negociations mentioned above (para.Ad.)

D) Ensuring the right to work

The right to work is a natural and imprescriptible right for all human beings having no other resources except those derived from their work.

Consequently labour legislation and the collective labour agreements must ensure an efficient protection of the workers by providing :

a) interdiction of dismissals without valid reasons, which must be controlled by elected workers' representatives.

b) prohibition of all disciplinary measures aiming at punishing a professional mistake by means of fines, deductions from bonuses, suspension of contractual provisions and dismissals.

c) reemployment of the young workers after the end of their military service.

d) professional re-education of those disabled by labour accidents and their maintenance in the enterprise.

II. WAGES

A) A living wage must be established and eventually adjusted constantly to ensure its purchasing power so as to guarantee an adequate living standard in conformity with the standard established by the respective national trade union organizations.

Neither bonuses granted in relation with individual production or savings of any kind, nor fixed annual bonuses, shall be included in the living wage's rate.

The living wage must be determined according to the duration of the remunerated work : (namely week, month or annum) and not according to the quantity of the work performed (number of finished articles, number of voyages effected or mileage, tonnage,etc.)

B) Fixing progressive wages according to the professional training on the basis of a living wage.

The re-adjustment of the living wage serving to guaranteeing its purchasing power must bear on the wages, as a whole, without affecting the proportions established.

C) Periodical rise in the real value of wages

The growth of production resulting from the introduction of more up-to-date machines and more productive equipment must entail improved conditions for the workers.

D) Full application of the principle "equal pay for equal work".

Workers performing the same work must receive the same wages regardless of their age, sex, race and nationality.

In one and the same country the wages value must not depend on the geographycal situation of the enterprise or of the workers' domicile.

In the enterprises situated in the vicinity of national boundaries, the employers must not take advantage from currency reasons in order to cut down the amount of wages of all or part of the workers employed.

E) Payment of higher rate of wages in the following instances :

a) for work performed outside the usual time schedule.

b) for night work even if the usual work timetable provides for such work.

c) for work performed on Sundays and holidays.

d) for overtime work

Overtime work must be paid at progressive rates according to the length of time worked over.

The minimum rate must exceed the rate established under point a)

F) Payment of an annual holiday allowance

The annual holiday allowance paid in addition to the wages for the leave period serves to enable the workers to fully enjoy their leave. It must cover the travelling expenses and other supplementary expenses incurred by living outside of the usual domicile.

III. WORKING CONDITIONS

A) The length of the working week shall be limited to 4o hours and that of the working day to 8 hours only.

The regulations must contain the following particular provisions :

a) the length of the working day including intermittent breaks shall not exceed 11 hours.

b) the duration of the continuous driving period shall not exceed 5 hours.

c) the duration of the daily rest interval shall not be less than 12 hours for every 24 hours.

d) the rest-day shall last 24 hours running.

It must be juxtaposed with one rest interval

e) in case of rosters including night and day duties each night service period must be followed by a rest period equalling at least the amount of a rest-day plus a rest interval.

f) bank and public holidays must be considered as paid rest days in addition to the rest day

Workers bound to ensure the functionning of their service during holidays must benefit by an equivalent rest to compensate for it.

g) overtime must be rigorously limited. It should be admitted only in exceptional circumstances under a rigorous regulation within the framework of the law and the collective labour agreements.

h) all the workers must benefit by paid holidays comprising :
- an annual holiday of at least 18 work days for all workers over 18 years of age and of one month for those under 18 years of age.

This length should be extended according to the worker's seniority by giving him a seniority leave : one day for every three years of service.

- occasional leave up to 6 days a year, for the marriage of the worker concerned, for the birth or the marriage of a child or for the death of a close relative.

B) Fixing and observance of labour targets prohibiting the speed-up.

The following conditions must be complied with to enable the workers perform the work required from them with normal efforts :

a) cessation of all reduction of staff.

b) re-employment of a sufficient staff in agreement with the elected workers' representatives.

c) prohibition of using the same worker as driver and conductor in buses, trolleybuses and other road or rail public transport vehicles.

d) compulsory employment of two drivers for long-distance road-transport entailing several hours of continuous driving.

e) compulsory employment of two electric drivers for long-distance electric rail transport.

C) Observance of professional training

This prohibits the workers' employment in professional branches other than their usual ones, as well as the systematical practice of having the workers perform functions superior to those for which they are paid.

D) Improvement of hygiene and health conditions at the work places

a) sufficient ventilation and lighting of the work places.

All measures must be taken to ensure an efficient ventilation of the hangars, depots, ware-houses and work-shops where injurious vapours might develop.

b) providing individual ward-robes, lavatories, shower-baths and

W.C.'s at the work places in conditions coping with hygiene and health service requirements.

For the workers performing dirty work, the ward-robes must have two separate compartiments enabling them to keep apart the clean clothing.

In the establishments employing workers of both sexes, the ward-robes, lavatories, shower-baths and W.C.'s must be arranged in two separate groups.

c) equipment of healthy, clean and agreeable premises enabling the workers that have to work on run to take their meals and enjoy their rest days granted to them outside their domiciles.

These premises must include canteens provided with the necessary equipment for preparing the meals, rest rooms with beds and clean beddings, recreation rooms, with games and libraries, shower-baths, lavatories and W.C.'s.

When these premises are supposed to shelter workers of both sexes, the rooms, the shower-baths and the W.C.'s must be arranged in two separate groups.

E) Improvement of labour safety

a) enactment and full observance of a legislation prohibiting the use of toxic materials which might cause diseases.

Revision and continuous adaptation of the existing legislation.

b) installation of efficient protection devices in work-shops, in shunting yards, in garages, on the engines and so on, to prevent labour accidents.

c) installation in the establishments and on both the vehicles and hauling engines of a sufficient number of safety devices to prevent fire, explosions and to assist the victims of the risks incurred by the utilization of high tension current.

d) setting up of infirmaries at the highly agglomerated work places and first aid stations on thoroughfares in order to provide urgent help in case of accident.

e) modernization of equipment in the work-shops, depots, garages and of the coupling and brake installations in marshalling stations : modernization and mechanization of the manipulation material, for the manipulation of both heavy materials in the work-shops, depots, garages and building sites and of bulky and heavy parcels which must be carried.

IV. PROVISIONS RELATING TO THE WORKING WOMEN

a) the regulation concerning employment conditions of employment, wages, access to various supervisory jobs should contain no restrictive provision as far as women are concerned.

Women must have the same rights as men as regards access to exams, competitions and professional training.

b) women must get the same indemnities and allowances of a social nature as men.

c) maternity leaves with full pay must be granted for a period of at least 12 weeks.

d) beginning with the 5-th month of pregnancy, expectant mothers performing difficult work must be transferred to easier work, without any reduction in pay.

e) the mothers nursing their children must be given the possibility of discontinuing work with no deductions from their wages.

f) the expectant and nursing mothers should not be compelled to night work or overtime.

g) the dismissal of expectant or nursing mothers must be rigorously prohibited.

V. PROVISIONS RELATING TO YOUNG WORKERS

a) efficient prohibition of labour for children under 15 years or under any higher school age superior to 15 years.

School attendance must be effectively ensured through the construction of sufficient institutions for all children regardless of race, religion or nationality.

b) rigorous prohibition of night work and overtime for young workers under 18 years of age.

Their employment in difficult work injurious to their normal physical development must be equally prohibited.

c) young workers under 18 years of age should benefit by a rest-interval of at least 14 hours.

d) setting up of play and sports grounds freely accessible to the young workers.

e) development of the juveniles' professional training and general instruction.

Apprenticeship must be organized in all the branches of the transport workers' activity.

Courses of professional and general training should be delivered during the normal length of the work day.

The controll of professional training should be assigned to elected workers' representatives.

f) all enterprises must re-employ young workers returning from military service.

Complying with compulsory military service must not be considered as a break of the labour agreement and it must be forbidden to oblige young workers to resign from the enterprise to implement military commitments.

Seniority advantages acquired by young workers before joining the army under the provisions of collective labour agreements must be observed at their return.

VI. PROVISIONS RELATING TO THE WORKERS OF THE COLONIAL COUNTRIES

A) Complete abolition of race discrimination in point of the pay system, working conditions, social insurances, right to work and professional training.

The prohibition of race discrimination should be ensured especially through the following measures :

a) equal access to all employments must be guaranteed regardless of nationality, race or religion.

Setting up of unitary cadres in the public services and nationalized enterprises.

b) strict application of the "equal pay for equal work" principle and fixing of a unitary minimum basis.

No consideration relating to education or any other requirement should prevent the application of this principle. The performance of similar work should entail similar rate of pay.

c) granting of the same social insurance benefits and especially family allowances irrespective of the worker's nationality, race and religion.

d) equality in the granting and amount of allowances and various bonuses.

e) equality in the duration of work and in the granting of holidays.

f) prohibiting of discriminatory disciplinary measures.

g) prohibiting of any segregation at the work places, canteens, dormitories, sanitary institutions, etc.

h) enactment of a legislation providing civil and penal penalties for any physical or moral body having applied or favoured discriminatory measures as regards nationality, race or religion.

VII. SOCIAL INSURANCE

A) Setting up of a social insurance scheme in the countries where all the workers or part of them do not benefit by such and developing the existing schemes.

The social insurance legislation must be established on bases such as to efficiently cover all the risks of the workers and their families as well as the social obligations incumbent on them.

a) the children's education must be ensured by means of sufficient family allowances paid until the expiration of the children's apprenticeship or study terms. These allowances should be wholly preserved in case of work discontinued due to unemployment, maternity, sickness, accidents and disability.

b) all workers who are victims to full or partial unemployment (weekly work period inferior to the normal length of the work week) must get an allowance equal to at least 75% of the wage lost.

c) full wages must be paid during periods of inactivity due to maternity, sickness or accidents, Similarly the loss of wages brought about by a change in employment owing to definite partial dissability must be compensated.

d) the total permanent dissability resulting from a labour accident or a serious occupational disease must be compensated by pensions amounting to at least 75% of the wage lost.

e) an old age pension in proportion to the total length of the worker's activity whose minimum rate cannot be less than 50 per cent of the wage, must be granted to all workers at an age established according to the difficulties of the work performed by the worker.

f) a special allowance must be paid at a child's birth to cover the expenses made for buying baby outfit and clothing.

g) exceptional expenses incurred by a dependent's death must be compensated by an allowance sufficient to cover these expenses.

h) the medical, surgical and pharmaceutical charges, the cost of hospitalization, orthopedy and protheses, the charges of treatment, prevention and birth must be integrally refunded.

The workers must see to it that the contributions to the social insurance funds be exclusively paid by the employers with or without participation of the national budgets but without deductions being made from the wages.

These insurance funds must be administered by bodies independent of governments and employers where elected workers' representatives should constitute the large majority.

B) Development of the medical and sanitary outfit

The medical and sanitary outfit should be developed through a policy of large investments at the employers' and state budgets' cost.

The enterprises should develop more particularly nurseries, kindergartens and policlinics.

C) Protection of the workers' health.

The protection of the workers' health must be developed through :

a) a rational sanitary organization within the enterprises (labour medicine).

b) appointment of staff delegates to see to the application of all prescriptions concerning hygiene, health conditions, prevention of accidents and labour safety.

These delegates must be elected by the workers.

c) construction of healthy and sufficient lodgings whose rents should not exceed 16 per cent of the worker's wage.

d) larger numbers of establishments of prevention against the principal social and occupational diseases.

VIII. PROGRAMME FOR ECONOMIC ADVANCEMENT, PEACE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

The transport workers' claims will not be satisfactorily met unless the economy of the country is directed toward peaceful reconstruction and social progress.

Thus the transport workers will strive :

A) to see to it that transport be directed toward a peaceful economy and to prevent it from being used for imperialist and colonialist war-like aims.

B) to see to it that a substantial part of credits from the national budgets be allocated for constructions and manufacturing useful to the population by cutting down armaments' expenses in order to develop :

a) programmes for housing-space construction.

b) hospital, sanitary curative and preventive establishments.

c) nurseries, schools, recreation homes, centers of culture.

d) means of communications to cope with the agglomerations in under-developed countries.

e) industrial and agricultural equipment of their countries.

C) To oppose the disintegration of transport means and industrial installations as well as any conversion of industry or establishment for war purposes.

D) To develop means for protecting their profession and the population against the instigators to an imperialist and colonialist war.

E) To popularize their aspirations to peace and social progress among all the strata of the workers and populations.

TRADE UNIONS INTERNATIONAL OF LAND AND AIR TRANSPORT WORKERS
T.D. of the W.F.T.U.

STRENGTH FOR THE FREE WORLD FROM THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
ECONOMIC COOPERATION ADMINISTRATION
OFFICE OF THE UNITED STATES SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE IN EUROPE
2, Rue Saint-Florentin
Paris, France

Att Europe

August 10, 1951

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
International President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 W. 125th Street
New York 27, N. Y.

Dear Phil:

Thanks a lot for your letter of August 7. It was a very great pleasure indeed for Mrs. Gausmann and me to be able to spend so much time with you while you were in Paris. I know I needn't tell you how happy we would be to do it again any time you can get to Europe.

Miss Jacobson did do a good job of getting around everybody's perfume regulations and I know she appreciated a lot the letter you sent to her.

Harry Turtledove was over here for a few days last week and told me of your fantastic experiences with the British customs authorities. The fact that you were coming through at the time the Cominform was routing people all over the world to this Berlin Conference had a lot to do with the incident, I am sure. Of course, this is no excuse for a perfectly outrageous performance.

With all good wishes and very best personal regards,

Fraternally yours,

Bill

William C. Gausmann
Chief, Policy Section
Labor Information Division

August 10, 1951

Sir Vincent Tewson, C.B.E. M.C.
Trades Union Congress
Transport House
Smith Square
London, S.W.I.

Dear Sir:

Permit me in the absence of Mr. Randolph to acknowledge receipt of your letter of August 7, 1951 concerning delay at the Immigration Office upon his arrival at the London Airport. May I say I will bring your letter to his attention upon his return to the city the early part of September and you will be hearing from him.

Very truly yours,

Hazel Alves Miller
Secretary

Telegraphic Address:
TRADUNIC, SOWEST, LONDON.

Telephone:
VICTORIA 9020.

TRADES UNION CONGRESS

GENERAL SECRETARY
SIR VINCENT TEWSON, C.B.E., M.C.
TO WHOM ALL COMMUNICATIONS
SHOULD BE ADDRESSED.

DEPARTMENT International
OUR REF. GW/AEC/MBM 141
YOUR REF.

TRANSPORT HOUSE,
SMITH SQUARE,
LONDON, S.W. 1.

August 7, 1951.

Mr. A. Philip Randolph,
President,
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters,
217 West 125th Street (Suite 301),
New York 27, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Randolph:

DELAY AT IMMIGRATION OFFICE,
LONDON AIRPORT

I had immediate inquiries made, as I promised you, of the Home Office into the complaint which you made about the circumstances of your examination by the Immigration Officer on your arrival at London Airport.

We are informed that the Immigration Officers' Report fixes at forty-five minutes the time between the landing of your plane and, after inquiry of the Home Office, your being given formal permission to land. I am given to understand that the rest of the time before you left the airport was spent by the Immigration staff in attempting to get in touch with Mr. Turtledove of E.C.A. on your behalf, and that it took them some forty minutes to locate Mr. Turtledove after a number of inquiries through the U.S. Embassy. The list of U.S. Embassy officials was, I am informed, produced only after you had been given permission to land and during the attempts which were made to locate Mr. Turtledove for you.

However, I am asked to convey to you an expression of the Home Secretary's regret that you should have been inconvenienced in any way. We believe that you will appreciate the need, in present circumstances, to take great care in ascertaining the intentions of visitors in this country. I understand, moreover, that in your case you were not provided with any papers relating to your visit, which was an added complication.

- over -

Please let me add my own deep regrets for the incident.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Geo Woodcock

Assistant General Secretary.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
ECONOMIC COOPERATION ADMINISTRATION
OFFICE OF THE UNITED STATES SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE IN EUROPE

August 14, 1951.

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
International President
Brotherhood of
Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York, 27, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Randolph,

May I express my appreciation for the valuable assistance and cooperation you afforded ECA during your recent visit to Europe ?

I regret that I was not here to meet with you. I have just returned from an extended trip to the United States. On my return, Lem Graves and others of the staff told me of the fine way in which you had made your limited time available without compensation.

Please feel free to call on us for any information on other materials at our disposal which you find need of.

Cordially and fraternally,

Harry Martin
Director
Labor Information

cc. Lem Graves.

European
Trip

September 17, 1951

Mr. George S. Schuyler
Pittsburgh Courier
2081 Seventh Avenue
New York 27, N.Y.

Dear George:

Just a word of remembrance and to say that I got back from my European tour as scheduled, August 2nd then promptly went to Canada to visit our divisions there which kept me away from the city until the first week in September. I want to express my sincere thanks and appreciation for your helpful briefing on the trip to Europe and the leaders and contacts which I found most convenient to have.

In Oslo I had a splendid but brief time with our mutual friend Boardman at the University of Oslo but I did not get to meet the German friends in Berlin since my time there was also short and I was a part of an AFL delegation which had a rather tight schedule and from which I could not get away. Unfortunately, I did not get to Holland or Brussels. I spent only four days in Paris and most of my time was spent working with an AFL delegation. I did not get to see Padmore since he was away in Africa when I arrived. All in all I had a splendid and interesting trip.

I experienced quite a bit of inconvenience upon entering Great Britain but it was interesting to observe the English giving me the business. It appears they were fearful of me because they thought I was a Communist or an African agitator bent upon giving them trouble in Africa. When I talked with the British Labor leaders before leaving, they expressed amazement and regret about the incident.

Concerning the questionnaire on Negro labor, while I am leaving the city for San Francisco to attend the AFL Convention, I will jot down some notes on the questions and have them sent to you.

Cordially,

APR:ha

A. Philip Randolph
International President

Europe

September 25, 1951

Mr. Philip Heller
Economic Cooperation Administration
Office of the Special Mission to Germany
Frankfurt, Germany

Dear Phil:

Thanks a lot for your letter of August 6th with copy of paper carrying my photograph with some of our German brothers during my visit to Berlin. I assure you that I enjoyed my association with them immensely and was sorry that my stay was so short.

I was sorry that I did not get a chance to spend some time with you, but my schedule was so tight that I was unable to remain in any one place more than a day. However, I hope to get to Europe again in the near future.

Cordially yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR:RB

"Serving Greater New York"

NEW YORK
EDITION of
Pittsburgh Courier

2091 SEVENTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.
MOnument 2-4550-1

GEORGE S. SCHUYLER
New York Editor

Trip to Europe

September 27, 1951.

Dear Phil:

Thanks for yours of September 17th. I see that, as usual, you have been traveling all over the country since your return fromEurope. It was unfortunate that you were unable to get to Berlin because your arrival was enthusiastically expected. This was also true in Brussels,Amsterdam and Copenhagen.

The little difficulty you experienced in Londen was more or less to be expected because the British officials (like those in India and other countries) are very jittery these days, especially since England is simply crawling with Communists and fellow-travelers among the so-called intellectuals. I am glad that you had no other untoward incidents.

Looking forward to receiving the questionnaire on Negro Labor, and appreciating your cooperation, I am

Cordially yours,

George S. Schuyler
New York Editor.

GSS:p

Member of The Audit Bureau of Circulations

ENGLAND:---Have Padmore book you at the swell Park Lane Hotel.

George Padmore, 22 Cranleigh House, Cranleigh Street, London, N.W.1
Michael Goodwin, Editor,19th Century, Adprint House, Rathvone Pl."

FRANCE:

Gaston Monnerville, President of the Council of State, Luxemburg Palace, Paris.
Mme. Jane Vialle, Senator of Oubangui-Shari, Luxemburg Palace, Paris. Residence: 11 Rue de la Tour, Paris. TROcadero 06-27
Ollie Stewart, 35 Avenue Junot, Paris (18)
Lem Graves, Labor Division ECA. Telephone: Opera 69-05, Extension 585

BELGIUM: - Stay at Hotel Metropole — very swank.

Paul Fabo (Negro), Editor, L'Afrique et le Monde, 35, rue de Ruysbroeck, Brussels.
Albert Maurice (white) speaks English, same address.

NETHERLANDS:

Mrs. Nela Hatterman, 9 Folkestraat, Amsterdam (white painter--speaks English) Telephone: 36295
Mr. Eugene Gessel, Erik de Roode Strasse, 9 (3rd Floor) Amsterdam. (Speaks English. Is school principal--Negro)

NORWAY:

Mrss. Anne Schjelderup (Anne Brown), Skogryggvn, 10, Vettakollen, Oslo. Telephone: 69-68-66
Alfred Griffin, University of Oslo. (U.S. Negro student)
Philip Boardman, University of Oslo Summer School.
Per Monsen, Arbeiderbladet (big newspaper) Oslo
Eugene Robinson (Negro ballet dancer), Camille Colletts, Vei Street, 15, Oslo.

You don't need visas for any of the above countries. Just have passport. Let American Express supply you with list of good hotelss.
If you should go to Berlin, look up Melvin J. Lasky, editor of Der Monet, He is an American (used to be on the New Leader here and can be contacted through the High Commissioner's office. Currently in the U.S.

If you want a time, seek out Miss Marianne Schmock, 3 Ulandstrasse, Berlin-Charlottenberg, Germany. Has her own apartment and will arrange a wild party--from head to foot! Plenty of fine chicks in the night clubs, and much cheaper than Paris, London or Brussels.

Frankfurt "jumps" too, and there are plenty of boogies around there, in the Army, etc.

If you want a letter of introduction to any of these people, let me know, also probable day of arrival, and I'll write to them beforehand.

Cordially

George Schuyler

[illegible] Phil Boardman
60/884

538910

464811 Coch's pensjonat
Parkvn. 25 III

Bill Worthy
694845

E. R. P.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
ECONOMIC COOPERATION ADMINISTRATION
SPECIAL MISSION TO ITALY
62 VIA VENETO, ROME

CABLE ADDRESS
"ITALECA"

Europe

October 10, 1951

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
International President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street, Room 301
New York 27, N. Y.

Dear Phil:

Thanks for your very nice note. I, too, am terribly sorry I missed you while you were in Italy. I would like very much to tell you about all the things I know would interest you a great deal and also introduce you to a number of interesting and important people.

I do miss the meetings at which we used to occasionally see each other. Incidentally, would you please give my best regards to Ben McLauren.

Cordially,

Amicus Most

Amicus Most, Chief
Industrial Production Division

AM:mmr

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
ECONOMIC COOPERATION ADMINISTRATION
SPECIAL MISSION TO THE UNITED KINGDOM
AMERICAN EMBASSY
LONDON, W.1, ENGLAND

October 11th 1951

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York 27, N.Y.

Dear Brother Randolph,

I am sure you will find the enclosed clipping of some interest. It appeared in a recent number of 'The People', a popular Socialist Sunday newspaper.

I have no idea who Swaffer's source of information was. No-one has discussed the matter with me since your departure.

I hope to be meeting you again one of these days - perhaps this time on your home grounds.

Cordially,

Harry L. Turtledove
Labor Information Officer

.PEOPLE.

Sept. 30. 51

It's the latest in witch hunts

By HANNEN SWAFFER

HAS witch-hunting spread to Britain? I ask because, despite his anti-Communist speeches, Philip Randolph, the Negro founder of the Pullman Porters Union, was refused permission to leave London Airport, a few weeks ago, "because you are a Communist."

When he vigorously protested, an official pointed to a copy of "The New Republic"—a Liberal weekly!—found in his baggage, and said, "That proves it."

After four hours, Randolph was allowed to contact the American Embassy, which obtained him leave to stay — but only for ten days and with restricted movements!

Randolph's opinion is that he was harassed because of his criticisms of Britain's policy towards Africans and during India's fight for independence. Why not welcome such visitors, so they can learn about the great changes in Commonwealth policy?

Artists in exile

BECAUSE of the fantastic witch-hunt which victimised them in the States, both John Garfield and Artie Shaw may settle here permanently.

Shaw, the clarinet-playing bandleader, who has left behind all his six ex-wives, including Lana Turner and Ava Gardner, is forming an English orchestra of six pieces. Already, he has had several lucrative offers.

Garfield, who has been paid as much as 40,000 dollars for a film, plans to revive "Golden Boy" in London.

It was when she divorced him that Kathleen Winsor spitefully accused Shaw, really a Rooseveltian price-controller in politics, of trying to make her a Communist. "Unmitigated nonsense!" replied Shaw.

But that sort of unjust accusation is imperilling the living of many talented American artists.

Cripps says "No"

THE Prime Minister carefully explored the possibilities of arranging what would have been one of the most dramatic events of the election — a broadcast by Stafford Cripps.

To millions who remembered how the ex-Chancellor, after nearly killing himself with his efforts to rebuild our economy, began to recover directly after receiving what was almost feared to be his last Sacrament, this would have seemed almost as "a voice back from the grave."

Certainly, its effect would have been tremendous. Sir Stafford, however, had to decide to take no part in the election. The strain would be too much.

WILLIAM S. BENNET
NEW YORK 5

Trip to Europe

October twenty-third
1951

Dear Mr. Randolph :

Congratulations on your remarks at the Milan Congress, as reported in ECA Labor News Letter, Volume 111- No. 10, July 1951, pages 9 and 12.

It was a strictly American statement; entirely correct, put our country in the right light; and, for the making of it, you are entitled to a good deal of credit.

Very truly yours,

William S. Bennet

WSB:gb

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
217 West 125th Street
New York, N. Y.

Europe

November 7, 1951

Mr. Phil A. Heller
Office of U.S. High Commission
Frankfurt, Germany

Dear Phil:

Just a word to thank you for the literature on German labor that you sent me. It is very informative so far as I am able to decipher the little German I know. You are doing a mighty good job there and I hope to visit Germany sometime in the next year and I hope to see you.

Fraternally yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR:ha

Europe

November 7, 1951

Mr. H. Turtledove
Economic Cooperation Administration
London, England

Dear Brother Turtledove:

Just a word to thank you for your letter of October 11th with enclosure commenting on the incident in connection with my arrival in London. Evidently the matter was secured from the Pittsburgh Courier. I cabled the Courier a statement on the incident the following day. Of course this news item, as it is, is quite twisted. In fact it is practically 100% wrong.

I don't know who Swaffer is and I am not familiar with The Peoples Popular Socialist Newspaper.

We had a socialist newspaper in New York called the Weekly People which sought to give the old Solon Deleon social philosophy.

I shall look forward to seeing you sometime either in the states or in Europe. Permit me to thank you for the hospitality shown me while in London.

Sincerely,

APR:ha

A. Philip Randolph
International President

Europe

Labor Information Office

ECONOMIC COOPERATION ADMINISTRATION
SPECIAL MISSION TO FRANCE

AMERICAN EMBASSY, PARIS

Monsieur A. Philip Randolph:

Dear Mr. Randolph:

This is just a hasty note, from myself and Ken Douty, to say that we have been pleased to make a schedule for you which will be, we hope, attractive to you.

Friends in the Socialist Party of France have arranged a luncheon of Socialists for you as guest of honor, for 1 p.m. FRIDAY at Larue's restaurant in the rue Royale, very convenient to the Crillon. The most important figures in the party (Guy Mollet is out of Paris now) are on the list of guests, invited by the Socialists.

Ken and I are also preparing a press conference at 5 pm. FRIDAY-- a tentative date and hour at this moment -- for a group of "labor" and "social problems of the French economy" writers who will want to know all about wages and prices in the States, and, no doubt, your views on wages and prices in France.

I am looking forward to the pleasure of meeting you

Robert Faherty

(PRINT IN BLOCK PLEASE
EN LETTRES MAJUSCULES SVP)

NOMS NAMES	TITRES TITLES
A. Philip Randolph	President Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
PIERRE METAYER	ministre de la Fonction publique
Agnes Douty	—
PIERRE COMMIN –	Secrétaire general Adjoint du Parti Socialiste SFIO
Claude-Gérard LAGARDE –	Direct. Agence coopérative d'Information – Paris
Mavourneen CASTALDI	Labor Information E.C.A.
Gustave Robert.	Président de l'Association Amicale de la Presse démocratique Directeur du "Libre Artois"
Kenneth DOUTY.	Chef, Bureau du Travail ECA Mission in France

Oreste Rosenfeld

Conseiller de l'Union Française
Membre du Comité Directeur
du Parti Socialiste
Directeur de Populaire-Dimanche

Robert FAHERTY

Labor Information Office
ECA/France

Robert Jean Longuet

Presse Diplomatique
Française
member of the Paris Bar

FAVREAU, R.E. - INTERPRETER
ECA.FR.

LAMINE - GUÈYE

Député Maire de Dakar

Ancien Ministre

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Miss Lillian Speight 1351 S Street N.W. Wash. D.C.
Mrs Julia Anderson 1040 Trinity Ave., Bronx 56 N.Y.
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Mrs Blanche M. Locklear 465 W 157th St, N.Y.C.
Mr & Mrs H.W. Smart 1325 E Duval St Jax
Mrs Earish M. M. White 813 W Ashley St., Jax
Mrs Jeannetta S. Anderson 16 Atlantic Ave Buffalo N.Y.
Mrs Thelma Burrell 410 W. 130th St N.Y. 27, N.Y.
Mr & Mrs Rita Carolina 109 Blanton St Asheville, N.C.
Mrs Ann V. Boyd 310 W. 122nd St N.Y. 27 N.Y.
Miss Thelma Young 2210-105-32nd Ave Tampa, Fla.
Miss Muriel Blake 1871 7th Ave N.Y. 26

Mrs Ruth Bralf Studio 67 W. 67 St N.Y.C.
Mr & Mrs G. B. (Wyleen) Powell 2914-29th St Tampa 5, Fla.
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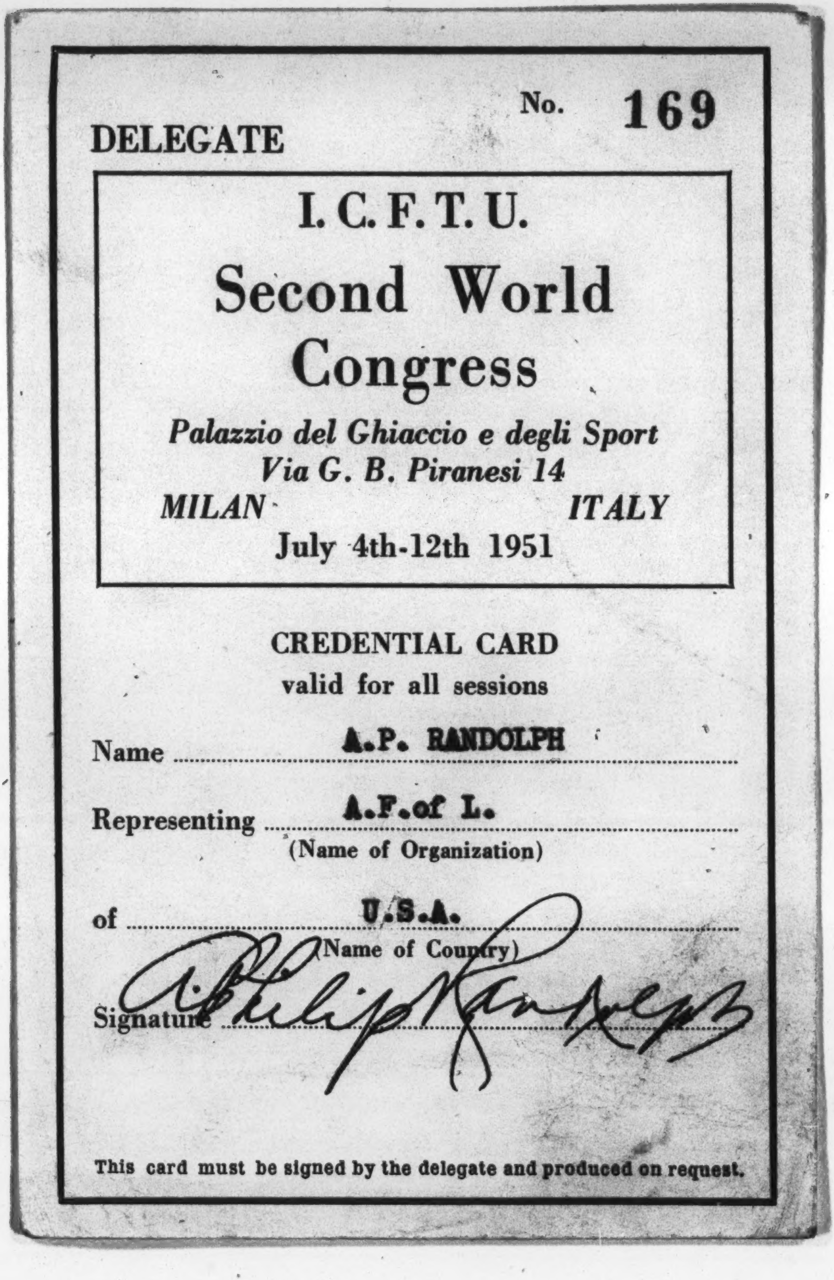
Mrs Pearl Evans 425 Madison Buffalo, N.Y.
Mrs Mary & Ford Williams 1829 N W 3rd Ave Miami 36, Fla
Mrs Iris Gilbourne 55 Somerset St, Newark N.J.
Mrs A.D. Hubert 5260 N W 32nd Ave Miami, Fla
Mrs Marge Porter 5260 W 32nd Ave
Mrs Gwendolynne L. Washington 1021½ 31 St So. St. Pete Fla
Miss Jeannetta E Hardwick P.O. Box 93 Bronx 56, N.Y.
Miss Ann Hawk 31 Burbank St Boston
Mrs Cecila Charles 226 W. Springfield St. Boston
Mr & Mrs Henry Hemmons 107 Northland Av. Buffalo
Mr & Mrs Eugene M Jones 6243 Evans St So Chicago, Ill.

Mrs Virginia D. Randolph 820 Maltby Ave Norfolk, Va.
Mrs Katherine McMillian 717 So Preston St, Louisville, Ky.
Mr + Mrs B. J. Madison 617 Johnson St Jacksonville, Fla.
Miss Mary ~~Johnson~~ Stewart " " " " " "
Mrs Beatrice McLin 335 Jackson St St. Aug. Fla.
Mrs Sammella Marlin 1109 - 17th Ave No. Nashville, Tenn
Mrs Selma Matthews 21 T St N.W. Washington, D.C.
Miss Melva Stuart 295 Convent St New York 31, N.Y.
Mrs M. C. Oglesby 146 Danville ube Roxbury, Mass.
Mr & Mrs Geo M Sutton 1452 Channing St., N.E. Wash, D.C.
Miss Irene Phillips 235 Sullivan St New York 12, N.Y.
Mrs Clara M. Pearsall 2110 N.W. 5th St. Miami 36, Fla.
Mr & Mrs R. E. Smith 1921 Myrtle Ave Jacksonville, Fla.
Mrs Nora Versells 557 W 150th St apt 22 N.Y. 31 N.Y.
Mrs Ella L Wortham 1516 Maryland St Gary, Ind.
Miss Mamie Wilson 1222 Marshall Richmond, Va.
Mrs Louise J. Whitten 1619 R St N.W. Wash, D.C.
Miss Margaret Stockston 1450 Congress Pl S.E. Wash, D.C.
Miss Mozella Tatum
Mrs Josephine Williams 202 Heck St Raleigh, N.C.
Mrs Nan Michael 64 Phifer St Asheville N.C.
Mr + Mrs H. C. McQueen 2 Aston Rd., Asheville N.C.
Mr + Mrs Chas Shepherd 112 Blanton St., Asheville, N.C.
Mrs Viola Frasier 333 Southside Ave Asheville N.C.
Mrs Maida Springer 218 W 40th St New York 18 N.Y.
Mr + Mrs Grant Reynolds 6 Brookview Ave., Whiteplains, N.Y.



DELEGATE No. **169**

I. C. F. T. U.

Second World Congress

Palazzio del Ghiaccio e degli Sport
Via G. B. Piranesi 14
MILAN *ITALY*
July 4th-12th 1951

CREDENTIAL CARD
valid for all sessions

Name A.P. RANDOLPH

Representing A.F.of L.
(Name of Organization)

of U.S.A.
(Name of Country)

Signature A. Philip Randolph

This card must be signed by the delegate and produced on request.

E. F. Small
Gambia Labour Union
Bathurst
Gambia
West Africa

Albert Pickerin
c/o T. G. R.
Todd's Road,
Trinidad, B.W.I.

Railway Workers' Trade Union.

Martin Jn Baptiste
St Lucia Workers
Cooperative Union
Castries St Lucia.
B. W. I.

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH **SUBJECT FILE** European Trip 1952

(2)

387

AMERICAN EXPRESS COMPANY
649 FIFTH AVE.

Printed in U.S.A.

MEMORANDUM

SUBJECT:

CITY: N.Y.

DATE: 4/17, 1952

Urgent

Mr. Philip Randolph:

Dear Mr. Randolph:

Kindly fill out the enclosed questionnaires and if possible bring in to this office Monday. Time is of essence.

I must have Burmese Visa to obtain Transit Visa for Hongkong.

For India I need (you need!) Cholera Vaccination & Smallpox certificate. Just for transit via Calcutta and Karachi.

Cordially

C. Conti

CONGRÈS POUR LA LIBERTÉ DE LA CULTURE
(Présidents d'Honneur : Benedetto Croce, John Dewey, Karl Jaspers, Salvador de Madariaga, Jacques Maritain, Bertrand Russell)

LES AMIS DE LA LIBERTÉ
41, Avenue Montaigne — PARIS (VIII°) — Téléphone : ELYsées 56-61

SECRÉTARIAT

Paris le 30 Avril 1952

YH
N°1389/AL/Cong.

Monsieur Philip RANDOLPH
Président of the Brotherhood of
Sleeping Car Porters
Room 301
217, West 125 TH Street
NEW-YORK

OBJET :
Congrès des "Amis de la Liberté"

Monsieur,

Monsieur Enock vous prie de bien vouloir trouver ci-inclus un exemplaire du résumé du rapport de Monsieur Stanislas Fumet.

Veuillez agréer, Monsieur, l'assurance de nos sentiments distingués.

Pr. le Secrétaire Général :

Y Haust

Europe

May 5, 1952

Mr. Harry L. Turtledove
Labor Information Officer
Mutual Security Agency
American Embassy
London, W.I., England

Dear Mr. Turtledove:

Just a word to let you know that Mr. Randolph is in the Orient. He is expected back in the office after the 20th of May and I am sure he will be glad to hear from you anytime. I will bring your letter to his attention upon his return.

Sincerely yours,

Hazel Alves Miller
Secretary

STRENGTH FOR THE FREE WORLD FROM THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
MUTUAL SECURITY AGENCY
SPECIAL MISSION TO THE UNITED KINGDOM FOR ECONOMIC COOPERATION
AMERICAN EMBASSY
LONDON, W.1, ENGLAND

April 30th 1952

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
Suite 301
New York 27

Dear Brother Randolph:

I am returning to the States on home leave after three years in Europe, and will be in New York starting May 14th.

I expect to call your office while in New York, and if it is convenient for you, would like very much to talk with you personally.

Fraternally,

Harry L. Turtledove
Labor Information Officer

CONGRÈS POUR LA LIBERTÉ DE LA CULTURE
(Présidents d'Honneur : Benedetto Croce, John Dewey, Karl Jaspers, Salvador de Madariaga, Jacques Maritain, Bertrand Russell)

LES AMIS DE LA LIBERTÉ
41, Avenue Montaigne — PARIS (VIII°) — Tél. : ELYsées 56-61

SECRÉTARIAT

Paris, le 6 Mai 1952

LT 1430
n° ~~I380~~ AL/cong.

Monsieur Philip RANDOLPH
Président of the Brotherhood of
Sleeping Car Porters
Room 30I
2I7, West I25 th Street
NEW-YORK

OBJET :
Congrès des "Amis de la Liberté"

Monsieur,

Monsieur Enock vous prie de bien vouloir trouver ci-inclus un exemplaire du résumé du rapport de Monsieur Raymond Aron.

Veuillez agréer, Monsieur, l'assurance de nos sentiments distingués.

Pr. le Secrétaire Général :

M. L. Rouillon

ASSOCIATION FRANCAISE DES "AMIS DE LA LIBERTE"

Première Conférence nationale et internationale

PARIS - Maison de la Chimie - 16, 17 et 18 Mai 1952

O R D R E D U J O U R

* * *

VENDREDI 16 MAI 1952 : 10h. à 18h.30

Conférences Nationales et Internationales
- des "Jeunes Amis de la Liberté"
- et de l'"Association des Femmes pour la Paix et la Défense des Libertés"

SAMEDI 17 MAI 1952 -

I - LES "SEDUCTIONS" DU TOTALITARISME

10 heures : 1°) Le Totalitarisme devant la conscience chrétienne

a) Rapport de M. Stanislas Fumet
b) Discussion

14h.30 : 2°) Le Totalitarisme et la classe ouvrière

a) Rapport de M. André Lafond
Secrétaire Confédéral C.G.T.-F.O.
b) Discussion

16h.30 : 3°) Le Totalitarisme dans le monde de la Littérature et des Arts

a) Rapport de M. Georges Altman
b) Discussion

II - TOTALITARISME ET LIBERTE

DIMANCHE 18 MAI 1952 : 10h. à 18h.

a) Rapport de M. Raymond Aron
b) Discussion

* * *

LES AMIS DE LA LIBERTE

-:-:-:-:-:-:-

Conférence nationale et internationale des 17 et 18 Mai 1952
PARIS - Maison de la Chimie

Rapport de M. Raymond ARON sur :

"TOTALITARISME ET LIBERTE"

-:-:-:-

Depuis quelques années, de multiples enquêtes, rencontres, articles ou livres ont été consacrés au thème numéro 1 de notre Conférence : la séduction du totalitarisme.

Cette curiosité est légitime. Ce qui est surprenant, ce n'est pas que, par la police, les régimes totalitaires, une fois installés, puissent se maintenir sans limite de temps, ni que, grâce à la victoire militaire, ils puissent étendre leur empire. Ce qui est surprenant, c'est qu'ils remportent tant de victoires pacifiques, qu'ils gagnent tant d'adeptes, fanatiques, désintéressés, prêts à tous les sacrifices pour le triomphe de leur cause.

Certes, nous savons mal jusqu'à quel point la psychologie des communistes militants au milieu des infidèles ressemble à celle des communistes triomphants. Il est probable que la dégénérescence morale entame rapidement les combattants nantis, devenus profiteurs de la tyrannie et conscients de l'intervalle entre l'idéal qu'ils professaient et le régime qu'ils édifient. Malgré tout, on aurait tort de céder au goût de la simplification. Les communistes triomphants se tiennent encore pour des militants puisqu'à leurs yeux rien n'est fait tant qu'il reste à faire, que rien n'est assuré tant que l'Union des Républiques Socialistes Soviétiques ne se confond pas avec l'humanité entière. Bien plus, l'ordre et la discipline des partis communistes militants présentent déjà assez des caractères des partis communistes triomphants, l'échange des informations entre les pays et les communistes des deux côtés du rideau de fer est suffisamment intense pour que l'ignorance prétendue, bien loin d'être une explication, demande elle-même à être expliquée.

.../...

Le fait demeure que, si nous sommes ou du moins croyons être des amis de la liberté, nous rencontrons tout proches de nous, dans notre collectivité nationale, des amis de la tyrannie, ou du moins des hommes qui, employant les mêmes mots que nous, nous paraissent, malgré tout, être des amis de la tyrannie ? Pourquoi ?

Les recherches faites sur ce cas psychologique ou sur ce cas sociologique n'ont pas été stériles. Au contraire, elles ont été fécondes, on serait tenté de dire trop fécondes. On a étudié - hier encore - les procédés d'infiltration stalinienne dans les différents milieux et l'on a montré à la fois certaines règles toujours valables de la technique (présenter le communisme aux non initiés, aux sympathisants, aux indifférents, aux masses comme s'il était dans la ligne des aspirations les plus universelles, dans la continuité de la tradition nationale, comme s'il était l'aboutissement de ce qu'ont souhaité et voulu, depuis toujours, les hommes de bonne volonté) et l'indéfinie diversité des moyens, des paroles, des justifications, des mots d'ordre.

Cette étude de la technique d'infiltration a une utilité incontestable, tant l'opinion et trop souvent même ceux qui ont la charge d'éclairer l'opinion se révèlent incapables de comprendre cette technique et de trouver la parade appropriée. On l'a vu à propos de l'action des Partisans de la Paix depuis l'Appel de Stockholm jusqu'à la Conférence de Moscou.

De même, quand on a étudié non plus la technique d'infiltration mais les motifs de la sympathie diffuse qui entoure le stalinisme dans certains milieux, les mobiles profonds qui déterminent le ralliement de tant d'ouvriers, d'intellectuels, de jeunes et de vieux à la foi nouvelle, on a rapporté une riche moisson de formules. La déception tient, en ce cas, à cette richesse même. Le séminaire, réuni l'an dernier en Alsace, où quelques-uns des spécialistes les plus qualifiés ont confronté leurs observations et leurs théories, semble avoir - le texte des entretiens n'est pas encore publié - collectionné les interprétations - depuis le désir d'être du dernier bateau, d'être à gauche, avec le peuple, de suivre le mouvement de l'histoire, c'est-à-dire, selon les individus, avec les vainqueurs de demain ou la Raison universelle, jusqu'à la révolte contre les injustices sociales, l'inefficacité des démocraties, etc...

L'énumération des motifs de ralliement, partiel ou total, au stalinisme est longue, elle pourrait être prolongée encore. En effet, la mise en forme rationnelle du communisme varie avec les individus, les groupes, les nations, les circonstances. Les thèmes constants du stalinisme - libération du prolétariat, contradictions du capitalisme, avènement inévitable du communisme, industrialisation au bénéfice de tous - étant vastes et vagues, chaque sympathisant, chaque converti est en mesure de leur donner l'expression

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intellectuelle la plus conforme à son système ancien de préférences morales ou de conceptions intellectuelles. Il y a une+ mise en forme du stalinisme par ou à l'usage de l'ex-fasciste/ou de l'ex-jacobin, par les ou à l'usage des Européens, des Chinois, des Japonais ou des Musulmans. On trouve donc trop facilement les motifs des Staliniens ou des demi Staliniens : il suffit de saisir les diverses mises en forme intellectuelle du stalinisme, aussi nombreuses que les familles d'esprit, sensibles à la séduction de la Foi nouvelle.

Quand on en vient aux mobiles, c'est-à-dire aux déterminations psychologiques du ralliement, on se heurte à la même diversité, au moins apparente. Les uns vont au stalinisme parce qu'ils ont peur de ne pas courir assez vite au secours de la victoire, les autres parce qu'ils sont affamés de dévouement, voire de sacrifice. L'opportunisme le plus sordide côtoie l'idéalisme le plus sublime. Mais nepourrait-on pas en dire autant de tous les mouvements historiques qui charrient, en un flot unique, la boue humaine et les plus purs élans ? L'histoire n'a pas connu de religion que n'aient souillé les excès de la violence, que n'aient sauvé les sacrifices et les ferveurs des croyants.

Pour surmonter ces explications qui n'en sont pas, parce qu'elles sont trop nombreuses, il faut probablement mieux cerner le problème. Quels sont les caractères spécifiques de la Foi nouvelle ? Où ces ralliements sont-ils à ce point nombreux qu'ils constituent, par leur nombre même, un fait nouveau qui appelle une enquête ?

I - AMBIVALENCE ET MILLENARISME

Nous voudrions prendre pour point de départ un caractère de la Foi nouvelle qui a déjà été noté par certains observateurs (Thierry Maulnier, en particulier) mais dont on n'a peut-être pas tiré toutes les conséquences : le caractère ambivalent du stalinisme, d'où résulte que l'on attribue aux ralliements, dans leur ensemble et à chacun d'eux en particulier, des motifs ou des mobiles exactement contraires.

Le stalinisme, dit-on, a l'attrait d'une vérité religieuse, qui fixe la valeur absolue, hiérarchise par rapport à elle les êtres et les choses, qui appelle les sentiments dont se sont nourris, à travers les siècles, les religions, la foi, l'espérance, l'amour. Ces propositions banales sont vraies. Mais les propositions exactement opposées ne sont-elle pas vraies également ? Le stalinisme est moins une doctrine fermée qu'une méthode de découverte, moins une religion qu'une science. Le fidèle n'a pas à répéter un catéchisme, mais à suivre une interprétation

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jamais achevée d'une histoire qui se fait et qu'il contribue à faire. Le dogmatisme, si dogmatisme il y a, porte sur des lois que l'esprit scientifique n'aurait pas plus de peine à reconnaître pour telles qu'il n'en éprouve à accepter les principes de la mécanique ou de la thermodynamique.

A une extrémité, les Staliniens sont des chrétiens (nous songeons aux progressistes) qui joignent le parti des pauvres, dénoncent, comme le Christ, l'égoïsme des riches et attendent du Prophète de la Bonne Nouvelle l'accomplissement temporel d'espérances que la déception seule avait rejetées vers l'autre monde. Mais, à une autre extrémité, les Staliniens recueillent les fascistes sans emploi qui retrouvent sous d'autres insignes la technique d'encadrement collectif, l'ardeur de combat et de création propre au XXème siècle aux bâtisseurs de pyramides, aux polytechniciens, qui ne distinguent plus guère entre le matériau et la main d'oeuvre.

On continuerait sans peine cette analyse des contrastes. On fait appel à la capacité de foi et d'enthousiasme quand on découvre aux militants l'avenir radieux, la société sans classes, l'humanité réconciliée avec elle-même. Mais on n'hésite pas davantage à leur enseigner la nécessité de la ruse et du cynisme, l'efficacité du machiavélisme. On parle sans cesse des masses et aux intellectuels frustrés, aux bourgeois névrosés, on offre en promesse la communion avec la foule des humbles. Mais en même temps, on proclame que les cadres décident de tout, on cultive chez les militants la fierté d'appartenir au petit nombre des élus ou des initiés (en un pays soviétisé, la distinction entre la masse et l'élite subsiste, bien plûtôt est-elle renforcée par la dissociation et de la masse et de l'élite : à chaque niveau se répète la distinction qui permet de combiner les vertus du grand et celles du petit nombre). On veut faire aimer Staline, l'Union soviétique, le parti bolchevik, les partis communistes, mais on veut aussi les faire craindre. Le génial guide des travailleurs du monde entier est aussi le Maréchal, fort de ses centaines de divisions, le juge suprême qui n'a pas épargné les compagnons de Lénine.

Le stalinisme, en un sens, n'est pas encore, il sera, il est l'avenir de l'humanité. Mais, en un autre sens, il a toujours été, il est l'accomplissement de tout ce qu'il y eut de grand et de noble dans l'aventure humaine et, comme le Christ lui-même, il apporte à la fois la paix et la guerre. A l'usage des naïfs, il reprend les mots d'ordre du pacifisme comme s'il les tenait pour valables, mais il ne se gêne pas pour proclamer qu'il n'est pas contre toutes les guerres mais seulement contre les guerres impérialistes.

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Bien plus, il proclame légitimes toutes les guerres anti-impérialistes. Or toutes les guerres menées par un pays ou un parti de la zone soviétique (qui reconnaît Staline) sont anti-impérialistes. Elles sont donc légitimes. Le stalinisme se cache à peine de signifier la guerre permanente aussi longtemps que l'humanité entière ne sera pas convertie au nouvel Evangile.

Humanitaire et terroriste, idéaliste et cynique, millénariste et machiavélique, dogmatique et scientifique, communion des masses et conspiration des élites, guerre au comptant et paix à terme, telle est la doctrine stalinienne qui attire et repousse, séduit et fait horreur et finit pas fasciner ceux mêmes qui résistent au charme.

Cette première analyse rend compte du fait que nous avions noté un peu plus haut : la multiplicité des explications que l'on a données de la séduction du totalitarisme et des motifs que l'on a prêtés aux militants ou sympathisants. L'ambivalence étant le caractère propre de la doctrine, tels motifs peuvent être dominants ici, tels autres là, et l'on identifiera, selon les pays, les milieux ou les moments, les chrétiens et les polytechniciens, les religieux et les scientifiques, les opportunistes et les martyrs, les croyants et les roués, les communiants et les conspirateurs.

Mais, à ce point, un doute s'élève. En admettant qu'un motif, un tempérament soit dominant ici, un autre là, le cas pur est-il la règle ou l'exception ? Le chrétien sait-il ou ignore-t-il qu'il combat avec les polytechniciens, l'humanitaire avec les terroristes ? Ces oppositions sont-elles dissimulées ou avouées par les meneurs du jeu ? Les termes opposés se contrarient-ils ou bien, au contraire, multiplient-ils leur action l'un par l'autre ? La réponse, si paradoxale puisse-t-elle paraître, ne me paraît pas douteuse : l'ambivalence est à peine camouflée, elle se retrouve dans les sentiments et les idées de tous ceux qui collaborent à l'Entreprise.

Le chrétien adhère au parti des pauvres, mais il n'ignore pas que ce parti transforme les pauvres en combattants et les chefs des pauvres en riches (on n'a pas oublié la justification agressive de l'automobile de Thorez). L'humanitaire connaît plus ou moins l'existence des camps de concentration et de la terreur. Abstraitement, il invoquera, à la manière de Merleau-Ponty, la nécessité de la terreur pour mettre fin à la terreur diffuse dont aucune société n'a pu se passer, voire même la nécessité de la terreur totale pour liquider, une fois pour toutes, les terreurs partielles dont s'accommodait l'hypocrisie.

Quel est le mécanisme de cette ambivalence ? Intellectuellement, il se ramène toujours, sous une forme plus ou moins subtile, à l'argumentation du prophétisme et du millénarisme.

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Le stalinisme ne se définit ni par ses institutions ni par la psychologie actuelle de ses chefs ou de ses troupes, mais par ce qu'il sera. Le stalinisme est essentiellement son avenir, qui se confond avec l'avenir de l'humanité. Psychologiquement et affectivement, l'ambivalence est autrement profonde et enracinée. Le frisson de peur avec lequel le chrétien se rallie au parti des pauvres, le pressentiment ou la crainte de la terreur prochaine qui accompagne l'attente de la lointaine société sans classes, toutes les équivoques du coeur sont bien plus caractéristiques des expériences vécues que les motifs que l'analyse isolerait abstraitement et donnerait pour types de conversion. Les humanitaires se sentent mystérieusement attirés par la violence déchaînée. Les polytechniciens aiment à croire que leurs édifices gigantesques feront le bonheur des hommes - de ceux de demain sinon de ceux qui, aujourd'hui, peinent à les bâtir.

Nous en arrivons ainsi aux deux propositions suivantes : intellectuellement, le stalinisme serait une modalité de la pensée prophétique, le développement de la conception millénariste, la valeur inconditionnelle d'un avenir, proclamé à la fois parfait et inévitable, justifierait de proche en proche tous les actes, si cruels soient-ils, de ceux qui sont les constructeurs de ce qui doit être, tous les évènements, si mystérieux puissent-ils paraître, de l'Histoire qui conduit au but ultime. Affectivement, les Staliniens offriraient un cas privilégié d'expériences ambivalentes, religion qui se veut science, science qui se donne pour religion, humanitarisme qui tolère la terreur, terreur qui se donne pour l'expression de l'humanitarisme, petit nombre qui se veut expression de la masse, masse qui s'imagine constituer une élite. Expérience religieuse, à laquelle seul le caractère séculier de la religion donne une originalité supplémentaire.

II - RUPTURE, DISPONIBILITE, RALLIEMENT

A partir de ces analyses, peut-être est-il moins difficile de préciser les questions posées au point de départ : quelle est l'explication de la séduction du totalitarisme ? Quels sont les motifs de ralliement ?

Le prophétisme ne se répand que dans les sociétés où des individus sont en grand nombre disponibles, autrement dit consentent à rompre avec l'état de choses existant et mettent leurs espoirs dans un ordre à créer et non dans l'ordre établi. Cette disponibilité n'est pas nécessairement la mesure des maux réels de la société (après coup, beaucoup des sociétés stables apparurent plus injustes que les sociétés agitées par des troubles révolutionnaires). Elle est la mesure des appréciations que les hommes portent sur la société dans laquelle ils vivent ou plûtôt des sentiments qu'ils éprouvent à l'égard de leur milieu. Le sort de l'ouvrier français s'est, à coup sûr, amélioré depuis 1850 ou depuis 1900. L'ouvrier français n'en est pas moins, semble-t-il, plus révolté en 1950 qu'il y a 50 ou 100 ans, plus convaincu qu'il est victime d'une injustice perma-

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nente et aussi qu'il n'a rien à attendre des progrès à l'intérieur du monde dit capitaliste.

En d'autres termes, la propension au prophétisme est liée avant tout à l'idée ou au sentiment qui s'exprime dans la formule banale : "il n'y a rien à espérer de ces gens-là, rien à espérer de ce monde-ci." Le phénomène décisif, ce n'est pas que l'on critique ou même que l'on déteste les riches, les maîtres, l'Etat, l'essentiel, c'est que l'on désespère de tout ce que l'on connaît et que l'on espère tout d'un avenir rayonnant et inconnu. Si telle est l'essence du millénarisme, on s'explique qu'il puisse séduire aussi bien les hommes simples que les intellectuels, aussi bien les paysans chinois que les ouvriers de Renault, le phénomène de rupture avec ce qui est constituant le trait universel au même titre que le phénomène de foi en ce qui sera.

On comprend dès lors que la séduction du totalitarisme (la séduction de ce que nous appelons totalitarisme mais qui n'est pas ressenti comme tel par ceux qui sont séduits) dépende de deux phénomènes distincts : d'une part la disponibilité, elle-même créée par la rupture morale avec le milieu, de l'autre l'inclination au millénarisme ou à la religion séculière. Je dis que ces deux phénomènes ne sont pas solidaires l'un de l'autre parce qu'en fait des individus ou des groupes disponibles peuvent être rebelles au message stalinien, au style même de ce message et, d'autre part, l'attraction du message peut être telle qu'elle crée la rupture, non donnée à l'avance (c'est le cas de certains intellectuels d'Occident qui se détachent de leur univers parce qu'ils croient à la bonne parole venue de l'Est). Mais, en général, la séduction joue sur des hommes déjà disponibles par suite de la rupture avec le milieu : selon les circonstances, ou bien la rupture n'était pas totale et c'est la foi à Staline qui l'a consommée. Ou bien, au contraire, la rupture était totale et le stalinisme n'a eu qu'à recueillir des individus ou des foules offertes.

La notion de rupture est évidemment vague et elle appelerait des analyses précises. Mais il ne saurait en être autrement parce qu'elle s'applique au physicien atomique français, anglais ou italien aussi bien qu'à l'intellectuel ou au demi-intellectuel de Chine ou de Birmanie, au paysan ou à l'instituteur de l'Inde aussi bien qu'à l'ouvrier agricole ou à l'instituteur du Lot ou de la Corrèze. Notre intention, en employant la notion de rupture, est de diriger l'attention vers ce qui se passe dans les âmes des hommes et de détourner de la considération exclusive de faits matériels comme le niveau de vie, fiction statistique, construite

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par les calculateurs, qui rend certains services mais qu'on aurait tort de prendre pour une réalité.

Considérons un exemple simple. Les ouvriers des régions dévastées d'Angleterre furent plus malheureux, entre les deux guerres, que ne le furent jamais les ouvriers de la ceinture rouge autour de Paris. Et pourtant, en ces derniers, la rupture s'accomplit et non dans ceux-là. Les Anglais ne cessèrent pas de se sentir liés à la communauté nationale, de respecter les valeurs traditionnelles ou même d'accepter la hiérarchie ancienne, de compter, pour l'amélioration de leur sort, sur leur patrie ou le régime en place.

A quoi tient cette différence d'attitude ? On pourrait hésiter entre de multiples réponses : passivité ou fidélité, résignation ou sagesse, ressentiment ou espoir de bouleversement, le meilleur et le pire se mêlent probablement et chez ceux qui demeurent intégrés et chez ceux qui, se sentant trahis par les leurs, se bâtissent, en idée, une patrie moins injuste.

On comprend, à partir de là, que la diffusion du stalinisme soit en quelque mesure l'expression de la crise subie par la société dans laquelle il se répand. Seule la crise économique de 1929, aux Etats-Unis, donna une chance à la propagande communiste. Aux autres périodes, celle-ci n'était en mesure de gagner qu'un petit nombre d'individus, rarement ouvriers, qui, pour une raison ou pour une autre, éprouvaient une frustration dans leur milieu et, par suite, le besoin d'une évasion vers un monde idéal. Les nègres américains, même échappés au sentiment d'impuissance, ne seraient vraiment disponibles que le jour où ils ne croiraient plus aux promesses qu'étend à tous les hommes l'idéologie de la République américaine.

La puissance du stalinisme, dans les territoires dits insuffisamment développés, tient essentiellement aux circonstances qui créent cette rupture. L'ordre ancien, inégalitaire, hiérarchique, est ébranlé par l'influence occidentale. Celle-ci a été suffisante pour réduire la mortalité, pas assez pour accroître en proportion les ressources, surtout alimentaires, et pour donner aux paysans la propriété des terres. Ailleurs, elle a suscité un prolétariat sorti des cadres anciens, mal logé, mal payé, qui a perdu ses traditions et qui n'a pas encore pris racine dans l'existence urbaine et les institutions industrielles. La disponibilité est immédiatement donnée : en l'absence de foi concurrente, la victoire du stalinisme n'a rien de mystérieux.

A partir de ces remarques, on aurait au moins un début d'explication pour les phénomènes à propos desquels les étrangers se sont tant de fois interrogés : pourquoi n'y a-t-il, en Occident, que

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deux grands partis communistes, en France et en Italie ? La réponse est double : c'est en France et en Italie que le progrès économique a le plus déçu les espoirs d'amélioration que nourrissaient légitimement les ouvriers d'industrie, c'est en France et en Italie que la propension révolutionnaire, la tendance à miser sur la révolte et non sur la réforme était la plus forte, c'est en France et en Italie que le dogmatisme universaliste du communisme se développait sur le terrain le plus favorable en raison de traditions analogues, léguées par le passé catholique.

La propension aux méthodes de violence paraît bien, à la lumière de l'expérience, un facteur décisif pour expliquer certains ralliements. Les syndicats portés aux pratiques brutales, par exemple ceux des gens de mer, ont été plus aisément séduits ou infiltrés que les syndicats voués aux méthodes pacifiques du réformisme, même si ces derniers se réclamaient eux aussi du marxisme. En revanche, les syndicats, convaincus de la philosophie ouvriériste, n'ont pas consenti à la manipulation des mouvements proprement professionnels au seul profit d'un parti communiste.

On dira que nous avons laissé de côté le phénomène essentiel : l'acceptation de la tyranie, la soumission de l'esprit à une orthodoxie philosophique et même scientifique, dictée par un parti politique, voire par un Etat. Nous ne nions pas que ce soit là le phénomène essentiel, mais c'est le phénomène dernier. L'aboutissement du ralliement à la Foi nouvelle, c'est la justification des camps de concentration et de l'asservissement de l'esprit. Mais on ne comprendra jamais cet aboutissement si on en fait le point de départ de l'enquête. Celui qui a adhéré au millénarisme en arrive à cette justification ou à cet asservissement, mais ces derniers sont expliqués par l'adhésion et non inversement l'adhésion par une séduction du totalitarisme en tant que tel.

Nous avons, dans les pages précédentes, esquissé une interprétation de cette adhésion par la rupture morale avec le milieu et un penchant pour un certain style, dogmatique et universaliste, de la religion. Il nous faut maintenant répondre en quelques mots à l'objection qui pourrait nous être adressée : pourquoi le stalinisme est-il le bénéficiaire de la rupture et de la disponibilité dans tous les continents, sous toutes les latitudes ?

On pourrait répondre d'abord que le succès tient au monopole d'une certaine technique et d'une certaine propagande. Quand ce monopole a été brisé, le succès n'est pas venu. Entre les deux guerres, en Europe, le communisme a été partout battu par le fascisme là où le choix a été ou plutôt a paru faussement être entre les deux formes de régime totalitaire. Autrement dit, la rupture avec la nation n'a été ni facile ni immédiate. Ceux qui étaient

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révoltés contre le régime existant projetaient leurs rêves sur une patrie rénovée et non sur l'Union Soviétique ou l'Empire des Républiques Socialistes soviétiques. Si les partis démocratiques s'étaient unis, en Italie et en Allemagne, ils auraient pu gouverner en paralysant l'une par l'autre les deux oppositions extrêmes. Sans pousser plus loin cette analyse, notons simplement que le communisme ne recueille pas automatiquement les disponibles et n'exerce nullement une séduction irrésistible. Il n'a jamais gagné d'élections libres en Europe, il n'a jamais vaincu le fascisme dans la guerre civile. Même après la première guerre mondiale, l'immense majorité de la classe ouvrière européenne avait refusé la méthode du parti bolchevik qui n'était pourtant pas encore totalitaire comme il l'est aujourd'hui.

Nous en venons ainsi à une constatation simple, mais souvent méconnue : la séduction du communisme a été le terme de plusieurs décennies de propagande et surtout le fruit de succès retentissants. C'est après la deuxième guerre mondiale, quand soudain l'Union Soviétique apparut glorieuse et puissante, qu'elle séduisit des ouvriers et des intellectuels qui dénonçaient, avant Stalingrad, le petit despote asiatique. Il fallut les victoires militaires pour que la prétention à incarner l'avenir fût prise au sérieux. Nous retrouvons ici, sous une forme nouvelle, l'ambivalence dont nous parlions plus haut.

Ne soyons pas injustes pour nos adversaires en prêtant à leur ralliement les seuls motifs sordides, mais ne soyons pas non plus naïfs : la croyance au triomphe du stalinisme est pour quelque chose dans les vertus qu'on lui prête. Le stalinisme est adorable mais terrifiant, il est nécessaire pour donner un sens à l'Histoire mais aussi il groupe les plus gros bataillons.

La rupture avec le milieu tient à la décomposition de certaines sociétés, sous le choc de deux guerres. L'encadrement des disponibles par le parti communiste est facilité par la disparition des partis rivaux, par le monopole qu'il s'est assuré d'une certaine technique, par la conviction que le Dieu des batailles est de son côté. Le système de pensée millénariste sert de justification à la foi, il lui donne une solidité à toute épreuve, il transforme une adhésion parfois accidentelle et superficielle en un engagement durable - aussi longtemps du moins qu'un choc extérieur ne déchirera pas le réseau dialectique dans lequel le militant enfermé éprouve un sentiment de sécurité.

III - DENONCER LA MYSTIFICATION

La propagande anti-communiste, depuis quelques années, s'est vouée à une tâche indispensable mais dangereusement facile : dénoncer l'écart entre l'idéologie et la réalité. On a multiplié les efforts pour dissiper les illusions, pour mettre à nu la réalité du régime soviétique. Epuration, camps de concentration, police politique, mise au

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pas de la presse, de la radio, de l'éducation, orthodoxie imposée aux artistes et aux savants, suppression de toutes les garanties offertes en Occident à tous les citoyens, bas niveau de vie, transformation des syndicats en instruments du pouvoir, on a analysé les divers aspects du régime totalitaire. Les témoignages publiés par d'anciens communistes, par des hommes sortis des camps de concentration ont contribué à faire connaître certaines des institutions, humainement les plus odieuses du régime soviétique.

Il n'est pas question de négliger ce travail. Mais, ne nous le dissimulons pas, les résultats obtenus ne sont pas à la mesure des efforts déployés. Les raisons en sont multiples et il ne sera pas inutile d'en distinguer quelques-unes.

Beaucoup - en dehors même des communistes - préfèrent ne pas lire cette littérature pour ne pas avoir à remettre en question leurs idées ou plutôt leurs sentiments. Je causais récemment avec un professeur en Sorbonne, d'une honnêteté indiscutable, actif dans certaines organisations neutralistes. Je lui posais les deux questions suivantes : avez-vous lu les livres des "concentrationnaires" soviétiques ? Avez-vous lu les livres de doctrine, de Lénine ou de Staline ? L'information de ce professeur d'Université se réduisait à des fragments du livre de Mme Buber Neumann. Il en avait tiré la conclusion qu'il n'y avait rien de commun entre les camps soviétiques et les camps hitlériens, que les camps soviétiques n'étaient guère plus que des camps de rééducation ou de travail un peu rudes. A tous les niveaux de l'échelle sociale ou intellectuelle, l'attitude de recherche honnête est de plus en plus rare. Chacun est porté à croire ce qui s'accorde le mieux avec ses préférences ou son système du monde. La censure psychologique joue à l'intérieur de chaque conscience et supplée, pour une part, à l'absence de censure politique, en Occident.

L'insistance, parfois excessive, sur les aspects les plus odieux du régime soviétique, risque toujours de produire une réaction de sens contraire. L'Union soviétique n'est pas définie uniquement par les camps. Beaucoup d'esprits honnêtes et modérés finissent par s'irriter contre ce qui leur paraît propagande, même si celle-ci ne contient que des faits vrais, et mettent en question l'importance de ces phénomènes dans l'ensemble.

L'ambivalence de la foi stalinienne la rend beaucoup moins vulnérable qu'on ne le croit d'ordinaire à la dénonciation des cruautés. Le chrétien progressiste fera jouer la censure et refusera de croireaux camps, cependant que le communiste militant, surtout à un niveau élevé de la hiérarchie, s'accommodera des rigueurs de la rééducation "parce qu'on ne fait pas d'omelette sans casser des oeufs", parce qu'il est attiré par la force autant que par la justice. Le communiste auquel on démontre que le stalinisme

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n'est pas humanitaire cherchera refuge sur le plan de la nécessité historique. Si le communisme n'est pas bon, alors il est fatal.

Le millénarisme ne s'est jamais révolté contre la terreur. Les Robespierristes ne font pas grief à leur héros des lois sur les suspects et des exécutions. Certains d'entre eux, il est vrai, cherchent à le justifier en le donnant pour un modéré. Mais d'autres l'acclament en tant que terroriste. On n'a jamais fait de révolution sans violence. Il est bon pour la bourgeoisie installée d'invoquer les principes et d'accorder certaines garanties aux accusés : le prolétariat, qui combat pour sa libération, ne saurait s'imposer de telles restrictions. Après la victoire, il rétablira les libertés qu'il aura sacrifiées temporairement à la nécessité de vaincre.

Cette argumentation est d'autant moins choquante que nous sommes tous prêts à l'employer et qu'elle comporte une part de vérité. Les changements sociaux s'accomplissent rarement dans un interrègne de violence. Ce qui est inadmissible, c'est de maintenir cette justification trente cinq ans après la prise du pouvoir et de transformer les cruautés, peut-être inévitablement liées à la phase révolutionnaire, en institutions permanentes, en structure normale d'une société. Le terrorisme révolutionnaire est le coût d'une révolution aux résultats parfois féconds, le terrorisme de l'Etat soviétique invoque les nécessités révolutionnaires, mais, en réalité, maintient indéfiniment le terrorisme, excusable seulement s'il était de courte durée. Dans son livre "Humanisme et Terreur", Merleau-Ponty n'admet pas entièrement mais ne repousse pas non plus entièrement cette justification du terrorisme par la Révolution.

Pour que la polémique contre le terrorisme soit convaincante, elle doit montrer que celui-ci s'est enraciné, qu'il est devenu partie intégrante du régime normalisé, qu'il ne s'atténue pas avec le temps. On sait que, tout au contraire, la liberté intellectuelle était beaucoup plus grande au cours des dix dernières années après la Révolution de 1917 qu'aujourd'hui.

La propagande communiste est grossièrement manichéenne. La propagande anti-communiste ne doit pas l'être parce que beaucoup refusent le communisme stalinien.justement pour ne pas perdre le sens de la mesure, l'objectivité qui leur paraissent des vertus supérieures. Elle ne doit pas l'être parce que le croyant accepte le manichéisme, que le non croyant ne l'accepte pas et que ce dernier ne souscrira pas à une représentation du monde qui serait la représentation communiste inversée.

A l'égard des intellectuels, la tâche essentielle est de montrer les erreurs de la philosophie millénariste. Quant aux hommes simples il faut, après avoir dénoncé la mystification stalinienne, guérir les maux, satisfaire les aspirations dont la rupture avec le milieu est la sanction et la preuve. Il ne suffit plus de dénoncer les mensonges du totalitarisme. Il reste à justifier la liberté.

IV - JUSTIFICATION DE LA LIBERTE

Nous arrivons au thème dernier, à l'objectif même de ce rapport. Les analyses précédentes avaient uniquement pour but de rendre possible la réponse à la question : la justification de la liberté peut-elle être le contenu positif de la propagande anti-communiste ?

Il est un mode de justification, dont l'éloquence ne laisse rien à désirer, c'est celui de "l'Oeuvre du XXème siècle". Si la fin dernière des sociétés est de favoriser l'épanouissement de la culture, les sociétés occidentales n'ont pas à plaider coupable. Qu'elles présentent les créations d'un demi siècle dans tous les ordres de l'art et de la pensée, que l'on compare la Russie des premières années du siècle à la Russie de 1950, et la démonstration sera faite de la fécondité de la liberté et de la stérélité de la tyrannie.

Malheureusement, cette justification, convaincante pour ceux qui mettent le destin de la culture au-dessus de tout, ne l'est pas pour ceux - et ils sont nombreux à notre époque, même parmi les hommes de culture - qui pensent qu'une révolution économique et sociale, apportant plus de justice, ne serait pas payée trop cher par le sacrifice provisoire de la liberté intellectuelle et des oeuvres qui ne sauraient se passer de la liberté pour naître. Probablement cet aveu ne serait-il pas fait avec cette brutalité, mais les propos et les actes de tant d'écrivains, de peintres, de cinéastes prouvent qu'ils ne mettent pas leur propre liberté au premier rang, soit qu'ils se fassent des illusions sur le sort réservé à eux et à leur art en régime totalitaire, soit qu'ils pensent, consciemment et résolument, que leur sort ou celui de leurs créations importe moins que les bienfaits, réels ou supposés, que la tyrannie apportera à la masse des humbles.

Dire que la justification de la liberté par les "oeuvres du XXème siècle" n'emportera pas l'assentiment des staliniens ou des fellow-travelers n'est pas dévaloriser cette justification. Il serait essentiel d faire reconnaître par ces prétendus hommes de gauche ou d'extrême gauche qu'ils ont quitté le parti de l'individu pour adhérer à celui de l'Etat, qu'ils sacrifient la culture, valeur non douteuse, aux avantages éventuels qu'apporterait le communisme à la foule.

La deuxième étape de la justification de la liberté consistera à joindre la bataille sur le terrain économique et social, puisque le stalinisme y a cherché un refuge contre l'acte d'accusation dressé par "l'oeuvre du XXème siècle". Est-il vrai que les institutions du soviétisme - plans quinquennaux, syndicats étatisés, stakhanovisme -

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justifient la perte des libertés ? On ne cherchera pas à nier les progrès accomplis par l'industrialisation en Union Soviétique, mais on montrera :

1°) - que l'industrialisation avait commencé dès avant la révolution de 1917 ;

2°) - qu'elle a été menée avec un mépris absolu pour les hommes et leurs souffrances ;

3°) - qu'elle a entraîné un abaissement du niveau de vie pour la masse de la population ;

4°) - qu'elle s'accompagne d'une accentuation et non d'une atténuation des inégalités.

Prenons garde, ici, de ne pas oublier l'ambivalence foncière du stalinisme. Si l'on insiste sur le prix humain de l'industrialisation, les staliniens, en eux-mêmes, se consoleront par l'idée de l'efficacité de la méthode soviétique, et si on leur montre les limites de cette prétendue efficacité, ils invoqueront la participation populaire, l'enthousiasme des bâtisseurs. Il ne s'agit pas d'opposer à la technique soviétique la technique occidentale, comme si cette dernière était, sur tous les points et en tous les pays, supérieure. Il suffira de mettre l'accent sur quelques faits simples et incontestables. L'Occident n'a pas eu besoin, pour édifier des barrages géants ou des usines-modèles, de réintroduire l'esclavage ou d'étouffer les libertés. Pourquoi l'intellectuel d'occident éprouve-t-il tant d'émotion devant les barrages russes et tant d'indifférence pour les barrages américains ? Nous ne sommes pas des ingénieurs et nous n'établissons pas de comparaison entre les uns et les autres. Nous nous bornons à rappeler que l'édification industrielle n'a pas exigé ailleurs de tels sacrifices.

Personnellement, j'irais même plus loin et, contre les barbares du XXème siècle où qu'ils soient, je ferais l'éloge des méthodes progressives, en fait des transformations sociales. La science et l'industrie sont en train de bouleverser toutes les sociétés. Il n'est pas question de s'opposer à ces bouleversements ni même de les freiner. Mais plus le rythme des changements est rapide, plus il est souhaitable de ne pas rompre la continuité des coutumes, des croyances qui constituent la texture même de l'ordre social. La foi en la violence, en la révolution pour instaurer d'un coup le royaume de Dieu sur la terre aurait dû être définitivement réfutée par la tragédie du bolchevisme. N'ayons pas peur de soutenir que le "révolutionnarisme", l'obsession, caractéristique de certains intellectuels, que la Révolution est la solution universelle et miraculeuse, est un misérable préjugé, même s'il fait recette dans les salons ou les cafés de Saint-Germain des Prés.

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Cela dit, ne nous abandonnons pas à des illusions. Cette justification de la liberté reste négative. Elle vaut dans les pays où les avantages, réels ou supposés, du soviétisme sont obtenus à moindres frais. Elle ne vaut pas là où les avantages ne sont ou ne semblent pas acquis. L'industrialisation soviétique ne séduira ni n'impressionnera le citoyen de Detroit ou de Pittsburg et celui-ci acceptera volontiers que le Dnieprostroï a été payé trop cher. Mais en ira-t-il de même en Chine ou aux Indes ? En ira-t-il de même dans la ceinture rouge de Paris ?

Là est peut-être le centre du débat. Un régime qui a conquis d'aussi vastes étendues de terres, a toujours certaines fonctions ou, pour éviter tout soupçon de finalisme, il amène toujours avec lui certaines nouveautés. Le fait est que le stalinisme amène avec lui une technique d'industrialisation par épargne forcée et accumulation étatique, que l'on doit juger humainement cruelle mais qui donne certains résultats. Justifier la liberté, c'est montrer que cette dernière est capable, elle aussi, de créations dont on accorde le mérite au despotisme.

Cette manière de poser le problème évite, me semble-t-il, les pièges dans lesquels l'idéologie communiste prétend nous faire tomber. Cette idéologie s'attribue d'ordinaire des mérites exactement opposés à ses mérites réels, elle reproche à ses ennemis des maux que le stalinisme triomphant multiplierait. Elle se vante d'élever le niveau de vie des populations libérées par les partis communistes, ce qui est absurde et contraire à l'expérience. Aussi, la contre-propagande et l'action des Occidentaux s'évertuent à montrer ou à réaliser l'élévation du niveau de vie, grâce au régime de liberté. Or il est bien certain que l'élévation du niveau de vie est souhaitable, mais elle n'est pas partout possible et elle n'est pas toujours l'essentiel. Dans les territoires insuffisamment développés, il importe davantage d'améliorer les procédés de culture, de mettre en train l'industrialisation, de secouer les traditions paralysantes, d'introduire une administration moderne, en d'autres termes il importe d'accomplir l'oeuvre historique pour laquelle certains inclinent à croire que le stalinisme est indispensable. Celui-ci, en fait, n'a rien à voir avec la libération des hommes : il apporte un système politique d'encadrement et une technique économique d'industrialisation. On ne le réfutera pas, on ne le vaincra pas en clamant sur tous les toits que la démocratie libérale est plus conforme à nos préférences et à nos valeurs que le règne du parti unique. Les conflits historiques ne sont malheureusement pas des examens de moralité passés devant des tribunaux d'intellectuels.

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On pourrait dire encore : ce que nous avons à découvrir, ce sont les maux réels dont souffrent nos sociétés, qui sont rarement ceux que dénoncent le plus violemment les staliniens et que le stalinisme prétend guérir par le despotisme. Ce sont ces maux que nous devons guérir sans sacrifier la liberté. Or, si nous considérons le cas de la France, la leçon est claire. La France souffre du ralentissement du progrès économique. L'élévation immédiate et rapide du niveau de vie n'est peut-être pas possible : donner l'impression au pays qu'il est engagé dans un effort collectif dont les fruits seront offerts à tous, est probablement plus important que tels ou tels avantages à courte échéance. La France souffre d'être devenue une unité trop petite, mesurée à l'échelle de l'industrie ou de la puissance moderne. Elle souffre de la dissolution de l'unité nationale par suite de conflits d'intérêts, de métaphysiques, de partis. Elle est menacée par la faiblesse de l'Etat bien plus que par le despotisme des 200 familles. Elle se sent victime d'une inflation permanente, du conservatisme obstiné de certains secteurs de l'économie. Elle aspire à la stabilité monétaire et au progrès économique parce qu'elle connaît la dévalorisation du franc et le maintien d'entreprises anachroniques.

C'est en guérissant ou en atténuant les maux qu'on préparera la rentrée des disponibles dans la communauté, qu'on mettra fin à la rupture. Les régimes de liberté, comme tous les régimes, ne se justifient en dernière analyse que par leurs oeuvres. On réfute efficacement la propagande communiste en réformant les régimes de liberté de telle manière qu'ils retrouvent la capacité d'action. Les philosophes l'ont dit depuis longtemps : c'est des excès de la licence que sortent les excès du despotisme. On ne justifiera pas la démocratie occidentale en répétant qu'on y est plus libre que dans l'univers stalinien : au bout du compte, tout le monde le sait (consciemment ou inconsciemment). On la justifiera en montrant que la liberté n'est synonyme ni de stagnation ni de décomposition, qu'elle est compatible avec la structure des sociétés du XXème siècle.

Là où la démonstration est patente, le stalinisme est vaincu (au moins sur le plan des idées : il reste encore les 175 divisions russes). Là où cette démonstration demeure inachevée, la bataille n'est pas encore gagnée.

Paris, le 6 Mai 1952.

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LES AMIS DE LA LIBERTE

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Conférence nationale et internationale des 17 et 18 Mai 1952
PARIS - Maison de la Chimie

Résumé du rapport qui sera présenté par
M. Stanislas **FUMET**

"LE TOTALITARISME DEVANT LA CONSCIENCE CHRETIENNE"

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La Russie a contraint l'athéisme de son régime à élever le communisme au rang d'une religion. Il en résulte une équivoque. Le peuple de chez nous est enclin à penser que le communisme tient lieu de christianisme.

Qui s'en étonnerait ? Depuis cent ans, plus exactement depuis 1848, nous avons eu des athées chrétiens. Nous avons eu, à la suite de Proudhon, des antithéistes chrétiens. Mais Marx et Engels ne sont pas Français. La trouvaille de Marx - et elle est puissante en conséquences - est de s'être aperçu que l'on s'égarait en demandant au christianisme et au spiritualisme des remèdes qu'ils n'auraient même pas à chercher si l'on traitait le mal social, le mal de l'humanité, par une thérapeutique exclusivement scientifique, par le matérialisme dialectique. Le jour où l'on aura constaté que c'etaient bien les conditions de l'économique, elles seules, qui donnaient à cette humanité l'illusion que chaque homme avait une âme, et davantage, une âme immortelle, alors il n'y aura plus de problème spirituel, le prurit de la conscience individuelle ne vous démangera plus. Quand l'humanité en sera là, la religion se sera évaporée et les superstructures se détacheront sans effort de l'édifice où les souvenirs de la vieille culture bourgeoise n'auront plus lieu d'exister.

Pour le christianisme, il n'y en a plus trace dans le communisme marxiste et nos "chrétiens progressistes", qui ont pensé que le marxisme leur laisserait une petite chance de collaboration au soleil jusqu'à ce que Dieu soit dissous, nos amis catholiques tournés vers le Parti, en seront pour leurs frais. Or - qu'on m'entende - j'estime qu'un chrétien a proprement le droit de vouloir appliquer la méthode de l'analyse marxiste aux aux phénomènes sociaux pour en tirer les déductions qui lui sem-

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bleront sages, et, sur le plan de l'économique par exemple, travailler en concordance avec les marxistes. Je n'ignore pas non plus qu'il est des cas, où, dans l'action, nous n'avons pas le droit de suspecter à priori la bonne foi du camarade communiste qui, devant la glaciale indifférence du régime communiste à l'égard de la misère ouvrière et de l'injustice sociale qui fait la prospérité des "gros", travaille assidument à la libération de la classe opprimée. A quel titre exigerions-nous d'un pasteur chargé d'âmes en milieu prolétarien qu'il militât *contre* le parti communiste qui est, il faut bien le dire, le seul à l'heure actuelle, sans préjuger de l'avenir, qui soutienne *systématiquement* les intérêts ouvriers. Qu'il ne veuille finalement qu'en tirer profit pour sa politique, c'est clair comme le jour. Mais il n'est pas moins clair comme le jour que l'intérêt du grand patronat est de maintenir en esclavage, sous une forme ou sous une autre, les masses qui le servent. Ce n'est pas faire acte de progressisme, pour un vicaire de paroisse banlieusienne, mieux encore pour un "prêtre ouvrier", que de donner raison aux revendications des pauvres, même si elles portent la couleur et l'étiquette communistes, ainsi qu'il est devenu fatal. Le vrai est le vrai partout, indépendamment des idéologies politiques. Le christianisme demeure une transcendance par rapport à tous les régimes. Tant pis pour les chrétiens, s'ils se sont laissé confondre avec les ennemis du Pauvre et du Roi des Pauvres qui est Jésus-Christ. Quand le pasteur des prolétaires se sent tenu, en conscience, d'appuyer une requête sociale inspirée par des communistes, c'est avec la vérité, à ce moment, qu'il collabore, non avec le marxisme. Il n'en garde pas moins son coeur libre. Il sait qu'il ne compromet pas, ce faisant, l'Eglise, et qu'il n'a pas besoin de se recommander d'elle pour s'engager dans la voie de la justice naturelle. Son devoir d'honnête homme ne saurait entrer en conflit avec sa foi de chrétien. Mais ce n'est pas même comme chrétien, c'est en homme droit qu'il défend une cause juste. Par ailleurs, s'il ne s'agit plus d'action sociale, mais d'analyse sociologique, son sens moral de chrétien lui fait éviter dans ce domaine en friche toute "passion inutile" ; le chrétien seulement conservera sa liberté d'âme et d'esprit dans cette besogne scientifique, comme il le fait au laboratoire. Et il ne viendra pas dire que c'est son christianisme qui est un matérialisme dialectique. Or nos "chrétiens progressistes" qui soutiennent le Parti communiste auront beaucoup de mal, eux, à empêcher qu'on ne le suppose.

Si donc l'abîme ne doit jamais être comblé entre la science matérialiste du communiste et la foi du chrétien, et que tous deux se consacrent parallèlement à l'amélioration de la société, ou à la guérison de la société malade, comme on voit déjà se rencontrer le théologien et le psychiatre dans le traitement des maladies nerveuses, ou mentales, le *distinguo* reste entier ;

la confusion est impossible ou relève de l'absurdité. Mais le chrétien ne devra pas s'étonner que le communiste, qui veut convaincre et doit séduire, lui emprunte sa panoplie. Et voilà notre équivoque démasquée.

Le communisme ne saurait être assimilé au christianisme sans une lourde supercherie. Mais, parce qu'il lui faut être une institution, le communisme, qui est totalitaire, peut être rapproché du catholicisme, et, si nous envisageons son style et ses comportements, il est évident qu'il est, en presque tout, comparable au cléricalisme.

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La politique du Kominform est entièrement ecclésiastique. Comme toute Eglise, il a besoin de mettre la main sur l'art, celui-ci étant l'extériorisation de l'activité la plus impérieuse qui habite le coeur de l'homme. Rien ne serait plus dangereux pour lui qu'un art qui donnerait au peuple un idéal étranger à la ligne de son triomphe. Tout gouvernement totalitaire exige une soumission de ses artistes et demande à ses chroniqueurs de le servir correctement. Hitler a eu ses artistes et ses propagandistes. Staline, qui dispose d'une doctrine plus rationnelle, a précisé ce qu'est l'écrivain pour le communisme : "L'écrivain est l'ingénieur de l'âme humaine." Cette définition n'est pas sans noblesse, mais elle ne laisse point de nous inquiéter, parce que nous sentons bien que l'âme humaine sera traitée comme un port en ciment armé ou comme un chemin de fer. Si le communisme, produit de la fatalité historique, est exactement ce dont l'humanité a besoin et ce vers quoi elle ne peut pas ne pas tendre, ainsi que l'affirmait M. Garaudy, tous les esprits qui ne se soumettent pas de bon gré à l'ordre du meilleur Etat, sont autant de rouages qui essaient de sortir de la machine et risquent de compromettre ou d'arrêter son fonctionnement. Si ce n'est de bon gré, qu'ils soient soumis de force ! Mais il vaudrait beaucoup mieux que ce fût de leur plein gré et c'est pourquoi la justice soviétique met tout en oeuvre pour obtenir, de ceux qu'elle juge et condamne, cette rétractation finale qui, après nous avoir bouleversés lors des grands procès de Moscou et avoir défrayé l'imagination de nos romanciers, nous troublera si affreusement quand, à Budapest, elle tombera des lèvres du cardinal Mindszenty !

L'Etat a besoin de cet amen de la victime, parce que l'absolu ne peut être discuté sans sacrilège. C'est ainsi qu'autrefois l'autorité ecclésiastique, dans ses procès contre les hérésiarques, faisait beaucoup d'efforts pour les persuader

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avant de les abandonner au bras séculier, et elle ne manquait pas de préciser que c'était un "membre pourri" qu'elle retranchait du corps sain de l'Eglise, par crainte qu'il ne viciât les autres. Malheureusement, il pouvait arriver que ce membre pourri fût Jeanne d'Arc, appelée à devenir une des plus célèbres saintes de l'Eglise catholique.

Nous ne connaîtrons plus, si les régimes matérialistes l'emportent, aucune véritable liberté d'esprit, parce que dans la matière tout est déterminé; il n'est de libre arbitre que pour l'esprit qui se détache de la matière. Les communistes russes ont le droit de nous rappeler que les Etats forts ont toujours eu leur censure. Ils ont même le droit d'évoquer pour la France le grand siècle, où la littérature dirigée, pour ne parler que d'elle, s'arrangeait assez bien de la courtisanerie et ne s'interdisait pas de respirer puissamment dans l'étau où la monarchie l'enfermait. Si en Russie, on ne trouve pas aujourd'hui, que je sache, l'égal d'un Descartes, d'un Corneille, d'un Racine, d'un Molière, d'un La Fontaine, d'un La Bruyère, d'un Pascal, d'un Bossuet, d'un Fénelon et de plusieurs autres, c'est sans doute, pour une part, que le gouvernement des Soviets n'est pas établi depuis assez longtemps, mais aussi, pour une autre, que le régime catholique auquel, en France, présidait Louis XIV, rendait la férule de celui-ci plus souple que la dialectique matérialiste ne permet de l'être à celle de Staline pour le bien du peuple russe et la grandeur de son empire. Louis XIV avait beau être le Roi Soleil, comme Staline, qui est lui aussi "notre Soleil", il restait néanmoins ceci : que le peuple n'oubliait pas qu'un roi était un pécheur, qu'un roi était sujet aux faiblesses communes, et le peuple comptait sur le directeur de conscience pour rappeler à l'ordre, dans le privé, son "très pieux" souverain. Les écrivains, les prédicateurs, eux aussi, pour déférentes que se voulussent leurs admonestations ou leurs satires, le traitaient encore en homme subordonné. Un monarque absolu, dans une démocratie totalitaire, - Staline, par exemple, - ne supportera ni Molière, ni Bossuet. Si d'aventure il lui plaisait de les tolérer, il mettrait en péril le régime dont la dureté de son esprit est la garantie.

Comme quoi le matérialisme, sous toutes ses formes, ne peut que s'opposer au jeu de l'art, ce souverain exercice de la quasi-divine liberté de l'esprit humain à son tour créateur.

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Il est très difficile, néanmoins, de reprocher au Parti communiste ses méthodes lorsqu'elles sont la reproduction ou la caricature de celles qu'ont employé les catholiques au cours des siècles, du moins lorsqu'ils détenaient le pouvoir en Occident. Ce n'est pas le communisme qui a inventé l'intolérance et l'inqui-

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sition. Mais ce que nous ne devons pas supporter, c'est qu'il déguise son autoritarisme en démocratie et sa dogmatique matérialiste en ersatz du christianisme. Il est vrai que le Kominform se rend compte de la situation et il a le courage de répudier aujourd'hui l'idée de liberté, se préparant à la condamner comme le catholicisme l'a fait pour le libre examen des protestants. Le communisme peut, à l'heure actuelle, discréditer la liberté elle-même, cette déesse de l'humanisme : il n'a qu'à l'assimiler à l'"épouvantable" Amérique. La statue de la Liberté dans le port de New-York n'est-elle pas un aveu suffisant ? Pour le communisme, la liberté est devenue ce qu'était la nudité pour les chrétiens : une indécence. Il lui substitue la seule et pure notion de justice.

En 1848, les deux mots Justice et Liberté formaient un couple sacré. L'un des deux éléments, avec le marxisme, devait tomber tôt ou tard. Les chrétiens ont un autre couple motionnel : Justice et Charité. Dans la Charité ils savent que la Liberté est virtuellement entendue, car l'amour électif est l'exercice même de la liberté humaine. Et la Charité, ainsi que le démontre lumineusement Jacques Maritain dans son *Court traité de l'Existence et de l'Existant*, est cet amour surnaturel qui incline l'âme à choisir son souverain bien. Et cette Charité-là, qui semble ici-bas aller parfois contre les décrets de la Justice, en Dieu et dans le rayonnement chrétien, elle ne fait qu'un avec la Justice même.

Tandis que, pour le matérialisme communiste qui s'attache à un mécanicisme infaillible, l'amour, on le sait, est inutile, ou il n'a de dynamisme, par contre-temps, que dans sa forme combative et révolutionnaire, destructrice, la haine... C'est la Haine, ce n'est pas la Miséricorde, dans ses Psaumes, qui embrasse la Justice.

Paris, le 30 Avril 1952.

-:-:-:-:-:-:-

June 27, 1952

Miss Evelyn Scheyer
M. S.A. Labor Division
2 Rue St. Florentine
Paris 1, France

Dear Evelyn:

Well, here I am back in the U. S. A. hard at work with our many and varied problems of labor and civil rights.

Let me say how delightful it was seeing you again and especially, to be invited to participate in the fine and lovely party at your home. I enjoyed immensely meeting your sister and your friends. I hope to see you when you return to the States. I, perhaps, at least will have to sell you the Brooklyn Bridge. Hope you have an enjoyable trip back home.

Sincerely,

A. Philip Randolph

APR:bw

June 27, 1952

Mr. Joe Heath
M.S.A. Labor Division
2 Rue St. Florentine
Paris 1, France

Dear Joe:

Just a word of remembrance and to express my great appreciation for your fine spirit of cooperation and the hospitality extended to me while in Paris. I enjoyed my association with you immensely.

You are doing a great job there for our country and the cause of Labor. Keep up the good work.

Fraternally yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR:bw

SAMe letter to : Mr. Foster G. Pratt
Mr. Louis Coupee
Mr. David G. Saposs
Same address as above

July 3, 1952

Honorable Paul Porter
M. S. A.
2 Rue St. Florentine
Paris 1, France

Dear Paul:

Just a word of remembrance and to express my great appreciation upon seeing you again and to congratulate you upon the great job you are doing for our country and the cause of democracy and peace in the world.

I assure you it was a great pleasure to shake hands with you after many, many years had passed between our first meeting. I have followed your work with great interest and profit as you have gone throughout the world giving of your talent and ability for our great country and democracy in order to halt the march of the evil forces of Russian communism across the world.

Cordially,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR:bw

July 3, 1952

Honorable William Draper
Ambassador, United States of America
M. S. A.
2 Rue St. Florentine
Paris 1, France

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

Just a word of remembrance and to express my great appreciation for the conference accorded me while in Paris.

I want you to know that I enjoyed immensely meeting you and I am proud to know that vital interests of our country are being guided by the hand of a man of your fine, sterling character, sound judgment and democratic instincts. I want to congratulate you upon the great job you are doing for our great country and the cause of democracy which will give inspiration to the free peoples of the world to withstand the aggression of the evil forces of Russian communism.

With cordial good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR:bw

July 3, 1952

Honorable Joseph Dunn
Ambassador, United States of America
American Embassy
Paris, France

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

Just a word of remembrance and to express my great appreciation for the conference accorded me while in Paris.

I want you to know that I enjoyed immensely meeting you and I am proud to know that vital interests of our country are being guided by the hand of a man of your fine, sterling character, sound judgment and democratic instincts. I want to congratulate you upon the great job you are doing for our great country and the cause of democracy which will give inspiration to the free peoples of the world to withstand the aggression of the evil forces of Russian communism.

With cordial good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR:bw

Europe

July 10, 1952

Mr. Philip A. Heller
Labor Information Officer
Mutual Security Agency
APO 80 - Box 880
Berlin, Germany

Dear Phil:

Thanks a lot for your letter of June 11th with copy of *Welt der Arbeit* carrying the photograph of Ambassador Draper, Porter, Heath and myself. I had a splendid stay in Paris and a very enjoyable conference with these friends. I wanted to come to Berlin but did not get a chance on that trip but I plan to make a visit to Berlin sometime next year.

Keep up the good work.

Sincerely yours,

APR:ha

A. Philip Randolph
International President

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
MUTUAL SECURITY AGENCY
SPECIAL MISSION TO GERMANY FOR ECONOMIC COOPERATION
APO 80 - Box 880

June 11, 1952

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
Brotherhood of Sleeping-Car Porters
217 West, 125 Street, Suite 301
NY, NY

Dear Mr. Randolph

Attached is a copy of "Welt der Arbeit" of June 6th. This issue carries a picture of Draper, Porter, Randolph and Heath. The same page carries different articles on productivity. Other articles in this issue include one by William Green on Brotherhood - "Bruederlichkeit der Tat".

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

P.A. Heller

Philip A. Heller
Labor Information Officer

OFFICE OF THE UNITED STATES SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE IN EUROPE

2 RUE ST. FLORENTIN
PARIS 1, FRANCE

Europe

JUL 16 1952

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
International President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
New York 27, N. Y.

Dear Philip:

It was good to find, on my return from a short vacation, your letter of July 3 awaiting me. I am sure you know that it was a pleasure for me to see you again during your trip.

I don't know whether or not you have heard of this, but the reports reaching me concerning your recent travels speak only in the highest terms of the excellent contribution you made to the cause of free trade unions. Good work!

Sincerely yours,

Paul

Paul R. Porter
Deputy for Economic Affairs

UNITED STATES SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE IN EUROPE
2 RUE ST. FLORENTIN PARIS I, FRANCE

July 17 1952

Dear Mr. Randolph,

I appreciated very much your thoughtful letter of July 3rd, and assure you it was a pleasure to have the opportunity of talking with you while you were here.

With best regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

William H. Draper Jr

William H. Draper, Jr.
U. S. Special Representative
in Europe

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
International President
Brotherhool of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street - Room 301
New York, 27, New York

Europe

July 18, 1952

Mr. Thomas A. Lane
Labor Attache
American Embassy
Rome, Italy

Dear Brother Lane:

Just a word to thank you for photographs and copy of La Voce dei Ferrovieri with photograph of myself and some of our Italian brothers during my visit to Rome.

I regret that my brief stay prevented my meeting with you,but your assistants gave me every courtesy and hospitality, for which I am deeply grateful.

Permit me to congratulate you upon the great job you are doing for our great country and the cause of democracy at a time when the evil forces of Communism seek to destroy our democratic way of life and achieve worldwide domination. Keep up the good work and remember me to our good brothers who were so friendly to me while there.

With cordial good wishes, I am

Fraternally yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR:bw

el/

THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO

AMERICAN EMBASSY

Rome, Italy, July 9, 1952

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street, Suit 301
New York 27, N. Y.

Dear Brother Randolph:

Enclosed herewith are the photographs taken during your recent visit to Rome. If you would like to have additional copies of any particular one, let us know and we'll be happy to send them.

I am also enclosing copy of La Voce dei Ferrovieri, official organ of the S.A.U.F.I., which is affiliated with CISL.

I am indeed sorry that I was out of the city when you were here and hope that you will pay us another visit soon. I am sure that your meetings with the Italian union officials will be of great value to us in the job we are trying to do here.

With kind personal regards,

Sincerely and fraternally yours,

Tom Lane

Thomas A. Lane
Labor Attache

Encls. - Photos
SAUFI journal

STRENGTH FOR THE FREE WORLD FROM THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
MUTUAL SECURITY AGENCY
SPECIAL MISSION TO THE UNITED KINGDOM FOR ECONOMIC COOPERATION
AMERICAN EMBASSY
LONDON, W.1, ENGLAND

August 6th 1952.

Mr. A. Philip Randolph,
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters,
217 West 125th Street,
Suite 301,
New York 27.

Dear Brother Randolph:

This is to thank you for your generous hospitality when I was passing through New York, and at the same time to express my regrets at not having the chance to see you on my way back through. However, I was in New York for only 24 hours on the way back and the weather was as bad as it seems to have been in New York all summer, and the democratic convention was on so I thought it a bad time to bother anyone. I am still hoping, however, that we can get out to the Polo Grounds or Yankee Stadium together before another season has rolled by.

Incidentally, I would be very interested in your reaction to the democratic convention, particularly to the civil rights stand.

I did all my travelling in the States by train, in the course of which, I spoke to a number of your members. There are many larger unions than yours in the country, but I seriously doubt if there is any other whose President is held in such high esteem by its members. I think this is a wonderful tribute.

Thanks again, and hoping to see you soon.

Cordially,

Harry L. Turtledove

Harry L. Turtledove.
Labor Information Officer.

P.S. If, in the meantime, there is anything I can ever do for you from here, please feel free to call on me.

[1952]

Europe

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
International President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
New York 27, N. Y.

Dear Philip:

It was good to find, on my return from a short vacation, your letter of July 3 awaiting me. I am sure you know that it was a pleasure for me to see you again during your trip.

I don't know whether or not you have heard of this, but the reports reaching me concerning your recent travels speak only in the highest terms of the excellent contribution you made to the cause of free trade unions. Good work!

Sincerely yours,

Paul R. Porter
Deputy for Economic Affairs

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

SUBJECT FILE FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE COMMITTEE

1945-46 & undated

Circulars

NC-Rec

NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR A PERMANENT
FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE COMMISSION

930 F STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 4, D. C.

Executive Secretary:
MRS. ANNA ARNOLD HEDGEMAN

NEWS FROM WASHINGTON

November 20, 1945.

MASS MEETINGS ARE IN GREAT DEMAND . . . . .

The people are impatient to demonstrate their will for enactment for a Permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission. They know, with reconversion taking place, that the threat of discrimination in employment is now a reality. They know this is happening everyday in their own communities. They know the Atomic-Bomb-controversy is crowding domestic problems off the pages of the press. They know they must mass together their combined voices. Make this possible for your community by

LAYING PLANS FOR MASS MEETINGS NOW - TO OCCUR IN JANUARY BY THE 25th . . . .

January may seem far away now - but it is closer than you think! Remember that speakers have crowded schedules and many advance speaking dates. Remember that Christmas shopping and holiday plans absorb a great deal of time. Remember that once you set a date ahead for a meeting, you give your group a goal towards which to work for success.

REVIEW THE "MANUAL OF STRATEGY", pgs 7-11

SET YOUR DATE AND ADVISE NATIONAL OFFICE

ENGAGE THE LARGEST PUBLIC HALL YOU CAN ..

THROW OUT YOUR LINES TO PRESS AND RADIO..

MAKE THE CALL FOR WIDEST CROSS-SECTION ..

Aim for the broadest base of people representative of your community. Consult the list of cooperating organizations that appear on pgs 18-19 of the Manual. Make sure your meeting is all American - Jewish, Negro, Catholic, Protestant, Spanish-American, Oriental-American, labor, civic, Chambers of Commerce, women's organizations and trade union in character in its fullest sense.

SET NOV. 25 FOR BEGINNING FEPC BUTTON DRIVE

Get the buttons pinned to every lapel you can. Check the Manual, pg. 6 and the last two Flash Bulletins for button-selling ideas you can add to your own. Stage your Mass Meeting as the final culmination of your drive for FEPC.

Read this Quote:

from "Legislation by WU" ..by Fred Othman..in the Washington Daily News, Friday, Nov. 9, 1945:

".....Telegrams of the auto salesmen began flooding congressional desks a week ago .... Every congressman got a wire from every dealer in his district .... Every Senator got 'em; even I got a stack.....When the hearing opened before Chairman Wright Patman and Company of the Small Business Committee, only place big enough was the huge and drafty caucus room in the old House office building. Some auto dealers were there and more congressmen than usually appear at sessions of Congress itself .... It did get results that left me goggle-eyed.."

WIRES IN QUANTITY DO WORK!

Get busy now! Deluge Pres. Truman, Sen. Alben Barkley, Sen. Wallace White with wires requesting immediate answer on proposed date for Senate floor action.

. . . .

THE BILL FOR A PERMANENT FEPC IS READY FOR ACTION IN THE SENATE.

MORE THAN HALF OF THE SENATORS ARE FAVORABLY COMMITTED TO THE BILL.

In addition, as you were informed in the following telegram sent you on November 13th:

> "ALL BUT 3 REGIONAL FEPC OFFICES BEING CLOSED BY DECEMBER 15. SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE RECOMMENDED RETURNING USES OFFICES TO STATES FOR OPERATION. THIS MEANS TOTAL RECONVERSION TO DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT UNLESS PERMANENT FEPC BILL IS PASSED IMMEDIATELY. S.101 IS HIGH ON SENATE CALENDAR. NOTHING PREVENTS IT FROM COMING TO FLOOR EXCEPT DECISION OF ADMINISTRATION AND REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP. DELUGE PRES. TRUMAN, SEN. ALBEN BARKLEY, SEN. WALLACE WHITE AND YOUR OWN SENATORS WITH WIRE REQUESTING IMMEDIATE ANSWER ON PROPOSED DATE FOR SENATE FLOOR ACTION.
>
> Anna Arnold Hedgeman, Executive Secretary
> National Council for a Permanent FEPC"

* * * * * * * * * * * * * *

In the Face of This Crisis,
Congressional Inaction Is Criminal!!!

SENATE ACTION MUST AND CAN BE OBTAINED NOW!

There is no Rules Committee in the Senate. No petition is needed to bring the bill to the floor. S.101 HAS BEEN ON THE SENATE CALENDAR SINCE MAY! There is no law which says a bill must be passed by the House before coming to the Senate floor. Therefore...while continuing to plug away at the Representatives to Sign the House Petition...THROW ALL THE WEIGHT YOU CAN MUSTER INTO SENATE ACTION NOW!

Write your Senators asking where they stand on the bill and on cloture, and report their answers to us at once.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

On the blue page you will see a short story on the effect the auto dealers had upon legislation recently. Read it carefully. Organized business, representing a relatively small group, is often more articulate than the rest of the people whose needs are of broad and pressing concern. This is why we must send wires and letters in even greater numbers than such groups. REMEMBER: We are counting on your messages as indicated in our telegram and we are waiting for your reports.

NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR A PERMANENT
FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE COMMISSION

930 F STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 4, D. C.

Executive Secretary:
MRS. ANNA ARNOLD HEDGEMAN

NC FEPC
Inf

NEWS FROM WASHINGTON

January 16, 1946

THE FEPC BILL MAY BE ON THE SENATE FLOOR WITHIN A WEEK
...even, possibly, by the time this reaches you!

You are responsible for your Senators' votes on the Bill and on cloture. ARE THEY COMMITTED?? This may be your last chance to make certain that Senatorial strength in your State works for passage of the Bill in this session of Congress.

GET THOSE SIGNATURES ON THE HOUSE PETITION - Now!

After February 12, many Representatives will be campaigning in their own districts. If H.R. 2232 does not reach the floor by that time, it may be impossible to achieve a favorable majority in the 79th Congress, because of absenteeism.

WIRE!!
WRITE!
PHONE!

GET OTHERS TO DO THE SAME!!

STAND BY FOR THE CALL TO WASHINGTON

Our Local Councils have already received wires asking that Delegations be formed and held available to come to Washington. If you do not have a Local Council for Permanent FEPC in your community and want to take part in this Call to Washington, please wire us. You, too, are needed - and we will forward our Delegations-Instruction material to you at once. That the Filibuster will take place is certain. The date is not. But hold yourself and your group in readiness to come to Washington when we flash the signal.

EMERGENCY DINNER MEETING OF LEADERS OF NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS NEXT WEEK

Your National Office is holding an Emergency Dinner Meeting at the Mayflower Hotel, January 23, to which have been invited Leaders of our National Cooperating Organizations, all Representatives and Senators and the Press. Hon. Harold E. Stassen and Hon. Lewis B. Schwellenbach will be the principal speakers. It is our hope that the gathering of such a group will impress both the Congress and the Press. Thus, we carry out one more way to achieve publicity, one of the chief requests you made at the Local Council Conference in Washington on September 13-14.

AND FINALLY...

Before you put this aside, please fill the enclosed envelope with as large a contribution as you can to make our continued fight possible.

NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR A PERMANENT

FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE COMMISSION

930 F STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 4, D. C.

Executive Secretary:
MRS. ANNA ARNOLD HEDGEMAN

NEWS FROM WASHINGTON

February 15, 1946

THE FIGHT FOR PERMANENT FEPC CONTINUES STRONGER THAN EVER BEFORE!

The end of the filibuster means only the end of the first skirmish. Out of the country's revulsion to the filibuster has come the greatest victory on this issue. The cloture vote of 48 to 36 is in itself inspiring. This is the first time in the history of legislation affecting minority groups that a clear majority has been obtained. Moreover, the demonstration in the Senate of bigotry in action has aroused thousands of hitherto undisturbed citizens of the nation. The bill is shelved temporarily in the Senate, but it can be taken down from the calendar again in this session. In the House, as we move closer to floor action, we must intensify our efforts at once. The Conference, fittingly taking place on Washington's Birthday, will bring your thinking and ours to a definite program of action.

STRATEGY PLANNING CONFERENCE

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 22:
Afternoon Session: 2:45 P.M.; Evening Session: 8:00-10:00 P.M.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 23:
Morning Session: 9:00 A.M. - 1:00 P.M.

AUDITORIUM of PHYLLIS WHEATLEY Y.W.C.A., ANNEX, 1719 - 13th St., N.W., Wash.

Tentative Program:

First Session:

1. Review of Senate Fight
2. The Press and the Filibuster
3. Response of Public, Organizations and Local Councils
4. Immediate House Action

Second Session:

1. Analysis of Bills S.101 and H.R.2232: Legal Panel
2. Overall Summary and Question Period

Third Session:

1. Washington Action: Strategy Board Panel
2. Local Action: Field Staff and Local Council Chairmen

MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO ATTEND - and PLEASE ADVISE IF YOU PLAN TO COME

WHAT YOU CAN DO NOW

Wire your Senators who voted for cloture your congratulations on their vote for majority rule - BUT INDICATE ALSO how disappointing were reports from Press and Delegates in the galleries of spineless, inadequate floor support. Urge that they throw themselves into the fight for early return of the bill to the floor!

INTENSIFY BACK-HOME-DRIVE FOR ADDITIONAL 40-ODD SIGNATURES TO HOUSE PETITION!

Statement by A. PHILIP RANDOLPH and DR. ALLAN KNIGHT CHALMERS. . . . .
(released February 9, 1946 - P. M.)

Today's cloture vote was meaningless in terms of FEPC strength, and the fight for enactment of Permanent FEPC will be continued, said the National Council for a Permanent FEPC today, in a statement issued by its co-chairmen, A. Philip Randolph and Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers.

"The Senate may have dealt a mortal blow to democracy today, but instead of killing the Permanent FEPC bill, it has given the people a clearer realization of how and why the fight must be continued. The people understand the implications for total democracy of the submission of the majority of its Senators to the domination of the bigoted few.

The people will take up the banner of democracy that was torn down by the shameful collaboration of the filibusterers and their cohorts of the North. They will uphold the handful of principled Senators who were defeated in this round but intend to keep on fighting until they win the right to vote on FEPC. They will hold to account the men who chose to remain in the good graces of the Southern bigots rather than to carry out the desires of their own voters.

The backbone of the Senate has been dangerously weakened. It needs to be strengthened and revitalized before this policy of appeasement leads to a truly fatal Munich.

Today's cloture vote is meaningless in terms of FEPC strength. The people know that the Southerners allowed this vote to be taken only in return for assurances from the Northern leadership that it would be defeated. The people will judge their Senators not only by their declamations of intent, or their recorded votes to bring FEPC to the floor, or even in behalf of cloture. The people will judge their Senators by the total fight each man waged or failed to wage for the right to discuss on the floor of the Senate either the bill itself or Senator McKellar's flagrant violation of Senate rules.

The people understand also that by this capitulation to McKellar's dictatorship the Senate has completely nullified its own cloture rule. From now on any group of willful men can prevent the highest legislative body of the greatest democracy in the world from coming to a vote on any matter they oppose.

Democracy is at stake and the issue is clear. Before the members of our Senate and House leave Washington to campaign for re-election, the people expect them to bring FEPC to the floor of both houses for a vote, and to record themselves as for or against its enactment.

The National Council for a Permanent FEPC intends to mobilize the masses of the country - majority and minority; White and Negro; Jewish, Catholic, Protestant; Japanese, Chinese and Mexican-American; to make clear to the Congress that they want a Permanent FEPC. To that end, we are issuing to our 65 collaborating national organizations and to our 150 local councils throughout the country a call to an Action Conference in Washington on Washington's Birthday, February 22."

A Sorry Sight

By Thomas L. Stokes

SOME misunderstanding seems to have been created about the action of its sponsors in bringing before the Senate at this time the bill to create a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission to eliminate discrimination in jobs on account of race, creed or color.

Southerners who have organized an old-fashioned filibuster to prevent a vote on the measure are complaining that bringing up this "controversial" bill now is holding back important legislation.

This simply is not true.

Aside from the fact that this bill is a rather important measure, and is so regarded by President Truman, what is glossed over is that no other important legislation is yet ready for consideration by the Senate. Other important bills, including labor legislation, still are being studied by committees.

* * *

IF the FEPC bill were considered on its merits, as is other legislation, without the filibuster it would take only a few days to debate it thoroly. A majority in the Senate is for passage. That is known. It was approved by committee months ago and has been on the calendar since last May. It could be passed and out of the way by the time other bills are ready.

Those are the facts. Don't be misled by angry southern senators with indignant harangues about this bill holding up other important legislation. It just isn't so, and they know it isn't so. The truth is important, however anyone may feel about this particular bill.

When a filibuster such as the present one occurs, reporters covering the Senate dig back into the records and write feature stories about filibusters of the past and the amusing incidents that happened. It is standard newspaper technique. This reporter has seen many filibusters and done all those things.

* * *

BUT, after you have been around for nearly 25 years, the filibuster loses its amusing features. It becomes stale, like an old family joke about something you did as a youngster. It all looks a bit childish and puerile for grown men.

Maybe it's a sign of age that the present crew of filibusterers don't seem to have the old touch, seem to lack originality. When Sen. Overton (D., La.) brought out the old trick of having the journal of the day before approved line by line, he went to the Congressional Record to see how the late Sen. Pat Harrison, a master of this sort of buffoonery, had done it back in 1922 in connection with the anti-lynching bill.

He and Sen. Eastland (D., Miss.) staged the usual mock serious debate about whether the chaplain's prayer contained anything political. The Louisiana Senator's use of the prayer might not have been so pleasing to some of his constituents had they seen and heard it; but, of course, some of the more religious of his constituents are probably black, and they can't vote anyhow.

* * *

ONE sentence in the prayer stood out:

"Thru the fiery destruction of the old, may there be vouchsafed to us vistas of a richer and fairer earth to be."

As Sen. Chavez (D., N. Mex.) said about the boys who were sent to Europe and China and the Pacific: "The only decoration which thousands of them received was a white cross surmounting a grave. So we should look at the record; look at the casualty lists. On them there will be found the name of McGinty, an Irishman; the name of Michael, an Armenian; the name of Levine, a Jew; the name of Chavez, a Mexican."

Is there any reason why their kin should be discriminated against in a job in our democracy?

All the FEPC bill does is to try to prevent that.

NC-FEPC

To Executive Committee Members:

Although the afternoon session of the Conference is set for 2:45 P. M., there will be a meeting of the Executive Committee starting at 1:30 P. M. at the same location. Mr. Randolph hopes very much that it will be possible for you to be present at this most important meeting.

NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR A PERMANENT

930 F STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 4, D. C.

FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE COMMISSION

Executive Secretary:
MRS. ANNA ARNOLD HEDGEMAN

NL-FEPC

NEWS FROM WASHINGTON

March 4, 1946

PLEASE NOTE! This is one of the most important communications you have ever received, for we are at an important and difficult cross-roads........

We ask that you call together not only your Local Council membership but all local branches of religious, trade union, racial, veterans, foreign language and civic groups in your community to discuss each item thoughtfully. We want your reactions as quickly as you can get them to us. PLEASE REPORT BACK TO US.

REPORT on STRATEGY CONFERENCE - - Held in Washington, D.C., February 22 and 23

Our Call to Action brought forth a broad representation from 43 National Organizations and 28 Local Councils. The spirit of militancy and high courage which pervaded the group produced an uncompromising re-dedication to the fight for Permanent F E P C.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ACTION APPROVED AND ADOPTED BY ALL THOSE PRESENT AND REFERRED TO THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR FINAL ACTION

Mr. A. Philip Randolph opened the meeting with a forthright statement of the National Council's determination to contime its fight for Permanent Federal Fair Employment Legislation. (See attached "Pertinent Quotes from Mr. Randolph's Address") A study of immediate House Action was given, followed by a review of the Senate situation. A panel of Legal Committee members presented a complete analysis of the Bill and proposed amendments. In the discussion period that followed, actual planning and resolutions grew out of the thinking of the whole assembly.

1. NO COMPROMISE:..........That the National Council REJECT THE TAFT BILL OR ANY OTHER BILL LACKING ENFORCEMENT POWERS and contime to work for S.101 and H.R. 2232.

2. A "PILGRIMAGE" FULLY REPRESENTING THE NATION:........That such a demonstration be considered this Spring in terms of full representation of every segment of citizenry in the country........That the National Council invite National Leaders of Labor Unions, Religious Groups, Racial Groups, Veterans' Organizations, Foreign-Language groups and Civic Associations to convene and determine timing - each group to issue the call........That Leaders approached include Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, Federal Council of Churches; Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, American Jewish Congress; George K. Hunton, Catholic Interracial Council; Walter White, National Association for Advancement of Colored People; Philip Murray, CIO, and William Green, AF of L.

3. ACTION IN BOTH HOUSES IN THIS SESSION OF CONGRESS:........That we press for action in both Houses of Congress - even if such action occurs simultaneously. S.101 is STILL ON THE SENATE CALENDAR and can be brought to the floor in this session. Discharge Petition #4 still needs 50-odd signatures. Greater intensity in the back-home-drive can produce the needed signatures in time to bring the bill to the floor in this session. (Consult House-Petition-list you recently received)

4. BUILD CONGRESSIONAL-DISTRICT REPRESENTATION IN LOCAL COUNCILS:........That local Councils be set up in every Congressional district of each state, so that delegations to Congressmen be representative of resident voters.

5. INVOLVE STATE POLITICAL LEADERSHIP:........That, in addition to contacting elected Representatives in Congress, we plan increased and organized pressure on both Parties' State Committee Officials, particularly where State party support is known to have swayed elections.

6. EMPHASIS ON CONGRESSMEN ELECTED BY SLIM MARGINS:........That we place special emphasis on gaining the support of those Congressmen who have been elected by a majority of less than 5% of the voters and, who, thus, must seek reinforced voting strength for reelection. (Lists on these are being compiled and will be circulated)

7. SECURE PRE-ELECTION COMMITMENTS ON F E P C:........That a questionnaire be drawnup, to be sent by the National Council through their Local Councils to all candidates for public office, to secure their stated attitudes on FEPC legislation.

8. KNOW YOUR BILL THROUGH STUDY GROUPS:........That Local Council leadership make it a responsibility to hold study groups enabling the entire membership to understand fully the provisions and scope of the Bill and arguments most frequently made for and against the issue. (Copies of Digest-Analysis of the Bill and Arguments For and Against are available.)

9. CALL FOR FUNDS TO FINANCE THE OPERATIONS OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL:........That a fund of $500,000 be raised to make the continuing work of the Council possible. ....That one of the methods used by a campaign of issuing State Albums, whichin, for one dollar, individuals sign their names on a permanent registry for Permanent Federal Fair Employment Legislation. These signatures could be requested from church congregations, trade union meetings, open forums, mass meetings, dances, athletic events, etc. Besides the revenue obtained, the completed Albums could be presented as overwhelming evidence of concern to the President of the United States.

At the close of the meeting, Mrs. Anna Arnold Hedgeman, said, in part;

> ".....That, as I say, indicates to you that we are going to need money to do this job. Now, if you had said to us, 'Go upon the Hill and try to get the Taft Bill', for example, we could do that a little less expensively and rather quickly for you. But those were not your orders.....
>
> ".....Remember how you reacted on the Taft Bill yesterday and today? Everybody that spoke to me said, 'For goodness' sake, you didn't even think about that, did you?' All right, the Taft Bill we could do for you for a little money. S.101 won't come cheap, either in terms of energy or thought or prayer or hard work, or cash.
>
> ".....So you passed out an almost impossible assignment. That we accept and thank you for....for the immense courage and spirit in the nation....but we just want to be awfully sure that you understand what you have done to us, and that you are ready to back us up".

****

PERTINENT "QUOTES" FROM THE OPENING ADDRESS
of
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

At the Strategy Planning Conference Held in Washington, February 22 and 23
by the
NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR A PERMANENT FEPC, 930 F Street, N.W., Wash. 4, D. C.

"Our friends, our conference will consist in the presentation of a few reports to you in order that you may get a picture of what has happened, the strategies employed, and experiences we have had. They constitute the basis for discussion and also the mapping out of a program of action....

"In two years' time the need for a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission has become a fundamental national issue. The very letters, FEPC, are a symbol of hope to millions of Americans. This is our most important achievement, the realization by growing numbers of the American people of the simple justice of our demand for equality of economic opportunity and of the need for federal legislation to help meet the problem.

"In terms of legislative action, we have succeeded in bringing S.101 to the Senate floor and in keeping it there for over three weeks, while nationwide attention was focused on the national disgrace of a minority of the United States Senate rendering the majority of that body helpless. And when the vote on cloture was taken, for the first time in our history a majority of the Senate voted for cloture on a bill directly affecting minorities.

"We have established working relationship with 70 national coordinating organizations. We have asked those organizations which have legislative representatives here in Washington to join our strategy committee; there are now 67 members on that committee. We wish that a still closer relationship could be established with these organizations; we hope that we shall get even greater cooperation in the future; and it is encouraging to see representatives from so many of these organizations in this hall this afternoon.

"Let me pause here to reiterate the importance of building on the broadest possible base on the community level, if the fight for a permanent FEPC is to be successful. Through our local councils we have succeeded not only in doing an educational job in the community, not only in raising badly needed funds, but also in bringing local pressure on representatives in both houses of Congress to work for the FEPC bill.....

"First, let me stress that the National Council for a Permanent FEPC and all the other organizations which have been working with us for the passage of this bill need to work together more closely even than they have previously in order to secure an effective fighting coalition. By doing so we can eliminate many of the errors of the past, open up new fields of action and bring new groups of people into the fight.

"Secondly, on the local level we must work to secure the support of all organizations which can make a contribution to the struggle in which all of us are interested. Every local council should take stock of its own community and see if there are now not new resources which can be developed and utilized.

"Thirdly, with the possibility of a long struggle ahead, we must conduct a nationwide campaign to raise the money necessary to wage a successful fight. A contribution of $1,000 will enable us to pay rent, telephone, and telegraph expenses for one month. We can make this money go a long way. But we must also realize that the kind of a campaign we need to wage costs real money.

"Fourthly, we must conduct a public relations campaign on a large scale. In the past two years we have developed a good working relationship with the press and radio, but there is room for much improvement. During the crucial winter months, we hired a public relations expert, but we had only enough funds to maintain him for a short period of time.

"Finally, at the same time that we are pressing for action in the present session of Congress, we must continue and extend our educational campaign on the local level, to the end of rallying back of the bills the mass power of the people.....

"Now we are face to face with the question of implementing, supplementing, and complementing our forces, with the view of increasing our power, because I believe that the reason why we did not get the application of cloture rule is that we did not simply have the power; that was all. However, I feel that we are morally stronger today than we were before the cloture vote was taken because there were 48 Senators voting for cloture rule which indicates that if the bill came to the floor it would pass because we have a majority of the Senators voting for the bill.....

"May I say, too, in this connection, that FEPC is not dead. We have heard expressions to that effect. I think those expressions are definitely misleading, and unutterably harmful to the cause to which we are dedicated. As a matter of fact, the bill is back on the calendar in the Senate, and under the rules of the Senate we can call it up again.

"Let me warn you that the correlation of forces in this country at this time, with respect to this bill, include on the one hand the minorities and on the other hand southern fascism which is supplemented and complemented by big property in the North which represents big fascism, and hence you are not going to be able to exact a bill of this sort from our American State system except when we are able to mobilize power behind it."

NC-FEPC

NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR A PERMANENT
FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE COMMISSION

930 F STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 4, D. C.

Executive Secretary:
MRS. ANNA ARNOLD HEDGEMAN

NEWS FROM WASHINGTON

April 25, 1946

WHERE DO THE FEPC BILLS STAND NOW ?

The Bills can come to the floor of BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS in this session,

-because, in the HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, only 40-odd signatures still remain to complete Discharge Petition #4;

-because, in the SENATE, S.101 is still on the Senate Calendar and can be re-called to the floor.

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

Political-Action-at-Home....(now that election campaigns are under way)... is just about everybody's answer to that question.

WHY IS "POLITICAL-ACTION-at-HOME" OUR MAIN JOB?

Because every member of the House of Representatives and one-third of the Senate are up for re-election this year. They will spend every available moment, beginning with the Easter holiday, AT HOME WHERE THE VOTES ARE.

HOW DID WE REACH THIS CONCLUSION?

In our Newsletter of March 4, we asked our Local Councils to check with community leadership and report on reactions to our Strategy Conference recommendation that a Pilgrimage to Washington be considered this Spring.

In addition, we canvassed the leaders of national collaborating organizations, as directed by our Strategy Conference.

Results: The overwhelming majority of the national leaders felt that this was not the time to stage a demonstration in Washington. Rather, they felt that this being an election year our program must be intensified in the field.

Our Local Council response to a Washington demonstration was slight. Less than a handful reported support; from the remainder, there was no report at all.

Conclusion: Since any people's movement to the Nation's Capital requires enthusiastic country-wide desire, the National Council could only conclude that both national leadership and Local Council membership agree that "Political-Action-at-Home" is the only way to get action in Congress this session.

HOW DO YOU PROCEED WITH "POLITICAL-ACTION-AT-HOME" ?

1: While Senators and Representatives are at their homes ORGANIZE DELEGATIONS TO SEE THEM.

Where the Senate is concerned, the enclosed report of your Senators' roles during the filibuster will help your approach.

Where the House is concerned, remember that the remaining signatures, about 45, will have to come from the Republican Side. You are bound to meet opposition on the ground that FEPC is of no direct concern to these Representatives since there are not many minorities in the areas of those who have not signed. Your assignment is to tell them, as well as Republicans who have already signed, that FEPC is A NATIONWIDE PARTY ISSUE and should be supported by the Party as a unit. Anything less is a DENIAL OF THE 1944 REPUBLICAN PARTY PLATFORM.

2: Check the primaries and make FEPC an issue on which candidates for nomination for House and Senate MUST TAKE A STAND.

Publicize that information, so that the people know whether these men are for or against FEPC.

Every member of the House of Representatives and one-third of the Senate is up for re-election this year.

Are they willing to face the voters without a strong record on FEPC?

Now is the time to throw the spotlight of publicity on every individual who wants to represent YOUR DISTRICT or YOUR STATE in the Congress of the United States.

3: Get on record with the ward, county and State leadership of BOTH political parties that FEPC MUST BE IN THE FOREFRONT OF ANY POLITICAL PROGRAM.

Get word through individual contacts and through delegations and follow up by mailing a written declaration.

4: Call a full meeting and PLAN YOUR PROGRAM OF ACTION. Make specific individuals responsible for specific assignments. Set dates ahead for progress reports.

Do not fail to let the National Council here in Washington have a continuous report of your plans and your progress.

: : : : : : : : : : :

NEW LITERATURE NOW AVAILABLE

The printer is now running off a 20-page pamphlet, entitled "ANSWER THE CRITICS" in which are gathered the major arguments for and against a federal FEPC.

This is a costly publication, but we are adhering to our free distribution policy because we believe that distribution of educational material is a major function of the National Council.. However, where budgets of individuals and organizations permit and they will wish to help defray the cost, contributions will be appreciated. The need for funds is still one of our major problems. Please let us know how many you want; they will be ready soon.

A REPORT ON YOUR SENATORS' ROLES IN THE RECENT FILIBUSTER

on

The Bill to Establish a Permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission

The Cloture vote (limiting discussion to one hour per Senator) of February 9, 1946, failed by 8 votes to reach the two-thirds required under the Senate rules.

S. 101 has been returned to the Senate Calendar. IT CAN BE CALLED DOWN AGAIN ANY TIME DURING THIS SESSION OF CONGRESS.

Your Senators are answerable to you. How did they vote? Did they confine themselves merely to voting for cloture without challenging the tactics used by the filibustering Southern bloc? Did they take part in the filibuster, or support the filibusterers? Were they on hand for the vote?

Here are the outstanding facts of your Senators roles with a few suggestions for action in preparation for the next attempt to enact FEPC legislation.

NEW YORK

Senator JAMES M. MEAD (Democrat) -- Voted for Cloture

(Senator Mead has been a consistent supporter of the bill as well as of cloture, and voted against displacement of the bill after the cloture vote. However, he did not undertake the kind of active fight for the bill during the 18 days it was on the Senate floor that the sentiment in his State would warrant. Senator Chavez conducted an almost one-man fight against the filibustering bloc with very little support from other northern Democrats.)

RECOMMENDATION: Write Senator Mead indicating appreciation for the aid he gave to the bill, but urge him to do everything possible to bring the bill to the floor again this session. Ask him to use his influence to organize an effective bloc of northern Democratic Senators to counteract the efforts of the highly organized southern filibusterers.

Senator ROBERT F. WAGNER (Democrat) -- Absent. Recorded that if present, Would vote "Yea".

(Senator Wagner, who is Honorary Co-Chairman of the National Council for a Permanent FEPC, and co-sponsor of the legislation, has long been in favor of the bill and of cloture. Unfortunately, he was ill at the time the bill was on the Senate floor and could not participate in its behalf.)

RECOMMENDATION: When Senator Wagner returns to the Senate, urge him to throw his strength behind the effort to bring the bill again to the Senate floor this session and to do everything possible to help organize a strong bloc of northern Democrats to secure its passage.

When you write your Senator, address him: Honorable ____________________,
Senate Office Building, Washington 25, D. C.

CLOTURE VOTE ON S.101--FEBRUARY 9, 1946
SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

(Bill to Establish a Permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee)

(Key: Republican Senators are in solid caps, all others are Democratic Senators except LaFollette)

YEAS--48 (22 Democratic, 25 Republican, 1 Progressive)

AIKEN, G.D. (Vt.)
AUSTIN, W. R. (Vt)
BALL, J. H. (Minn)
Barkley, A. W. (Ky)
BREWSTER, O. (Mo.)
Briggs, F. P. (Mo)
BUCK, C.D. (Del)
BUTLER, H. (Nebr)
CAPEHART, H. E. (Ind)
CAPPER, A. (Kans)
Chavez, D. (N Mex)
CORDON, G. (Oreg)
Downey, S. (Calif)
FERGUSON, H. (Mich)
Green, T. F. (R I)
Guffey, J. F. (Pa)
HART, T. C. (Conn)
HICKENLOOPER, B. B. (Iowa)
Huffman, J. W. (Ohio)
Johnson, E.C. (Colo)
Kilgore, H. M. (W Va)
KNOWLAND, W. F. (Calif)
LaFollette, R. M., Jr.
(Progressive, Wis)
LANGER, W. (N. Dak)
Lucas, S. W. (Ill)
McMahon, B. (Conn)
Magnuson, W. G. (Wash)
Mead, J. M. (N Y)
Mitchell, H. B. (Wash)
MORSE, W. (Oreg)
Murdock, A.(Utah)
Murray, J. E. (Mont)
Myers, F. J. (Pa)
REED, C.M. (Kans)
REVERCOMB, C. (W.Va)
SALTONSTALL, L. (Mass)
SHIPSTEAD, H. (Minn)
SMITH, H. A. (N J)
TAFT, R. A. (Ohio)
Taylor, G. H. (Idaho)
Thomas, E. (Okla)
Thomas, E. D. (Utah)
TOBEY, C. W. (N H)
Tunnell, J. M. (Del)
Walsh, D. I. (Mass)
WHERRY, K. S. (Nebr)
WILLIS, R. E. (Ind)
WILSON, G. A. (Iowa)

NAYS--36 (28 Democratic, 8 Republican)

Andrews, C. O. (Fla)
Bailey, J. W. (N C)
Bankhead, J. H. (Ala)
Bilbo, T. G. (Miss)
BRIDGES, S. (N H)
BUSHFIELD, H. J. (S D)
Byrd, H. F. (Va)
Carville, E. P. (Nev)
Eastland, J. O. (Miss)
Ellender, A. J. (La)
Fulbright, J. W. (Ark)
George, W. F. (Ga)
Gerry, P. G. (R I)
GURNEY, C. (S D)
Hatch, C.A. (N Mex)
HAWKES, A. W. (N J)
Hayden, C. (Ariz)
Hill, L. (Ala)
Hoey, C. R. (N C)
Johnston, O. D. (S C)
McCarran, P. (Nev)
McClellan, J. L. (Ark)
McFarland, E. W. (Ariz)
McKellar, K. (Tenn)
Maybank, B. R. (S C)
MILLIKIN, E.D. (Colo)
MOORE, E.H. (Okla)
O'Daniel, W. L. (Texas)
Overton, J. H. (La)
Radcliffe, G. L. (Md)
ROBERTSON, E. V. (Wyo)
Russell, R. B. (Ga)
Stewart, T. (Tenn)
Tydings, M. E. (Md)
Wheeler, B. K. (Mont)
WHITE, W. H., Jr. (Me)

NOT VOTING--12

*BROOKS, C. W. (Ill)
-Connally, T. (Texas)
*DONNELL, F. C. (Mo.)
- Glass, C. (Va)
*Gossett, C. C. (Idaho)
-O'Mahoney, J. C. (Wyo)
*Pepper, C. (Fla)
*Stanfill, W. N. (Ky)
*VANDENBERG, A. H. (Mich)
*Wagner, R. F. (N Y)
-WILEY, A. (Wis)
-YOUNG, M. R. (N D)

*Committed for
-Committed against

This is the first time in Senate history that a majority cloture vote was secured on a major issue affecting minority groups.

National Council for A Permanent FEPC -- 930 F Street, N. W. Washington, D. C.

Xc FEPC

NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR A PERMANENT

930 F STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 4, D. C.

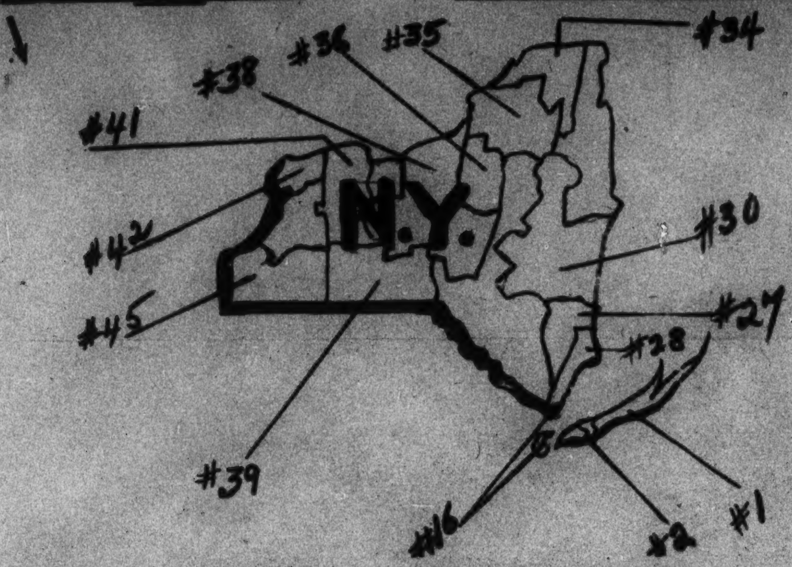
FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE COMMISSION

Executive Secretary:
MRS. ANNA ARNOLD HEDGEMAN

NEWS FROM WASHINGTON

May 17, 1946

THIS IS YOUR STATE !!



Your REPRESENTATIVES from the CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS shown on this map have NOT SIGNED the Petition to bring the Permanent F.E.P.C. Bill to the floor of the HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. Only 40-odd more signatures are needed now to put th Bill (H.R. 2232) on the floor in THIS session of Congress. YOU CAN HELP !!!

DISTR.	NAME OF REP.	PARTY	HOME ADDR.
# 1	Edgar A. Sharp	R.	Patchogue
2	Leonard W. Hall	R.	Oyster Bay
16	Ellsworth Buck	R.	Staten Is.
27	Ralph W. Gwinn	R.	Bronxville
28	Ralph A. Gamble	R.	Larchmont
30	Jay LeFevre	R.	New Paltz
34	Clarence E. Kilburn	R.	Malone
35	Hadwin C. Fuller	R.	Parish
36	Clarence E. Hancock	R.	Syracuse
38	John Taber	R.	Auburn
39	W. Sterling Cole	R.	Bath
41	James W. Wadsworth	R.	Geneseo
42	Walter G. Andrews	R.	Buffalo
45	Daniel A. Reed	R.	Dunkirk

THE BILL IS NOW BOTTLENECKED IN THE RULES COMMITTEE !!!

President Truman, on January 3, said................

> "It is the Committees which hold up action on bills ....often a bare majority of a Committee - a handful of men - can prevent a vote by the whole Congress on these measures of majority policy..........."

YOU SHOULD WRITE YOUR REPRESENTATIVE ABOUT F.E.P.C. NOW:

because the RULES COMMITTEE has refused to allow the bill to come to the floor for a vote..........

because all REPRESENTATIVES are up for RE-ELECTION....

because he knows he returns to Congress ONLY IF HE VOTES according to your beliefs...................

First, FIND Your District:

Just telephone CITY HALL. Tell them your street, city or county - and ask for your Congressional District. If your District appears in the opposite list, then:

Here's WHAT You Can Do !!

Write a letter to your Representative AT ONCE, saying, in your own words:

that "as in wartime, full employment can only become reality in peacetime IF we have a federal fair employmen practice law....

that "the petition method can give the WHOLE Congress a chance to vote on the F.E.P.C Bill and you want him to sig his name to Petition #4."

ADDRESS him as HON.__________
House Office Bldg., Washingto

INCLUDE your FULL Home Address.

URGE YOUR FRIENDS TO DO THE SA

NC-FEPC
Inf

NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR A PERMANENT
FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE COMMISSION

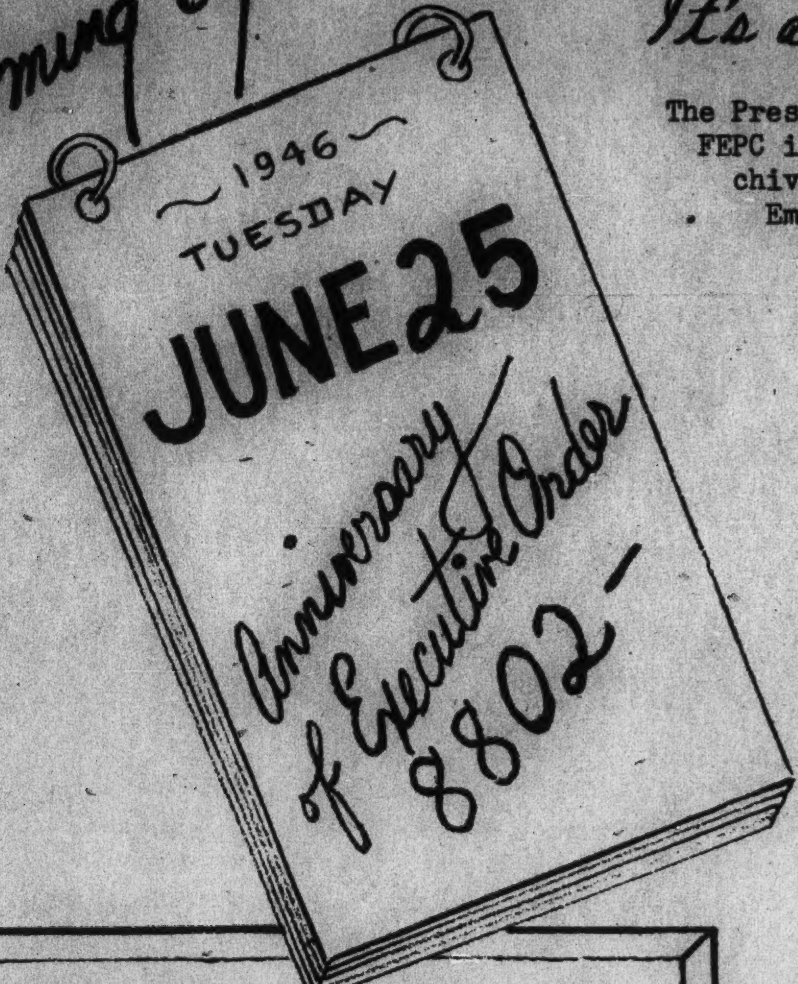
930 F STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 4, D. C.

Executive Secretary:
MRS. ANNA ARNOLD HEDGEMAN

NEWS FROM WASHINGTON

June 11, 1946

Coming Up!



The White House June 25, 1941

EXECUTIVE ORDER 8802

* * * I do hereby reaffirm the policy of the United States that there shall be no discrimination in the employment of workers in defense industries or Government because of race, creed, color or national origin, and I do hereby declare that it is the duty of employers and of labor organizations, in furtherance of said policy and of this order, to provide for the full and equitable participation of all workers in defense industries, without discrimination because of race, creed, color or national origin. * * *

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
The President of the United States

It's a Date for the History Books!

The President's Executive Order setting up the FEPC is already enshrined in our National Archives...with the Bill of Rights, Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation...and other great American documents. June 25, 1941 is a date all Americans will remember with pride........................

Let Us Make It a Date for Action - Now!

Now that the wartime FEPC agency no longer exists.....and the permanent FEPC bills await floor action in both Houses of Congress..... it is the responsibility of all Americans to exert their will for this needed, important legislation...............

Mark this Date by Planning Public Meetings - Everywhere!

WORK FOR AN AUDIENCE fully representive of your community. Invite white, Negro, Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, trade-union, civic, fraternal and veteran groups...............

MAKE CLEAR that, although the wartime FEPC no longer exists, the issue of fair employment is very much alive in the form of the bills now awaiting floor action in both the House and Senate.

EMPHASIZE THAT THIS IS AN ELECTION YEAR... and one of the most potent efforts citizens can make is writing personal letters to the Congress - expressing the need and desire for a permanent FEPC law............

NL-FRK
Jnf

NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR A PERMANENT
FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE COMMISSION

930 F STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 4, D. C.

Executive Secretary:
MRS. ANNA ARNOLD HEDGEMAN

NEWS FROM WASHINGTON

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, co-chairman of the National Council for a Permanent FEPC, and founder of the FEPC movement, spent a week in Washington laying the groundwork for the soonest possible action on the FEPC Bill in Congress. Mr. Randolph conferred with the Washington staff, reviewed the results and recommendations of the recent Washington conference, checked up on organizational strength, and talked with Senators and Representatives. The results of these conferences will be reflected in plans soon to be announced.

-LEGISLATIVE SITUATION-

The Congress has not been keeping in tempo with the changing employment situation. The President has made pronouncements on FEPC but has taken no action. The wartime FEPC lingers on, hamstrung in the face of acute reconversion problems. Political leadership seems to be playing a waiting game, with its eyes focused on the 1946 election. Leaders are waiting to see whether the public -- and that means you -- will allow the Congress to get away with inaction on FEPC. YOU have the answer to that one. Your letters and wires alone can convince them that FEPC is urgent, and that you will accept no substitute for action. Write or wire:

1. President Harry S. Truman
2. Senate Majority Leader Alben Barkley
3. Senate Minority Leader Wallace Humphrey White, Jr.,

Remind them and your own Senators that Senate Bill 101 has been on the Calendar for months, and that you, the public want it brought to the Senate floor. Write your own Senators urging them to help bring the bill to the floor and to vote for cloture.

4. House Majority Leader John W. McCormack
5. House Minority Leader Joseph Martin
6. Rep. Charles Halleck, Chairman of the House Republican Committee on Program

Urge them to take leadership in the campaign to get the remaining signatures to the Discharge Petition.

DO NOT FORGET, we still need almost 70 signatures in the House. In the Senate, though cloture commitments are mounting, more are needed. Let us know the minute you get a commitment.

-THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE-

A Digest of the proceedings and findings of the September 12-13 conference has been sent to all participants and to all local councils. We will be glad to send copies to individuals who request them.

Fifty local councils and forty national organizations sent delegates. Most of the recommendations of the conference to your national office have been put into effect, the others are under way. Following are the highlights of the conference recommendations for Local Councils:

COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATIONS - Intensify efforts to involve local business, church, veterans and PTA groups. Check National Council's list of national organizations favorable to FEPC and ask local chapters to cooperate.

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE - Initiate Local Council campaign to raise $200,000 for work of National Council. Buttons, for sale at 25¢ to be used in this campaign.

COMMITTEE ON STRATEGY - Intensify pressure on Congressmen and Senators by local people. Make special effort to involve major political leadership.

-- --

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH SUBJECT FILE FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE COMMITTEE

Clippings

1943-51
&
Undated

By This Great Decision

AMERICA'S HONOR IS VINDICATED AND RADIO TOKYO IS ANSWERED

TOKYO AND BERLIN WERE LISTENING, YOU MAY BE SURE, WHEN THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE HELD ITS LONG DELAYED HEARINGS ON THE CASE OF THE COLORED LOCOMOTIVE FIREMEN. But neither Dr. Goebbels nor Radio Tokyo, which for many months has been shrieking its malignant version of the all too ugly facts of race discrimination on the southern railroads, will wish to broadcast the truth of what happened at those hearings.

What happened was that a Committee of seven members representing industry, labor, and the public, and including two Negroes, strove in all honesty and good faith to execute the terms of the President's Executive Order No. 9346, which says:

"There shall be no discrimination in the employment of any person in war industries or in government by reason of race, creed, color, or national origin." No, this could not have happened in Tokyo or Berlin.

Imagine Hitler's kept judges or Tojo's military courts permitting Polish Jews or Korean patriots to testify in open hearings concerning the injustices and the outrages which had been perpetrated upon them!

But it could and did happen in Washington. And already it has done more to restore the belief of Negro Americans in the genuineness of their country's democratic faith and aspiration than anything that has happened since the President issued his original anti-discrimination order in June, 1941.

Cited in the complaint filed with the FEPC were the following railroads and railroad unions: New York Central, Pennsylvania Railroad, Central of Georgia, Georgia Railroad, Union Pacific, B. & O., Seaboard Airline Railroad, Southern Railroad, Jacksonville Terminals, St. Louis, San Francisco, Atlantic Coast Line, Norfolk & Western, Chicago Northwestern, Atlanta Joint Terminal, Illinois Central, Gulf, Mobile & Ohio, Chesapeake & Ohio, Louisville & Nashville, Norfolk Southern, Georgia Railroad, Louisiana and Arkansas, Missouri-Kansas-Texas, and Virginian; Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders and Helpers, Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, International Association of Machinists, and nine other unions.

At the close of the hearings the spokesman for the carriers said:

"Mr. Chairman, we have no evidence to offer . . . These witnesses by and large have testified to facts. . . ."

As for the all-white unions, they conspicuously failed to participate in the hearings. In brief summary the evidence presented to the Committee proved beyond question:

—That for the past thirty years, experienced and competent Negro firemen, switchmen, brakemen and other Negro railroad workers have been systematically ed out of their jobs for sole reason that the

There were Negro voices, too, that helped to the record. Here is R. H. Russell, Negro switchm telling how sixteen-year-old inexperienced white were hired over the heads of experienced Negroes, cluding his own son.

"We trained those white young boys. We gave th the best on the job, knowing that they were displa me and my boy; nevertheless, I wanted to do the best I could.

"Every young boy we trained is alive today doing fine, but those that was trained by the ones we trained are the ones who got killed, seven or ei of them. And I believe if they would have let us con- tine to train them, those men would not have be killed."

READING THIS RECORD, ONE SE AGAIN AND AGAIN, THROUGH THE MUR OF DISCRIMINATION AND FEAR, A WHI HAND EXTENDED IN THE FELLOWSHIP A RESPONSIBLE AND DANGEROUS CRA AND ALWAYS A BLACK HAND STRETCHED TO CLASP IT. For American civilization, north or south, just isn't as mean and hypocritical and helpless as Radio Tokyo would have us believe. If it were, the railroad hearing would not have been held at all. What seemed the most powerful political and economic forces in America were moibilzed to stop them, and to destroy the FEPC itself. On January 11, 1943, Paul McNutt announced the indefinite suspension of the railroad hearings. The propagandists of Berlin and Tokyo rubbed their hands and the next morning the short-wave listeners of three continents—black, brown and yellow—heard all about the debacle of America's democratic pretensions on the racial front.

Then things started to happen. Detroit labor came to Washington, white and black, side by side — the same Detroit labor that wrote and signed the magnificent Cadillac agreement—and spoke its fearless and uncompromising piece. With labor and beside labor in the fight stood the leaders of the three great religious faiths. On February 12, Lincoln's birthday, a little group of these religious liberals, white and black, marched in solemn pilgrimage to the Lincoln Memorial in Washington as they intend to march next year and every year, so long as the memory of Abraham Lincoln is held in honor in this country. "There can be no second class economic citizenship, no ceiling on color or creed in the defense of democracy," declared the Protestant, Catholic and Jewish churchmen in an open letter to President Roosevelt released on this occasion.

Four days after the President returned from Casablanca he announced that the suspended hearings would be resumed. They were held September 15-18 and on December 1 the FEPC announced its findings and directives which are here summarized.

The intent of the Southeastern Conference Agreement of February, 1941, was the chief grievance of th Negro firemen who filed complaints with the The Committee found that "its sole purpose an is to restrict the employment opportunities firemen solely because of their race."

white railroad [illegible] decreed their elimination.

—That in the execution of this policy the all-white unions [illegible] employed countless devices of evasion; that while denying union membership to Negro railroad workers they nonetheless assumed to "represent" them in negotiating agreements with the carriers, the effect of which was to bring about the expulsion of the Negroes.

—That the railroad managements with few exceptions made no attempt to protect their Negro employees and in many cases collaborated actively in their displacement by inexperienced whites.

—That between 1920 and 1940 the percentage of Negro firemen employed on the southern roads dropped from 41.4 to 29.5; of Negro trainmen from 22.2 to 15.1; if this trend had been continued colored workers would have been almost completely eliminated from these jobs by 1950.

—That when railroad employment declined during economic depressions Negro firemen were literally shot out of their cabs; in all, fifteen Negro firemen were killed and twenty-nine injured during two outbreaks of violence, in 1921 and again in 1931.

—That as late as February, 1941, the most objectionable of the anti-Negro pacts was negotiated with the Southeastern Carriers; this and subsequent agreements sealed the ultimate doom of 2,400 colored firemen still employed on the southern lines.

—That in June of this year, with railroad traffic at an all-time peak, Negro firemen were still being eased out of their jobs on the southern lines, though 850 more firemen were needed and the total shortage of railroad workers had reached 80,000. **It was even proposed to use women and war prisoners—this in preference in hiring thousands of available Negroes, many of them with years of railroad experience behind them.**

—That during this period railroad accidents and delays have increased, racial tensions have been exacerbated, and the war effort has suffered both at home and on the fighting fronts.

A Shameful Record—Shot Through With Light and Hope

IF THE RECORD SHOWED ONLY THIS MONOTONOUS SEQUENCE OF PREJUDICE, EVASION AND INJUSTICE, BERLIN AND TOKYO MIGHT WELL GLOAT AND REPEAT THEIR JEERS AT THE "AMERICAN HYPOCRITES." BUT IT SHOWS MORE, a good deal more. It shows that many of the white railroaders didn't like or want this callous purge of Negro fellow-workers whom they had come to trust and like, and that they rebelled against it, often at considerable personal cost. Here, for example, is George M. Bruce, Jr., white locomotive engineer, age 33, answering Radio Tokyo in the only way it can be answered.

Question: Did there come a day when you did get displaced from your position as a main line engineer?

Answer: Yes.

Question: What was the occasion of that?

Answer: Well, I was asked to roll a senior colored locomotive fireman and I refused to do it.

Negro Americans will not forget George M. Bruce.

[illegible] to the [illegible] have [illegible] granted in all [illegible].

In relation to the railroad companies, the Committee directed: That the carriers [illegible] through whom they employ workers that they [illegible] future accept needed workers in all classes of employment without discrimination.

That no new agreements between the carriers and unions may contain discriminatory clauses.

That each carrier found guilty of discriminatory practices report to the Committee within thirty days what steps it has taken to insure fair practices.

In relation to the railroad unions, the Committee found them guilty of many discriminatory practices against Negro workers. A frequent charge against a union was that "it denies them membership in its organization; refuses them any voice or part in the negotiation of agreements . . . and refuses to represent them in respect to their grievances."

In each such instance, the Committee ordered the Union to cease and desist from such practices.

In respect to the 23 carriers cited by the Committee, one railroad, the Virginian, reached a settlement with FEPC before the hearings. The Union Pacific, during the course of the hearings, ordered immediate corrections of any unfair practices. Final action in the case of the Pennsylvania and New York Central roads awaits the outcome of discussions between the carriers and the Committee.

WILL A GREAT AMERICAN TRAGEDY BECOME A GREAT AMERICAN TRIUMPH?

Thus with brave and forthright words has the President's Committee on Fair Economic Practice answered Dr. Goebbels and Radio Tokyo. But great words must be made good by great deeds. Will the Committee's directives be obeyed?

We who sign this, Negroes of the South and the North, would be fools if we permitted ourselves to believe that our struggle has ended with the Committee's decision. How long will it be before the great and powerful railway brotherhoods can be brought to abandon the tragic error which has so deeply stained an otherwise splendid record? How long before the carriers stop passing the buck to our civilization—and to the unions—and start brightening the corner where they are?

We cannot say, but this we know: that we can go in only one of two ways in this matter of race relations and it must not be Hitler's way. We who sign this are Negroes whose grandfathers and great-grandfahers were slaves. There is no power great enough to make us slaves again; no power great enough to forbid our claim to the equal rights for which every other oppressed American minority has fought and for which we pledge ourselves to fight, as long as we have breath and life.

Our tragedy, so richly documented in the railroad hearings, is not our tragedy alone. It is your tragedy, too. It is one of America's great tragedies. And it is for America—all America, white and black and brown—"with charity to all and malice toward none," to transform that tragedy into a great American triumph.

THE PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE TO ORGANIZE COLORED LOCOMOTIVE FIREMEN OF THE BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, International President.	**MILTON P. WEBSTER** International Vice-President.	**ASHLEY TOTTEN,** International Secretary-Treasurer.	**B. F. McLAURIN,** International Organizer.

N.Y. Times
10/16/50

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Suggests an Executive Order to Stop Discrimination in Defense Employment

Senator Herbert H. Lehman yesterday asked President Truman to emulate President Roosevelt's action of 1941 and issue an Executive order barring racial or religious discriminations in employment in all defense industries and plants.

In a telegram to the President released here, the Senator said that such a step would not be a substitute for the enactment of a Federal Fair Employment Practices Act but should be taken while "we continue to work for this legislation."

"Since I have been back home among my constituents, I have been urging upon them the necessity of increasing the pace of national mobilization and, of national sacrifices so that our country, in association with our Allies, may develop the strength and unity essential for security and peace," ~~the Senator said in his telegram.~~

"One question from my constituents which recurs with increasing frequency is why, at the same time that we are mobilizing under the banners of freedom and equality of peoples, there continues to be discrimination in employment in this country against some of our citizens.

"You and I know the real answer to this question. But it is not enough to know the answer. I should like to offer at least a partial remedy.

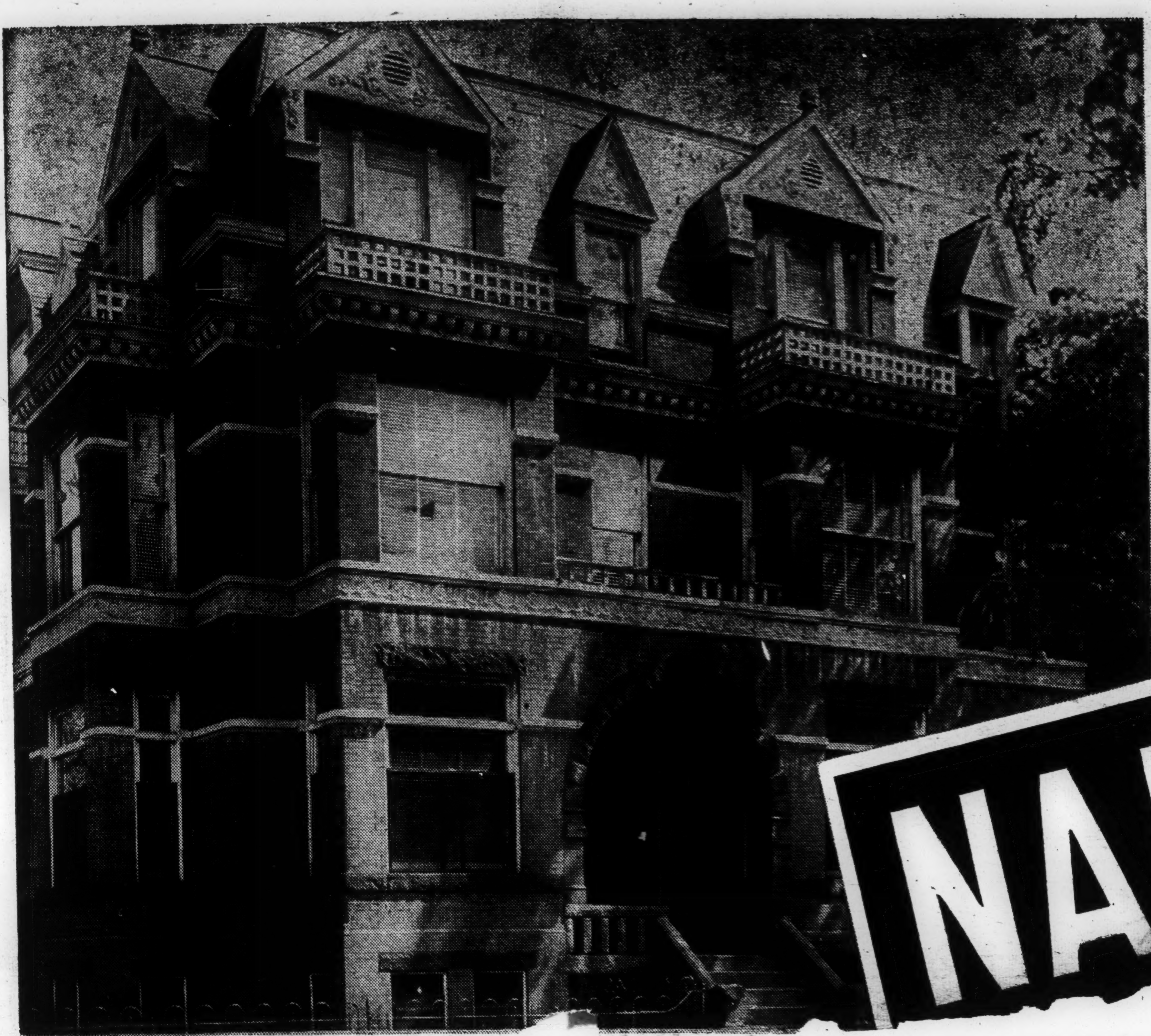
"That is why I am wiring you today, to urge that you, from your great office, issue an executive order setting a pattern of non-discrimination in employment for the nation. I respectfully urge that you direct, as President Roosevelt did in 1941, that all defense contracts must contain a clause barring discrimination in employment under such contracts.

"Such action would, of course, be no substitute for the enactment of Federal legislation, such as you have recommended and which I have so strongly supported, requiring fair employment practices in all employment.

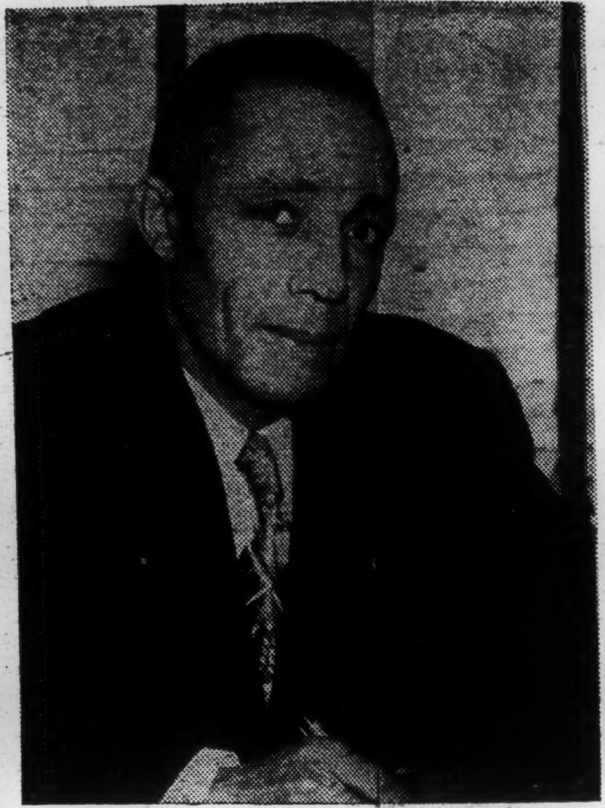
"But while we continue to work for this legislation, it seems to me that our Government—if we are in fact to be a leader among the free nations in the cause of democracy—must certainly eliminate discriminations based on race, creed, or color from any activities over which the Federal Government has any control.

"Such an executive order, affecting all defense contracts, would reassure our men and women fighting in Korea and would at the same time reassure those at home who are called upon to make sacrifices. In addition, such action would certainly strengthen our moral positions among all the peoples of the world.

"I hope you will give this



HOME OFFICE BUILDIN [illegible]



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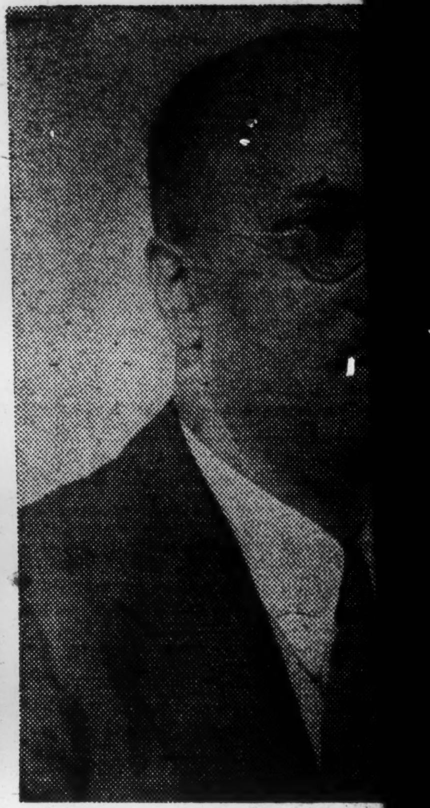

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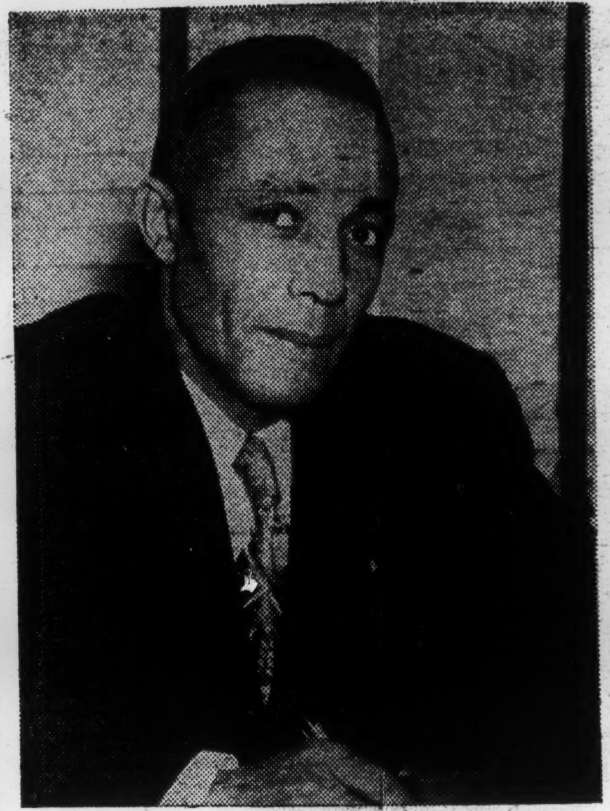

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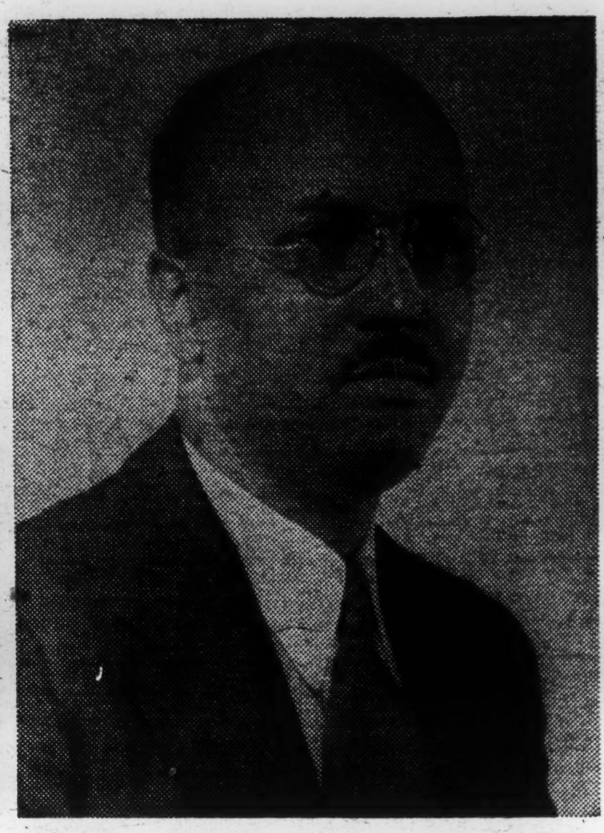

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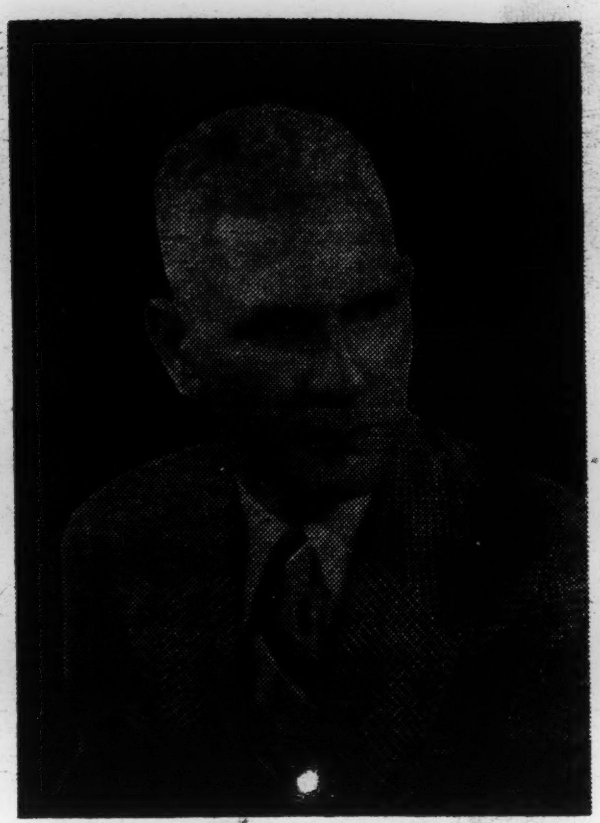


PHILIP W. HOLLAND, Birmingham, Ala., NAPE Controller, devised the 5-cent-per-month-per-man plan which gave the NAPE its home building at 273 N Street, N.W.,

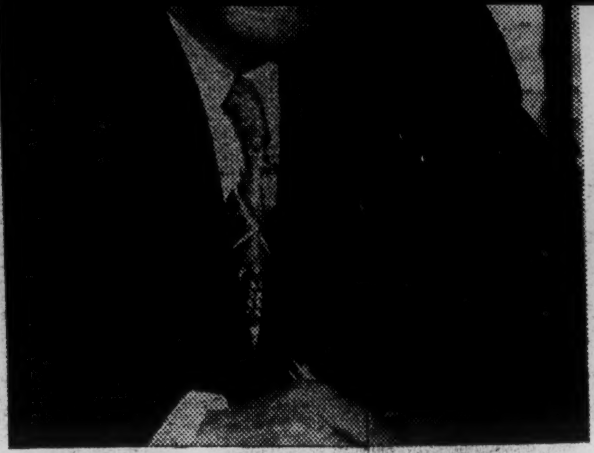
SNOW F. GRIGSBY, Detroit, Mich., is editor of the NAPE magazine, The Postal Alliance, which is published monthly and tells the NAPE story.

NAPE

Makes Fair-Play Work in Federal Government-

Postal Organization Protects Its Members And Stresses Harmony in Ranks

HOME OFFICE BUILDING, 275 N STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, D. C.—UNENCUMBERED



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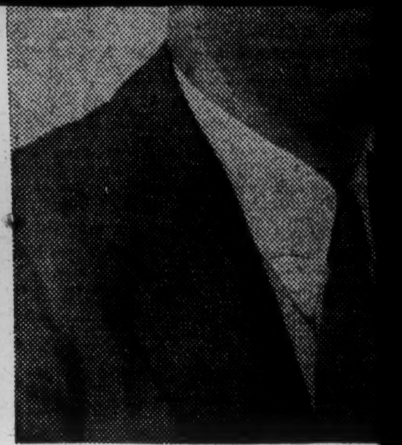

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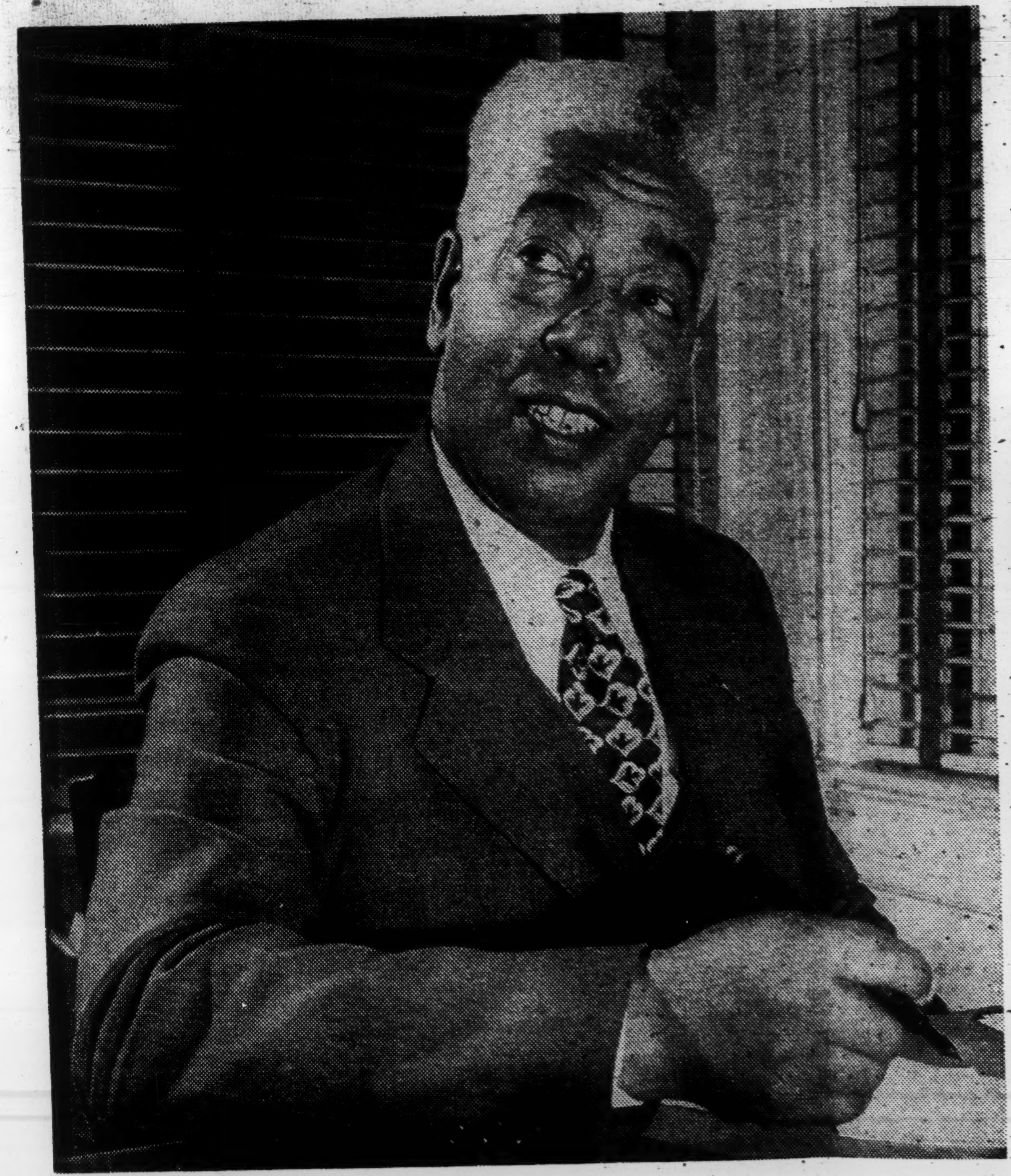
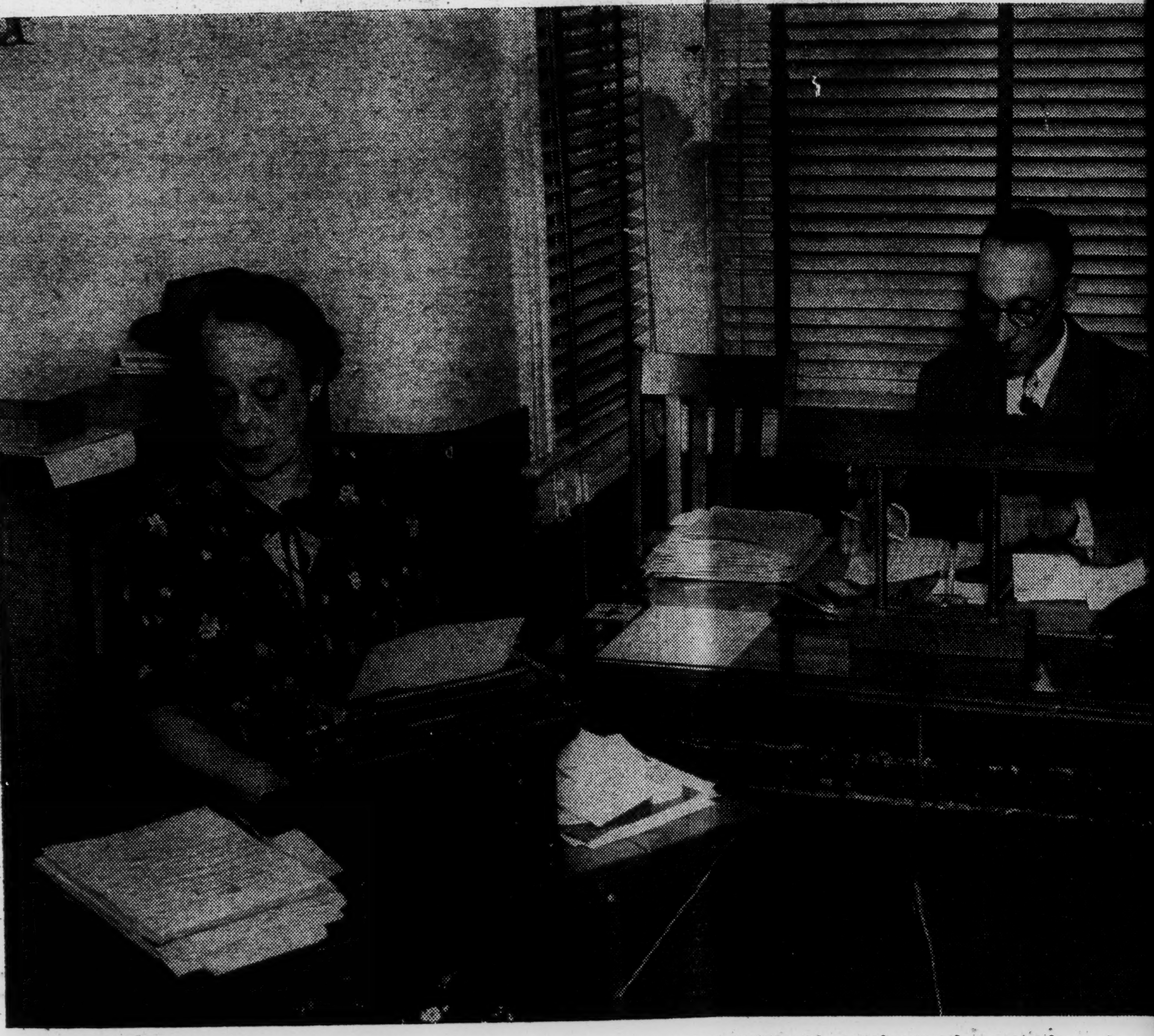


Ashby B. Carter, Grand Master of Masons of Illinois, a Chicagoan, has guided the destinies of the NAPE as president since 1945. His administration has wrought great improvements



Votie Dixon of Washington, quiet—but oh so capable and efficient—is secretary-treasurer of the NAPE, and has put into use the most modern and up-t methods in his office, where Mrs. Serena Pinn is stenographer. NAPE records are always in first-class condition.

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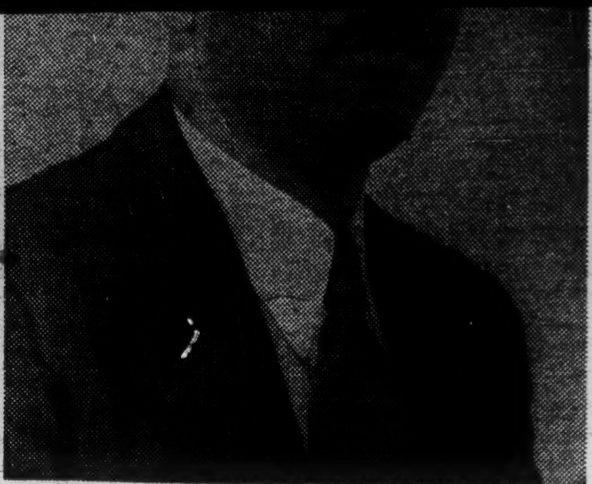

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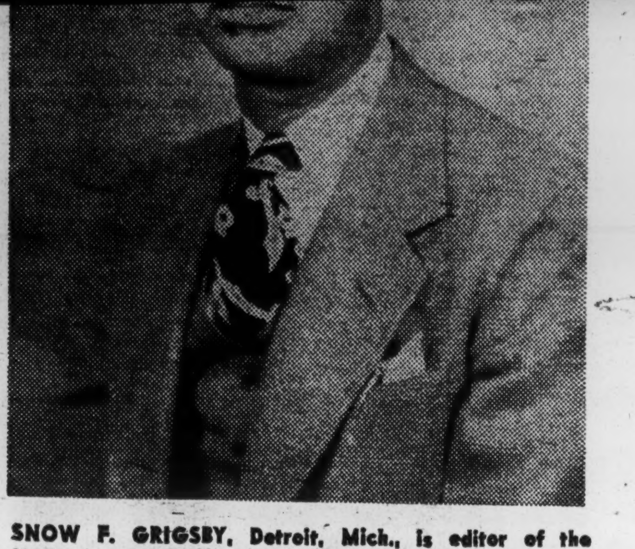

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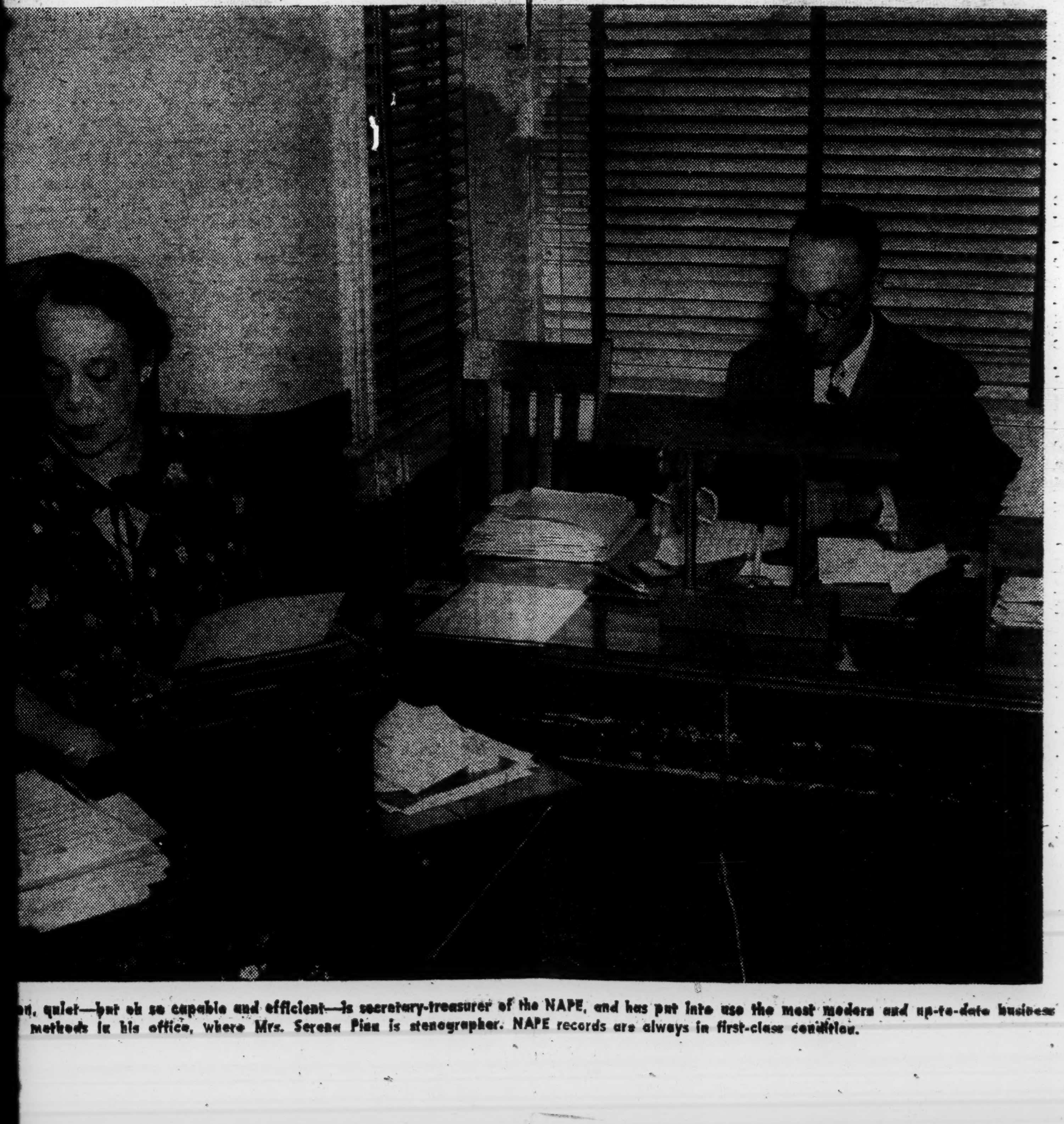
NAPE Makes Fair-Play Work in Federal Government-

Postal Organization Protects Its Members And Stresses Harmony in Ranks

By TREZZVANT W. ANDERSON



n, quiet—but oh so capable and efficient—is secretary-treasurer of the NAPE, and has put into use the most modern and up-to-date business methods in his office, where Mrs. Serena Pias is stenographer. NAPE records are always in first-class condition.

"DISCRIMINATION MUST GO!" . . . That was the slogan of the National Alliance of Postal Employees when it was organized at Chattanooga, Tennessee, in 1913 by a small group of Negro railway mail clerks. In 1951 that is still the slogan of the NAPE. This is one—the only one—organization of Negro Government employes—all in the U. S. Postal Service—which has followed the line of its original purpose religiously, vigorously and effectively, and it has gotten results.

It has become a by-word in Washington where the NAPE has its headquarters, that no other organization in the Government is securing a fuller implementation of President Truman's FEP order in the Federal agencies than the NAPE. Officialdom eyes with wariness the approach of William C. Jason, the NAPE's welfare director, who must present the NAPE cases to the Government. What has the NAPE done? It has been instrumental in forcing postmasters all over the U. S. to follow the FEP mandate in appointing Negroes to classified jobs, promoting Negroes on merit alone; it has cleared many of its accused members of the stigma of disloyalty charges tossed by prejudiced P. O. officials in various parts of the nation.

How effective the NAPE program is can be seen in the fact that while O. John Rogge and a staff of lawyers futilely prosecuted up to the U. S. Supreme Court, the disloyalty cases of twenty-six postal employes, the NAPE—working quietly and without fanfare—used its own methods and actually cleared four Negroes and one white man of disloyalty who were included in the twenty-six men whom Rogge could not help. Now that the air is clear the NAPE will go to bat for its other members left among the twenty-six. They should be glad there is a National Alliance of Postal Employees.

The NAPE has come a long way since those railway mail clerks met and formed it in 1913. It was born of discrimination, the Railway Mail Association had just barred Negroes from membership. So the men formed their own "Alliance." In lean and fat years it has continuously kept its eye on its original objective, using techniques that have been legal and constitutional and definitely within the line of orderly and indiscriminate administrative procedure.

As in all organizations it has had its high and low leadership, and now . . . as never before . . . it can boast proudly of its leadership and what that leadership has done over the years. That is, it could if the organization were the "boasting" type of organization. But it isn't the "boasting" type, which is why the Courier is taking the liberty of telling its story. Its achievements are such as are worthy of emulation by any segment of Negro life interested in cultural, spiritual, moral and economic uplift. Why? Because it has helped its members; it has broken down doors of discrimination, and it has done it under its own steam. From the handful of men in 1913, to some 20,000 members today, in forty-five states, with its own unencumbered and paid-for home office building in Washington, D. C., it is an example of what Negroes can do if they stick to their purpose.

Behind its program—which went into what the layman calls "high gear" in 1945—have been National President Ashby B. Carter of Chicago, sagacious, yet fearless, an aristocratic personality respected from top to bottom in the P. O. Department; Jimmy Cobb, quiet, but brilliant Washington lawyer, its vice president; eagle-eyed Votie D. Dixon of Washington, its secretary-treasurer, who has metamorphosed its business office into a smoothly efficient operation; Philip Holland of Birmingham, Alabama, its finance-minded comptroller; Snow F. Grigsby of Detroit, editor of "The Postal Alliance," and last—but, by no means least—Bill Jason, the welfare director, who does the real sleuthing and attorney-general-ing for the NAPE.

This year when the NAPE meets at Houston, Texas, August 21-25, it will consider a move to change its name to "National Alliance of FEDERAL EMPLOYEES," opening its doors to ALL Negro U. S. employes. Since this organization has been able to accomplish so much for postal employes, it seems that it would be a godsend to Negro employes in all other U. S. agencies to have such an organization to shoulder their burdens. And why shouldn't the NAPE open its doors so that the many thousands of Negro Federal employes may also share in its benefits . . . economic and otherwise? And the fear of NAPE action which prevents so much discrimination in the P. O. D. would help all other Negro U. S. employes. For the NAPE has made FEP work in the P. O. Department.

Truman
F. E. P. C. Order

Senator's Telegram Asks Ban on Discrimination in Defense Production

Sen. Herbert H. Lehman, Democratic Senatorial candidate, urged President Truman yesterday to issue an executive order barring discrimination in the nation's defense industries as the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt did in 1941.

In a telegram addressed to the President in San Francisco, where the Chief Executive was to arrive today following his conference with General of the Army Douglas MacArthur, Sen. Lehman said:

"Such an executive order, affecting all defense contracts, would reassure our men and women fighting in Korea and would at the same time reassure those at home who are called upon to make sacrifices. In addition, such action would certainly strengthen our moral position among all the peoples of the world."

"I respectfully urge," the telegram said, "that you direct . . . that all defense contracts must contain a clause barring discrimination in employment under such contracts."

1941 Order Cited

On June 25, 1941, President Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802 establishing the Fair Employment Practices Committee and directing that there was to be no discrimination because of race, creed or color in defense industries filling government contracts, in labor unions or in government agencies. The committee's work expired on June 30, 1946, after settling more than 5,000 cases involving discrimination.

Sen. Lehman told President Truman that the issuance of an executive order reconstituting the committee would be only "a partial remedy" and "no substitute for the enactment of Federal legislation, such as you have recommended and which I have so strongly supported, requiring fair employment practices in all employment."

"Since I have been back home among my constituents," the Senator said, "I have been urging upon them the necessity of increasing the pace of national mobilization and of national sacrifice so that our country, in association with our allies, may develop the strength and unity essential for security and peace.

Asks Truman to Act

"One question from my constituents which recurs with increasing frequency is why, at the same time that we are mobilizing under the banners of freedom and equality of peoples, there continues to be discrimination in employment in this country against some of our citizens."

He suggested that the President might be "interested in these thoughts which have occurred to me in recent days" against the background of "the great discussion which you have just conducted" and he urged President Truman to give his "earliest consideration" to the proposal for the order which, Sen. Lehman said, would set "a pattern of non-discrimination in employment for the nation."

The text of the telegram was released from the headquarters of the Independent Citizens Committee for the Re-election of Herbert H. Lehman, at 730 Fifth Avenue

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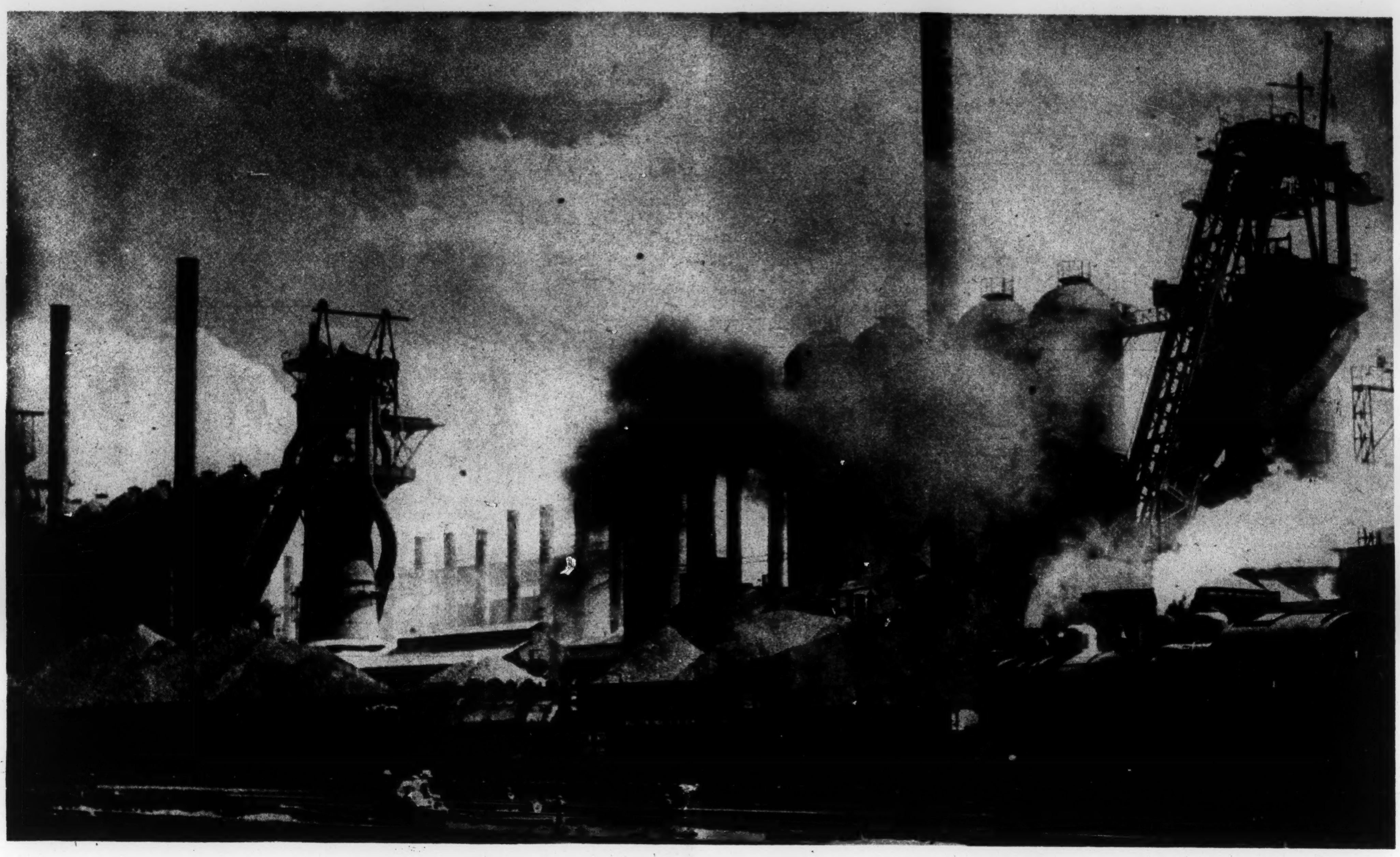

"Industry is adjusting the pattern of productive capacity to the pattern of demand."

To Avoid a Boom—and Then a Bust

Professor Slichter says the country must produce goods faster than ever before in its history.

By SUMNER H. SLICHTER
Lamont University Professor, Harvard University

IS the United States about to experience a post-war speculative boom which will end in a great collapse, as did the boom which immediately followed the first World War? Is history about to repeat itself—despite the determination of the country that this shall not occur?

These issues are reflected in the bitter fight over the OPA. Even before the OPA was allowed to expire, wholesale prices were rising at the rate of nearly 20 per cent a year and the cost of living at the rate of 8 per cent. Without strong control, many people believe that prices will rise even faster than during this last spring. That would surely mean a boom, speculative buying, and an eventual "bust."

Who are right—the many friends of price control, who say that now inflation is on us, or the critics who say that more production will give the country more effective price control than did the OPA?

THE DANGER

THE danger of inflation arises because people's holdings of money and their incomes and expenditures have increased far faster than production. That is the essense of the problem. Individuals now hold about three times the volume of cash and checking accounts that they did in 1941, their incomes after taxes in 1946 are running nearly 60 per cent above 1941, and their expenditures on consumer goods are over 61 per cent above 1941.

On the other hand, production has been lagging. Secretary Wallace recently announced that factory shipments, January through April, were only 10 per cent greater in physical volume and 40 per cent higher in dollar value than in 1941. Between September, 1945, and April, 1946, there was an increase of about 4.5 per cent in man-hours worked in the manufacture of non-durable goods, but output did not rise.

Even worse is the record of durable-goods industries, where an increase of 6 per cent in man-hours was accompanied by a drop of 4.6 per cent in the index of production. To some extent the drop in the indices may reflect their failure to measure output accurately. No one last September, however, would have predicted that eight months later the indices of production would have shown either no gain or a drop.

The production record of many important items is far worse than the overall record. Nine months after V-J Day the production of shirts, bricks, refrigerators and sewing machines was far below pre-war, and output of other important commodities, such as men's suits, radios, hosiery, and electric irons, was just about the same as pre-war. Even at mid-year the production of automobiles was only half the rate of 1941. The production of shoes, meat, lumber, washing machines and vacuum cleaners, while moderately above pre-war, was far below the increased rate of spending.

THE immediate outlook is for even larger expenditures on consumer goods. During the second half of 1946, purchases of consumer goods (when adjusted for seasonal change) will be at least 10 per cent to 15 per cent above the first half, or at the annual rate of roughly $135 billion, in contrast with $120 billion during the first half.

There are three reasons for this increase. Wage increases already made and higher prices for farmers will raise individual incomes after taxes by about $10 billion a year—to an annual rate of $150 billion. The *proportion* of incomes spent on consumer goods will probably rise because even during the first half of 1946 the savings of individuals were still large in relation to incomes after taxes. Finally, accumulated savings will be drawn on to some extent—probably by as much as $2 billion or $3 billion and possibly by even more.

This estimate of expenditures assumes that there will not be any widespread disposition to buy goods which are not immediately needed in anticipation of higher prices. Unless there is a substantial rise in the supplies of finished goods, the upward pressure on prices during the second half of 1946 will be far greater than during the first half.

THE PROSPECTS

FORTUNATELY, there is good reason to expect that the second half of 1946 will bring a substantial gain in supplies of finished goods. During the first nine months after V-J Day the production record, bad as it is, has been much better than the figures on specific commodities, such as refrigerators, automobiles and radios, seem to indicate.

The reason is that production involves many stages. *(Continued on Page 2)*

JULY 21. 1946.

To Avoid Boom and Bust

Before finished goods are ready for consumers, raw materials have to be turned out, and so do many parts. All of this is an essential factor of the process of production, and is quite properly included in the indices of output. That is why the indices have shown a higher level of production than seems justified by the output of finished goods. Now the point is being reached where the preliminary stages of production are beginning to yield finished goods in rapidly rising quantities. This will happen without much change in the number of persons employed, which is already 4.6 million more than a year ago.

AN automobile or refrigerator obviously cannot be completed until all of the parts required in the finished article are on hand. Lack of balance in the output of raw materials and parts has been a major factor holding back the completion of finished goods.

The output of men's suits has been limited by lack of materials for pockets and linings; refrigerators, sewing machines and vacuum cleaners are held up by motor shortages; lack of linseed oil and lead is holding up output of paint; shortages of cabinets and castings are limiting the output of sewing machines; refrigerators are being held back by shortages of sheet steel; radio production is limited by shortages of cabinets, tubes and condensers.

Almost all types of building materials are very short, but some are scarcer than others. It takes nine months to complete a house which would ordinarily be built in three. The ramifications of the steel, copper and coal strikes throughout industry have been very far-reaching. Their effect in delaying the completion of finished goods was undoubtedly far greater than their effect upon the volume of employment and production.

Lack of balance in the output of raw materials and parts is an inevitable characteristic of large and rapid shifts in the character of production, such as the shift from making war goods to the making of consumer goods. Lack of balance during the recent change-over, however, has been greatly aggravated by two factors—by inequalities in OPA price ceilings and by strikes. The former led producers to make the items in their lines on which the OPA ceilings permitted the largest profit rather than the items which the market most demanded.

The output of men's suits, for example, was limited for a time by the fact that it was more profitable for the woolen industry to make the lighter cloths required for women's wear than the heavier required by the men's industry, and the scarcities of small motors go back in large part to the relative lack of profit in making the type of steel required for the rotors and stators in these motors.

BOTTLENECKS

EVEN more serious were the bottlenecks produced by strikes. In some months the time lost by strikes was as much as in many an entire pre-war year. The effect of strikes upon the output of finished goods was far greater than their effect upon total production and employment. Even plants which were not obliged to shut down because of lack of supplies were delayed in completing goods.

Even though the steel, coal and copper strikes were especially far-reaching, the effect of hundreds of small strikes should not be overlooked. Even as late as the middle of June, General Motors had more than a hundred strikes among its suppliers of parts.

Progress is being made in eliminating bottlenecks and that is a major reason for believing that the next half year will see a rapid rise in supplies of finished goods. Industry is adjusting the pattern of productive capacity to the pattern of demand.

The outlook is for a substantial drop in the number of strikes—at least until next winter. At that time, when important agreements in steel, rubber, automobiles and other industries expire or may be reopened with respect to wage issues, the story may be different—especially if, in the meantime, there has been a substantial rise in the cost of living.

All in all, the outlook is that the supplies of finished goods reaching the market during the next six months will greatly exceed that in the last six months and will considerably exceed the rise in the index of production. The advance in finished goods will also greatly exceed the rise in payrolls. Most of the rise in the production of finished goods, however, would have occurred even if the OPA had continued with no change.

WILL the increase in the output of finished goods be sufficient to prevent a dangerously rapid rise in prices? That is a close question and only experience can give the answer. If my estimate of the increase in consumer expenditures is approximately correct, the upward pressure on prices should not be so great as to touch off a speculative boom. Indeed, the supply of many finished goods is likely to be more than 50 per cent greater during the second half of 1946 than during the first.

The great uncertainty in the price outlook arises from the impossibility of predicting whether consumers or business men will interpret the fate of OPA as a sign that prices are likely to rise rapidly. There are about 4.6 million American families which have acquired $48 billion in bank accounts and Government bonds during the last six years and another 9.3 million families which have acquired $22 billion. These figures do not include the large quantities of cash acquired by individuals or business enterprises.

Never in the history of the country have so many millions of people owned such large quantities of liquid assets. Were a substantial fraction of the owners of liquid assets to attempt to convert their bank accounts, cash, or Government securities into goods, the country would experience a speculative boom that would dwarf all others.

FEDERAL FINANCES

WHAT can the country do to prevent the development of runaway prices? Some people would place their main reliance upon Government fiscal policy. Let the Government produce a surplus in its budget by cutting expenditures drastically — particularly by postponing all expenditures in the enormous military and naval budgets which do not need to be made immediately.

Certainly if there was ever a year when the national interest requires the Government to run a surplus, it is the present fiscal year. No surplus which the Government would run would be large enough to offset any considerable increase in private spending. The principal value of a Government surplus would be preventive—it would help keep the rise in prices sufficiently moderate so that speculative buying would not be detonated.

As a matter of fact, the prospect of a sensible and vigorous fiscal policy is remote. One reason is that the members of Congress are more interested in keeping up certain prices, such as cotton, silver, meat or dairy products, or in promoting higher wages than they are in stabilizing the general price level. Furthermore, there is no political attraction in not spending money—even when not spending helps stabilize the economy. There are far more votes in a good extravagant Rivers and Harbors bill than in stabilization achieved through not spending.

Hence the country must assume that the net influence of Government will be on the side of aggravating the problem of inflation—not on the side of helping to solve it.

BUYERS' STRIKE

MANY people believe that the most reliable protection against runaway prices would be a "buyers' strike"—that is, refusal to buy at much higher prices. Certainly if one could be sure that buyers would refuse to follow up rising prices very far there would be nothing to worry about.

The persons who believe that widespread consumer resistance to higher prices would halt any price increase before it had gone far point to the war record of consumers. This shows very plainly that consumers have not been willing to reach for goods at fancy prices—not, at least, as a general rule.

In addition, the believers in a buyers' strike point out that increases in incomes and savings have been quite unevenly distributed. Dividend payments, for example, have not kept pace with the rising cost of living and dividends disbursed last year had less total purchasing power than dividends paid out in 1940. Wage increases during the last four months have been much more general among the fourteen million organized workers than among the twenty-two million unorganized. Many of the latter have received no advances since V-J Day. About half the households accumulated almost no liquid assets during the war and about one-third did not save during 1945. From such households an early resistance to higher prices is to be expected.

UNDOUBTEDLY the people of the country are far more price-conscious than ever before and more willing to resist price increase. Furthermore, the unevenness with which the benefits of any economic expansion are distributed undoubtedly helps to halt the expansion.

It would be unwise, however, to count on a buyers' strike developing very promptly in response to a rise in prices. Money income after taxes per household in the United States averages 70 per cent above 1940, but prices paid by consumers are only 30 per cent above 1940. There is much room for a price advance before serious resistance is likely. The incomes of some people, such as farmers and other self-employed, are increased by price advances. Furthermore, the country is better organized than ever to convert higher prices into higher money wages. Consequently a rise in prices is more likely to produce demands for higher wages than to produce a buyers' strike.

DUTY OF BUSINESS

WHAT contribution can business men make to preventing a post-war speculative boom? The demands of many business men and business organizations that OPA be abolished gives business a peculiar responsibility. If this country expects much of them, they cannot complain — they asked for it.

Business men can make an important contribution by keeping down the volume of consumer credit, which, of course, is highly inflationary. Business enterprises, no less than Governments, should scrutinize all expenditures carefully and make only those which promise the most immediate reductions in costs and increase in output.

The most important contribution of business to preventing a speculative post-war boom, however, is increasing output without corresponding increases in disbursements — increases in output accomplished at smaller cost.

Savings in costs would retard the process of raising the prices of finished goods to compensate for recent increases in wages and in the prices of raw materials and parts. In some cases it might bring about some softening of prices.

CAN American business produce a substantial rise in efficiency during the next six months? Certainly it should be possible to win back the drop in efficiency which (if the indices are to be believed) has occurred during the last nine months. This alone would give about 5 per cent more product from factories. The elimination of bottlenecks would reduce much idle time of men and machines, and substantially raise output. In addition, there are many gains in efficiency to be achieved by introducing ideas conceived during the war or by using in civilian production knowledge gained from work on war goods.

Winning back the recently lost efficiency, reducing the number of bottlenecks, and putting into operation war-acquired ideas should raise output per man-hour in manufacturing and in some other branches of industry by 10 per cent in twelve months. That would be a major contribution to preventing a post-war speculative boom—an accomplishment far transcending anything the Government could do.

A larger output from industry would help hold down the prices of agricultural products, where the danger of a speculative price rise is greatest. The larger the available supplies of non-agricultural goods the less money people will spend on food. Any sign that the prices of farm products are reaching a peak would discourage holding goods on the farm and hasten their flow to market.

DUTY OF LABOR

THE success of industry in raising output will depend largely upon the relations of management and labor. With the help of the unions, which are now found in nearly every large plant, management can certainly raise output per man-hour 10 per cent in twelve months. Unfortunately, management and unions in most plants have not yet developed very close and cooperative relations. They are still doing business at arm's length. The idea that they might have extremely important common problems has not occurred to them, or if it has they have not explored it.

Unfortunately, also, some of the oldest and most "mature" unions have no adequate conception of labor's strong interest in more production. Indeed, some of the long-established unions in the printing trades and in the transportation part of the railroad industry have gone quite far in limiting production by make-work rules, and even today are demanding new and drastic make-work rules. President Green of the American Federation of Labor, however, sees the problem very clearly. In a special statement in the current issue of the AFL Monthly Survey he urges workers to "stabilize their wage dollars by helping to increase volume of production which can wipe out scarcities and the danger of runaway inflation."

That is an important and an encouraging statement. Protecting the country from a disastrous repetition of 1920-21 requires that business raise output per man-hour during the next six months faster than it has ever been done. With the kind of cooperation between men and management which President Green asks the needed increase can be accomplished.

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Eugene Meyer, Editor and Publisher

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TELEPHONE NATIONAL 4200.

**** Saturday, May, 27, 1944.

FEPC

The House Appropriations Committee showed a wise tolerance, we think, in recommending the allotment of half a million dollars for continuation of the President's Fair Employment Practices Committee. If the recommendation is approved by both houses of Congress, as we very much hope it will be, the FEPC will cease to be merely a presidential agency and will have independent status under congressional authorization. This is as it should be. The Post has expressed indorsement, in principle, of Senator Russell's proposal requiring all Federal agencies set up by executive order to secure an appropriation from Congress after they have been in existence for a year. We should regret very much indeed, however, to see this sound general requirement employed, as some intended, to end the FEPC's useful career.

There is particular need of the FEPC at the present time. To Negroes, the minority most urgently in need of its protection, the agency symbolizes the Government's recognition of their plight. Through the activities of the FEPC, war employment otherwise barred to them because of racial prejudice has been opened up to Negroes. The war effort of the Nation has been accelerated by the utilization of their skills and energies. By gradual, patient, constructive effort the areas of discrimination are being reduced. The effort must not be abandoned now if we are to keep faith with the democratic principles we profess.

Washington Notes

Mainly about Jobs

Almost certainly the results of the Big Three meeting at Yalta will produce a legislative storm. It can now be revealed that Steve Early and President Roosevelt sympathetically considered taking a representative group of Washington correspondents to the conference by air. This would have been a wise move to help placate probable turmoil ahead. Presumably it was blocked by Soviet-British considerations. When Stalin and Churchill return home, their governments will accept anything they agree to; President Roosevelt's fight just begins. It will be his supreme test in mobilizing public opinion. There has been gratifying political non-partisanship in America toward foreign affairs so far. But recent speeches by Dewey and Vandenberg show wide escape loopholes. Vandenberg, before the Yalta results were announced, had two Dumbarton Oaks reservations: (1) a review clause, to reconsider the Polish, Greek and other questions; (2) an unwillingness to have the proposed new international fire-alarm system apply to aggressors other than Axis powers, without submission to the Senate for debate. Will he make approval conditional on acceptance of these "reservations"?

Congress is afraid of advance planning, essential to 60 million jobs. It abolished the National Resources Planning Board. Now the House Appropriations Committee has slashed the proposed $77-million loan fund to states and localities, to stimulate advance public-works planning, to $5 million. The fight goes to the Senate and is one of the biggest issues in Congress. The evidence before the House committee gives the most concise-statistical evidence I have seen that we are not really planning for 60 million jobs. Public-construction projects actually ready for quick start do not begin to meet the need. It is estimated for example that an annual $5 billion of public works (federal, state and local) plus twice that amount of private construction is needed as a normal balance wheel of postwar prosperity. The public is led by duplicating stories to overestimate the amount actually made ready. It takes 12 to 18 months to lay construction blueprints. Official evidence shows that plans are being drawn for only $2.5 billion worth of public works—about half enough. The equivalent ratio, carried through the national income scale, would provide only half of 60 million jobs The rub comes in municipal and local construction. The Perkinsville Sewage System can't plan its new disposal plant until funds for the whole project are appropriated. The cost of planning is about five percent of the whole job. Hence the Administration proposed to advance $77 million to speed up local plans: it would set the stage for $1.5 billion worth of later construction. The House committee's terrific slash was made on the old, old theory that prosperity is self-starting.

Few people really expect the 60-million-jobs program. That is why we are threatened with another coal strike. Two-year contracts expire March 31. Fuel Administrator Ickes has failed in his attempt to spe end this quarter with a 10-million-ton deficit. are going to be jangled; labor will get another black eye. Are the miners unpatriotic? No; with a 12-percent cut in working force, and men of 70 working in the pits, output has jumped 20 percent since the war started, our miners are staying underground longer than any other miners in the world, and average output is five times the British. True, take-home wage is high, though hourly rates haven't increased much. But what the miners want is security. They haven't got it—never have had it. Mining is about the most spasmodic industry in America; you can't count on three days' consecutive work. Miners must prepare for the evil days ahead when idleness returns. How can they know there will be 60 million jobs. Here, if anywhere, is the argument for an annual wage: give the miners security by hiring them by the year, rather than the day. But again we come back to the starting point; you can't do this without full-employment guarantees—without national planning.

Notes.—Steve Early will soon quite the White House to go into a highly paid private job. He has been one of the great White House secretaries, on a par with Wilson's Tumulty. Substitute Jonathan Daniels will take over. . . . When the Burma Road was reopened, the number of serviceable trucks in China was down to about 3,500. . . . The strength and weakness of democracy were illustrated at Aubrey Williams' confirmation hearings the other day when easy-going Senator Elmer Thomas asked if there were other witnesses, and inadvertently swore in a crazy woman; I have seen odd things in Congress, including the midget in Morgan's lap, but nothing quite so funny, or disgusting as this; red-faced Senators finally got rid of her after she declared Williams' hands were "dripping with blood." At the same hearing puffy-faced McKellar read a telegram from Williams' old Presbyterian divine in Alabama demanding his rejection because, after a denominational education, he had "denied the divinity of Christ." . . . Bedridden Carter Glass, 87, hasn't answered a Senate roll call since June, 1942; his term lasts till 1949. . . . The food at the Dewey-Lincoln Day dinner caused qualms; one awed correspondent said he had never seen such large quantities of underdone duck. . . . Marshall Field's Field Enterprises, Inc., is making money, including *PM* and radio stations; the *Chicago Sun* is still in the red. Next big Field venture, I understand, will be in the important, small-town "boiler-plate" field, now dominated by the conservative Western Newspaper Union, which foists NAM handouts and similar material upon newspaper clients to its copyrighted inside pages; James Warburg will probably head the "Cross-Country Newspaper Service." . . . Also the *New York Post* may buy the *San Francisco Chronicle*, giving the Pacific Coast one of its few liberal papers. . . . The Germans left just six locomotives behind in Greece; UNRRA reports people starving 25 miles away from food. . . . UNRRA itself, which looked fine on paper, is seriously threatened: the military won't give it ships and Russia (momentarily) won't cooperate. . . . Liberal Representatives tell me they think most of the starch is out of the new "Dies" Committee.

Washington T. R. B.

"As We Were Saying..."

Fair Play or Expediency? Politicians Will Awaken

BY ROBERT E. SEGAL

Occasionally in American life, events defy the power of the onlooker to capture their essence and frame it in words. The current groundswell over FEPC and other civil rights legislation is such an event, or chain of events.

SEGAL

Some irrepressible force, some mighty spiritual onrush has reached up out of the pages of the daily press to inform the attentive people of the land that the battle for federal FEPC and the related struggle in Congress over the function of the House Rules Committee are symptomatic of a deep-shafted fight for justice.

The Civil Rights Mobilization in Washington in mid-January was the curtain lifter on this deeper struggle. To have more than 4000 ardent battlers for civil rights assemble from 33 states to tell the President and the Congress they are dead serious about closing the gap between promise and fulfillment is drama of first importance. But to have that moving episode roll on to the pitched battle regarding the House Rules Committee procedure is drama piled upon drama.

And in this fray, the forces of both opportunism and sincerity face a relentless test. No man can defy the challenge to play fair on the issue as Speaker Rayburn has

Continued on Page Six

Segal...

Continued from Page One

defied it and live comfortably with his conscience, regardless of the thickness of his political hide. No men can turn their backs cynically on the young Turks of their party as Speaker Martin and Congressman Halleck have done and square that action with even a semblance of sportsmanship.

Sportsmanship?

This is a matter even more momentous.

It may well be a matter of political suicide for both the old-fashioned Dixiecrats of the Democratic party and the shrewd but outdistanced architects of high Republican policy.

* * *

Lest I be accused of writing in a vacuum and knowing not whereof I speak, let me refer the factual-minded to a significant and incisive essay, "Does the Republican Party Want the Negro Vote?", in the December issue of "The Crisis," official organ of the NAACP.

Two ~~dear friends of mine,~~ ~~Messrs.~~ Arnold Aronson and Samuel Spiegler ~~have there~~ written for ~~the record~~ one of the most challenging political tracts of this era. Step by step, they analyze the modern offhand, neglectful and ~~cavalier treatment of America's 13,000,000 Negroes by the party of~~ Abraham Lincoln.

"Negro voters are sufficiently numerous in 17 states to determine the outcome of any close election," they note. "These include the states with the largest electoral votes: California, Illinois, New York, Ohio and Pennsylvania. In the 1948 presidential election, a shift of the Negro vote in any two of the three key states of California, Illinois and Ohio would have reversed the outcome."

These wise and practical political scientists recall further that no Republican president has been elected in two decades, that the GOP has won control of Congress only once in these recent years, that the labor vote has been alienated and that the farm vote—lost in 1948—is not necessarily just a straying bit of livestock.

The Negroes, they continue, have gained sophistication and political insight. They have "learned to discount promises and measure pledges against performance."

But despite this heightened awareness on the part of the Negro, the Republican high command continues to woo the anti-Negro Dixiecrats and continues to botch such opportunities as that presented by the fight over cloture in the Senate.

Then the authors move in for the kill. They point out with irrefutable documentation that in state legislature after state legislature, the Republicans have voted against bills which have been given the highest priority by Negroes. In the recent FEPC battles in California, Illinois, Ohio, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Minnesota and Colorado, this strangling of the FEPC movement, largely by GOP forces, has been so apparent as to leave doubt of the party's basic dis-

rights of Negroes

regard for the

and other so-called

groups.

Let no Republican stalwart come forth at this point and say: "This is because of the party's sincerity. We do not work for FEPC because we don't believe you can fight discrimination that way. We are the real friends of minority groups because we are handling this kind of problem by education."

Fiddlesticks! A re-reading of the 1948 Republican platform, with its all-out pledge to work for "such Federal legislation as may be necessary to maintain this right" (the right of equal opportunity to work regardless of race, religion, color or country of origin) is all that is needed. The 1944 Republican platform made a similar pronouncement.

And those who believe in the dignity of man and the wisdom of bulwarking fundamental civil rights with the majesty of legislation will not be thwarted. They are on their way. Wise leaders of both parties—some because of sincerity and some because of a hard-headed devotion to the philosophy of political expediency—are aware of the score.

They, too, recognize that an irresistible force—bigger, much bigger, than the headlines can convey—is sweeping the land.

Trying to Wreck the FEPC

LIBERAL FORCES fighting in Congress for the enactment of an effectively implemented Permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee are facing a new threat in the form of a counter-measure being sponsored in the Senate by Robert A. Taft. The Taft bill would establish a Permanent FEPC without authority to enforce its orders, thus perpetuating the ineffective status of the present temporary organization and playing into the hands of Southern white-supremacy and Northern reactionary forces.

Passage of bills now pending—in both Senate and House—which would ensure the kind of Permanent FEPC liberals want and which have bi-partisan sponsorship, will require a coalition of Republicans and Northern Democrats. Senator Taft is chairman of the Republican Steering Committee in the Senate, and his influence with Republican members is great. Unless it is repudiated, his leadership can pull enough Republicans into the reactionary camp to swing the coalition the other way.

Should the Taft bill be brought to the floor of the Senate for a vote, it would not surprise those who have been watching the Southern press to see it pass with no more than a token filibuster. Southern political analysts are reporting that our race-conscious Senators know that there will soon be some kind of permanent FEPC; that they can't hold back the wheels of progress forever. Could it be that they are already seeking a compromise in the cloakrooms? Could there be some connection between these reports and the fact that Senator Taft, who only last September voted in committee for a Permanent FEPC with enforcement powers, now introduces a bill for a Permanent FEPC with no other power than to say "*Please,* Mister, *don't* discriminate!"

Last week Senator Taft told a delegation of Ohio civic, labor, press and Republican political leaders that he voted as he did in the Senate Committee on Education and Labor before the election, only because he knew there was no chance of final action in the Seventy-

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**** Thursday, January 18, 1945

Test Of The FEPC

The Fair Employment Practice Committee deserves commendation for coming to grips at last with the Capital Transit case. It is admittedly a difficult case, and the committee had been exhorted by many, including some elements of the Negro community, to postpone the hearings which were held this week. For the committee to have yielded to this counsel of expediency would have been, we think, to destroy its own prestige and effectiveness. The transit company's absolute ban on the employment of Negroes in platform positions is a matter of common knowledge. The FEPC could not countenance its continuance in the Capital City of the Nation without stultifying its whole effort to end job discrimination.

The discrimination in this case is candidly acknowledged by the company, but attributed entirely to an unwillingness on the part of its white employes to work alongside Negroes in platform jobs. The company made an effort in 1943 to train a Negro bus operator and encountered employe resistance. It made an apparently careful survey of the attitudes of its white drivers and operators and discovered what should have been surprising to no one, that many of them have strong racial prejudices and threatened to quit their jobs if Negroes should be hired. The company's position, therefore, as stated by its counsel, Edmund L. Jones, is that "it cannot take upon itself the responsibility of employing Negro platform employes as long as the hazard of complete stoppage exists." A disruption of transport would, of course, be calamitous in this headquarters of the national war effort.

It seems to us, however, that the company has magnified the hazard of complete stoppage. Transit workers tried this in Philadelphia, but the Army put a speedy end to it. Negro platform workers are now employed in that city with no evidence of friction. In Los Angeles, a threatened stoppage failed to materialize after the Philadelphia strike was quelled, and Negroes are now employed there, too, without difficulties. No doubt prejudice is more rife among the predominantly Southern employes of the Capital Transit Co.; but we do not believe they would—or could—defy the power of the United States Government.

Nor do we think that the Government ought to yield in this or any other situation to the threats of a bigoted and truculent minority. It was clear in Philadelphia that the whole resistance to the hiring of Negroes was inspired by a handful of hoodlums. The same, we are convinced, will be found to be the case here. Our manpower trouble, as Philip Murray stated before the May Committee, stems in large measure from underemployment of Negroes. Bus and streetcar operators are urgently needed in this city. To bar men from serving in these jobs because of their race or color is at once to

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Nor do we think that the Government ought to yield in this or any other situation to the threats of a bigoted and truculent minority. It was clear in Philadelphia that the whole resistance to the hiring of Negroes was inspired by a handful of hoodlums. The same, we are convinced, will be found to be the case here. Our manpower trouble, as Philip Murray stated before the May Committee, stems in large measure from underemployment of Negroes. Bus and streetcar operators are urgently needed in this city. To bar men from serving in these jobs because of their race or color is at once to hamper the war program and to subvert the principles for which the war is being waged. Since the Capital Transit Co. will not take the responsibility of instituting fair employment practices, the FEPC must shoulder this responsibility for it. The hazard that men will defy their Government is not so great as the hazard entailed in a failure by the Govern [illegible] ard the principles upon w

THE PITTSBURGH COURIER March 31, 1945

BROWN'S BILL WINS 'FIRST ROUND'

Brown Bill Gets Wide Support

(Continued from Page 1)

New Jersey and Pennsylvania. By reason of the trusteeship, Mr. Driscoll and Mr. Thorp, the second trustee, are legal owners of all the capital stock of the Pennsylvania Electric Company, operating in eleven counties in central and northwestern Pennsylvania, extending from Erie to the Maryland line; the northern part of Pennsylvania Power Company, operating in Tioga, Wyoming, Bradford, Susquehanna, Potter, Sullivan and parts of other counties in Pennsylvania. And also owners of all the capital stock of the Edison Light Company, York, Pa.

Mr. Driscoll said:

"As trustees we are interested and enthusiastic about the proposed legislation, and we are concerned that it be drawn so as to be most effective.

"There is a vital need for legislation against discrimination in employment; that legislation should be so drafted as to express not only the principles, but the vigorous will of the community to make those principles a living reality."

From the western part of Pennsylvania came another employer, R. C. Enos, president of the Standard Steel Ring Company with two plants in Coraopolis and one in New Castle. Mr. Enos stated that his plants have employed white and colored workers without discrimination. That they have worked side by side with excellent results in production. He considered fair employment prac-

a special message to the Legislature requesting the unanimous passage of the Brown Bill. So that Pennsylvania can proudly take its place alongside New York in allaying among various groups in the community the social tensions that have been accentuated by the war."

NO PRICE TOO HIGH

A representative of the United Electrical Workers with a membership of 10,500, informed the joint committee that his organization never practiced discrimination. That the only qualification to membership was just to be a "good common American." And about the cost of administering the Brown Bill, asserted that "No price is too high to protect the rights of people."

David Bernstein, representing the United Federal Employees of the staff of Securities and Exchange in Philadelphia, informed the meeting that the membership consisted of about 900 people of different races and religions and that they work together and get along together. His group, he said, believes FEPC legislation is right and urged enactment of the Brown Bill.

Another employer was William Stix Wasserman, who is engaged in the investment banking business. Mr. Stix said that he volunteered his support to the passage of the Brown Bill with its enforcement powers because its enactment would be an aid and a weapon for businessmen of good will and social conscience throughout the State who need a law to

of the gavel.

Representative David H. Weiss (Monessen), sponsor of the first FEPC bill in the house, publicly withdrew his measure and pledged support to the Brown Bill.

BROWN'S, OR NOTHING

Senator Kephart in a second appearance, stated that it was plain that the people did not want his bill, and that as far as he was concerned it was the Brown Bill or nothing.

Still another shading was added to the Brown Bill by endorsements from leaders in the educational and public service field. Mrs. Cornelia Bryce Pinchot, wife of Gifford Pinchot, twice governor of Pennsylvania, spoke briefly, endorsed the Brown Bill and presented statements from the former Pennsylvania governor.

"We are fighting this war," the ex-governor said, "not only to bring permanent peace, but also to destroy German and Japanese fascism and to establish true democracy in its place. But discrimination against men and women because of race, color and creed, national origin or ancestry is facism, pure and simple. We want none of it in the Land of the Free."

And a very practical point was brought in a statement issued by J. Stewart Burgess, professor of sociology, Temple University, who favors House Bill 354. "If we are to avoid a post-war depression we must maintain full employment and full production. The economist tells us that we must maintain a national income of one hundred tending from Erie to the Maryland line; the northern part of Pennsylvania Power Company, operating in Tioga, Wyoming, Bradford, Susquehanna, Potter, Sullivan and parts of other counties in Pennsylvania. And also owners of all the capital stock of the Edison Light Company, York, Pa.

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DAVENPORT SPEAKS

Another business man was Harry Davenport, representing the East Liberty Chamber of Commerce, Pittsburgh. His position was that businessmen should join with labor to wipe out discrimination. Combating the assertion that discrimination can be eliminated by education alone, he asked whether it made good sense to abolish all laws against treason because it is believed that it can be eliminated by education. On the matter of cost, he directed attention to the money lost from unused talents of those of our State because they are discriminated against by employers. His closing plea requested members of the joint committee to report the Brown Bill 354 out for passage and enactment.

LABOR PARTICIPATES

Labor repeated its position. James McDevitt, president of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor (AFL) reminded his hearers that the AFL conventions of 1943-44 went on record as endorsing the principles of FEPC legislation, that the Brown Bill comes nearest to meeting the needs of the day. He contended that the Labor Relations Board could not handle this legislation. Mr. McDevitt also reported numerous endorsements of the Brown Bill from his locals and assured every possible contribution toward its passage.

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BISHOP SIMS SPOKE

The church came on in force with Bishop David Sims of the Methodist Church, and only member of the Republican Platform Committee in 1944, leading off. The bishop claimed that a Fair Employment Practices Commission did not involve the mechanics of legislation. "It involves the rights of human beings to work and live," he said. "It involves the rights of the boys in the foxholes." And that color and race are not entered in the equation of human rights. He repeated that it was against public policy to discriminate in labor or anything else, that it was inconsistent for colored soldiers to fight for liberty abroad which they could not enjoy at home. To compare dollars and cents against human welfare was a weak position. Bishop Sims was dramatic in his reminder that it was the duty of the State to safeguard the rights of citizens who make up the State.

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Rabbi David L. Silver of Harrisburg was concerned about what will happen when the present war is ended, bringing on social maladjustments and racial tensions. He believes that all clergymen should join hands in heading off these conditions and prevent the seeds of fascism from being sown in this country. He called the Brown Bill a great milestone and said that our real duty is to make ideals effecting democracy so that democracy will be a living reality.

MOVING TOO SLOW

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Leaders in fraternal circles had their say, as did social and welfare workers. Hobson Reynolds, magistrate of Philadelphia, former member of the House of Representatives and speaking for the Elks of Pennsylvania, said it was the duty of the people through their leaders to tell the Legislators what they wanted. He said he had studied all FEPC bills, had no doubts about the Brown Bill being the best, and implored the Legislators to enact it into law.

Miss Sadie Alexander, representing the National Bar Association and several other big membership organizations, endorsed the Brown Bill. Theodore Spaulding, president of the NAACP in Philadelphia, said that the time had come when "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness meant nothing without the right to work." Other endorsers of the Brown Bill included Robert Harker, chairman [illegible] Council for Job Opportunities [illegible] Philadelphia; and the International Workers order, with [illegible] members of all races and nationalities.

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What was perhaps overlooked or minimized was the statement of Representative Homer S. Brown, sponsor of the bill. He pointed out that minority groups are not asking for any special privileges or concessions, or favors. They are merely asking for protection of a right guaranteed them by the Constitution of the United States. Mr. Brown's statement follows:

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[illegible] three persons had re[illegible] speaking time to oppose [illegible] FEPC bills on Monday, the number was reduced to one by Monday night and Tuesday morning that single person had withdrawn his request. It was significant also that not a single person appeared at the hearing to defend either one of the other three FEPC bills introduced at this session. Chairman Bower requested each Senator to speak for his own measure.

Representative Samuel E. Salus [illegible] Philadelphia), said that he had been interested in this type of legislation for the past forty [illegible] written to the Bi-partisan Committee in Philadelphia. He expressed a desire to have the Legislature pass some law on the [illegible]. He said that it was im[illegible] whether it was the Brown [illegible] bill but if the [illegible] should be passed, and [illegible] the Act must be [illegible] constitutional. [illegible]

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"'The right to work for a living in the common occupations of the community is of the essence of that personal freedom and opportunity which it was the purpose of the Fourteenth Amendment to secure.'

"House Bill 354 is, therefore, intended to protect all persons who are, now, because of discriminatory practices, limited in the enjoyment of the constitutional right to work.

"The field of operation of the commission is necessarily one of strain and tension and the members of the commission must be persons of the highest integrity and open-mindedness. This was [illegible] the commission is [illegible] the machinery set under [illegible] Bill 354 and not by the [illegible] proposals of placing the commission in some [illegible] department of our State government.

"The final [illegible]

Brown's FEPC Measure Wins Full Support

400 Men and Women Back Pittsburgher's Proposal at Hearing

By C. W. Dressler

[illegible] Staff Writer

Harrisburg, March 27.—Support for [illegible] of fair employment legislation in Pennsylvania apparently collapsed today, as a delegation of approximately 400 men and women declared vigorously and unanimously for a measure [illegible] by Representative [illegible], Pittsburgh.

Senator [illegible] Kephart, Philadelphia, [illegible] introduced a [illegible] commission [illegible] in the hands of the Pennsylvania [illegible] board, in effect [illegible] his own measure [illegible] twice by the [illegible] the House of Representatives.

[illegible] Bill [illegible]

Kephart, as the hearing neared its end, said he was "convinced [illegible] want my bill," [illegible] "as far as I am concerned [illegible] the Brown bill [illegible]."

Representative David H. Weiss, [illegible], sponsor of another House bill, pledged his support for the Brown bill as "superseding even the New York bill." And Representative Samuel W. Salus, Philadelphia, also sponsor of an FEPC measure, had said earlier that he would support the "best" bill, and later indicated that "everybody seems to be content" with that of Brown.

(Continued on Page 5, Col. 3)

By lowering the voting age to Economic Planning?"

Brown's FEPC Measure Wins Support at Hearing

(Continued From Page 1)

The Brown bill establishes a commission of five members, and gives it broad powers of education and enforcement. The commissioners would receive $10,000 annually, and would devote their full time to curbing racial and religious discrimination in Pennsylvania.

Governor's Position

Governor Martin had indicated, in earlier statements, sympathy with the purposes of the Brown bill, but had expressed doubt as to the cost of the commission it would set up—estimated at something like $500,000 annually.

The cost objection was assailed by a number of speakers, who referred to the cost of the war as incurred to prevent just such discrimination for racial, national or religious reasons. It was on Senator Kephart's assertion that his bill would cost $300,000 less than that of Brown, that he was once booed.

Representative Brown, introducing speakers, opened the hearing with the assertion that "we are not trying to legislate equality," but "simply trying to make Pennsylvania fall in line for the protection of rights."

Supported By State CIO

John A. Phillips, state president of the CIO, told the joint mittees on labor of the House and and Senate that the CIO was for the Brown bill and read in the record a letter from CIO President Philip Murray to Governor Martin asking the chief executive of the state to endorse the Brown bill in a special message to the House.

James L. McDevitt, state president of the Federation of Labor said his union has unanimously endorsed the principle of fair employment practices, and objected to putting the job in the hands of the Labor Relations Board. But he asked for "further clarification" of the provision of the Brown bill dealing with labor unions, on the ground that in its present form it would cause confusion.

Mrs. Gifford Pinchot, wife of the former governor, read a statement from Pinchot asserting that Pennsylvania "needs now" and will "need more than ever after the war" a fair employment act. The statement reminded "the Republicans on this committee, and in the House and Senate generally, that to fail in protecting the rights of a large number of voters—is likely to be mighty poor politics."

Refers to GOP Platform

The only other reference to politics in the hearing was the statement of R. C. Enos, president of the Standard Steel Spring Company of Coraopolis, that he was a Republican, and the Republican national platform pledged the establishment of fair employment regulation.

Most of the spokesmen who appeared for the Brown bill could not be heard for lack of time. Among those who did speak were Dennis Driscoll, former member of the Public Utility Commission and now a trustee of the Associated Gas and Electric Corporation; Bishop David Sims, of the African Methodist Church, the only Negro member of the National Republican platform committee; Rabbi David Silver, of Harrisburg; Harry Davenpot, of the East Liberty Chamber of Commerce; Alfred L. Oyler, of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, of Pittsburgh; Dr. Leon Braunstein, of the Jewish War Veterans; Theodore Spaulding, counsel for the NAACP, and Judge L. Kenneth Harkins, of Allegheny county court.

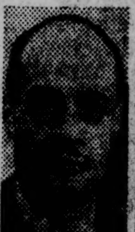
THE PITTSBURGH PRESS, TUESDAY, MARCH 27, 1945

State Needs FEPC, Pinchot Says In Supporting Brown's Measure

Murray, McDevitt Classify Bill of Kephart and Bowers as Undesirable

By **ROBERT TAYLOR**, Pittsburgh Press Staff Writer

HARRISBURG, March 27—Former Gov. Gifford Pinchot today added his support to fair employment practices legislation. In a statement sent from Washington, where he was detained, Mr. Pinchot urged enactment of the Brown bill to create a commission on employdiscrimination.



Mr. Taylor

Mr. Pinchot was represented by his wife, Mrs. Cornelia Bryce Pinchot, who read his statement to a House chamber crowded with FEPC advocates.

"I am for this legislation because Pennsylvania needs it, and needs it now," the Pinchot statement said. "And we shall need it still more after the war is won. Discrimination against men and women because of race, color, creed, national origin or ancestry is fascism. We want no more of it in the land of the free."

Mr. Pinchot, like other witnesses, urged passage of the Brown bill, modeled after New York's law and containing powers to punish violations of a list of specific discriminatory acts, in preference to other legislation which would refer administration of fair employment practices to the State Labor Relations Board.

Murray Letter Read

Philip Murray, CIO president, through John A. Phillips, president of the state industrial union council (CIO), sent a letter, previously sent to Gov. Martin, endorsing the Brown bill and classifying the competing Kephart-Bowers bill as "undesirable."

For the A. F. of L. state federation of labor, James L. McDevitt, president, endorsed the Brown bill and said the Kephart-Bowers bill is contrary to pronouncements by the Federation's last convention.

"We have every respect for and confidence in the State Labor Relations Board, but we don't feel it can legally handle the problem," Mr. McDevitt said.

D. J. Driscoll, former congressman and public utility commission member, now a trustee for the bankrupt Associated Gas and Electric system, endorsed FEPC legislation with the comment that pending bills do not provide social equality but contemplate equality of economic opportunity.

'Crucial Measure'

R. C. Enos, president of the Standard Steel Spring Co., with plants in Coraopolis and New Castle, endorsed the Brown bill as a "crucial measure."

"The cost of such legislation as New York has passed and we are now considering in Pennsylvania, is secondary," he said. "This question of fair employment practices is a basic social and economic problem. It might be likened to the great democratic causes for which we are waging this war; in fact, freedom from racial persecution and economic discriminaiton is one of the main purposes for which we are fighting the war."

G. James Fleming, regional director in Pennsylvania of the President's fair employment practices committee, said Pennsylvania is second in the nation as a source of FEP cases, originating 12 per cent of the national total even one year after Pearl Harbor.

Wants Law With Teeth

"More than once we have had to rush one of our examiners to Western Pennsylvania at the call of some of the largest industries in the state; once our co-operation meant getting 30,000 men back to work; at one time we were able to work out an arrangement which brought an end to a long drawn-out series of work stoppages," he said.

Mr. Fleming advocated an FEPC law with "teeth" in it, but did not urge passage of a particular measure.

Dr. Leon Braunstein, Pennsylvania commander of the Jewish War Veterans, endorsed the Brown bill, advocating a "bold pronouncement that punitive action faces the offender who will not heed educational effort, conciliation, persuasion or other reasonable effort to liquidate misunderstanding or ignorance."

Gov. Martin had objected to the Brown bill because of its cost, preferring the Kephart-Bower measure. The third bill, the Sala measure, is similar to Brown's except that it does not list the discriminatory practices.

Bingo Again Loses In Legislature

Move to Ease [illegible] Defeated 100 to [illegible]

HARRISBURG, March [illegible] (UP)—Bingo games remain on [illegible] vania's list of taboo [illegible] outdoor sports. The [illegible] tion to eliminate the [illegible] against such games lost [illegible] 93 vote when the [illegible] were called out in the [illegible] Representatives.

The biennial rejection of [illegible] sals to relax the [illegible] the game for the benefit of [illegible] organizations, labor [illegible] teer firemen's [illegible] other specified [illegible] livened otherwise dull [illegible] sessions last night.

Debate on the bill, [illegible] Representative C. [illegible] (D., Chester) [illegible] wide and irreconcilable [illegible] of opinion. [illegible] the measure as "[illegible] bill," but a "local [illegible] permitted no "[illegible] [illegible]." Representative [illegible] Heatherington (D., [illegible]) declared that such games [illegible] the principal means [illegible] teer fire companies [illegible] are able to finance [illegible] purchase necessary [illegible].

Representative [illegible] (D., Johnstown) minority [illegible] leader, charged the [illegible] would foster bingo [illegible] ness" and would [illegible] bingo" in communities [illegible] who like the game play [illegible] regardless of laws or lack of them.

Two Under Bond

HARRISBURG TELEGRAPH -- March 27, 1945

Pinchot Supports Fair Practice Act At Public Hearing

Former Governor Gifford Pinchot urged the General Assembly today to enact a bill setting up a special commission to enforce fair employment practices "because Pennsylvania needs it."

"We are fighting this war not only to bring permanent peace but also to destroy German and Japanese Facism and to establish true democracy in its place," said a statement from the former governor read at a joint House-Senate Committee hearing on pending bills.

"But discrimination against men and women because of race, color, creed, national origin or ancestry is Facism, pure and simple. We want no more of it in the land of the free."

The hearing was held in the hall of the House of Representatives, crowded with spectators. Because of the large number of speakers present, each was limited to five minutes.

Pinchot, who twice was elected governor of the Commonwealth and defeated in a try for a third term, said he wanted "to remind the Republicans on this committee, and in the House and Senate generally, that to fail in protecting the rights of large numbers of voters, of whatever race, color, creed, national origin, or ancestry they may be, is likely to be mighty poor politics."

R. C. Enos, president of the Standard Steel Spring Company, employing 2000 workers in three plants in Allegheny and Lawrence counties also urged support of the bill sponsored by Homer C. Brown (D.-Allegheny), terming it "a crucial measure."

"I firmly believe, he said "that every person is entitled to the opportunity to work where he is best fitted, if employment possibilities are available, without discrimination as a result of his creed, color, or race."

Chairman Adam Bower (R.-Northumberland), of the House Labor Committee, who presided, said hundreds of persons and organizations requested to be heard for the legislation but that only one opponent asked to speak.

2,000 AT HEARING IN STATE CAPITOL

By JOHN L. CLARK
Courier Harrisburg Bureau

HARRISBURG, Pa.— The Homer Brown Bill, 354, which outlaws discrimination by employers and labor unions, seems headed for passage in the House, concurrence in the Senate and final approval by Gov. Edward Martin. This prediction is based on the impression made by supporters of the measure before House and Senate members at an open hearing held before a joint session in the Lower Chamber on Tuesday.

The issue was presented on a non-partisan basis, legality of the law proven, its desirability stressed by labor and management, and necessity for such a law emphasized by churches of all denominations, social and welfare groups. The number of petitions are still being counted.

More than 200 people requested speaking time, but with the hearing period limited to three hours, the number was reduced to around fifteen. Six hundred people of all races, color and denominations crowded into the House Chamber, and three-fourths of this number represented organizations throughout the State of Pennsylvania.

The highlight of the hearing is difficult to select. Every speaker had a message and delivered it. The subject was approached from all angles and summed up, represented the "voice of the people of Pennsylvania." Even Republicans who had been indifferently disposed to the Brown Bill, admitted that the proposition now occupied a top spot in legislation before the General Assembly.

EMPLOYERS REPRESENTED

Surprises were common at the hearing. While it was known that labor had pledged its support, along with the churches and social organizations, no advance word had come from the employer group. After Labor Committee Chairman Adam T. Brower explained how the hearing would be conducted and turned over the chairmanship to Representative Homer S. Brown, the very first speaker was Dennis J. Driscoll, St. Marys, Elk County, Pa., and for the past five years one of the trustees of the Associated Gas and Electric Corporation with present holdings in New York,

There Are 3 FEPC Bills in Committee

Technically, there are three FEPC bills now in committee, as follows: House Bill 354, by Representative Homer S. Brown; House Bill 620, by Representative Samuel S. Salus, and Senate Bill 444, by Senator Edwin W. Bowers, Republican, Fayette.

Senator A. Evans Kephart withdrew as co-sponsor at Tuesday's public hearing, but Mr. Bowers had not announced his position at press time.

Labor Committee Chairman Adam T. Bower announced that only one of the two House measures would be reported out, probably next week.

Failure to bring politics into the discussions on Tuesday made a definite impression on members of the House and Senate. And it is likely that House Bill 354 will be treated as bi-partisan legislation in its further travels.

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INTERNATIONAL LABOR DEFENSE

Legislative Service

VITO MARCANTONIO, *President* 112 East 19th St., New York 3, N. Y.

The Only Publication of Its Kind

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FEPC

Final Fight for Appropriation

June 1, House Appropriations Committee reported War Agencies Bill minus FEPC appropriation. Open declaration of war on agency.

June 5, President TRUMAN sent letter to Rep. SABATH, chairman of House Rules, denouncing Appropriations action, demanding Rules permit House vote on bill for a permanent FEPC.

June 7, Committee called together. Members voted down SABATH, postponed vote until Tuesday June 12, to permit Rep. SLAUGHTER, reported opposed to FEPC, to attend.

June 7, MARCANTONIO threatened floor trouble if Rules did not permit House to vote on amendment restoring FEPC funds. Rules met, refused to change position.

June 8, Agencies Bill voted without FEPC funds.

Restoration of $599,000 for FEPC now up to Senate. Then House fight to keep it in. Senate fight tough.

It is inconceivable that action should be completed in House and Senate on permanent FEPC before June 30, when wartime FEPC dies unless voted funds. Consequently main fight must be right now to get appropriation.

ACTION REQUIRED: 1. Hundreds of thousands of telegrams must pour in on Senate, demanding restoration of FEPC to appropriation bill. Wire your own two Senators.

2. Wires to President Truman to uphold his position on behalf of FEPC.

3. Intensive protest to House against its action. Address wires to Rep. John McCormack, majority leader, but send copies to your own Representative.

4. Republicans have joined with Southern "white supremacists" to kill FEPC. Wires must go to Rep. Joseph Martin, minority leader, denouncing this, demanding Republican support for FEPC appropriation.

PEOPLE'S WELFARE

Full Employment and Security

A comprehensive program of domestic welfare legislation to tie up with the world cooperation program is now being developed. Keystone measures are the Full Employment Bill, the WAGNER-MURRAY-DINGELL Social Security Bill, and the President's proposal to boost social security benefits immediately.

The first two are long-range measures of the most immediate importance. Congressional hearings and public discussion may last for several months. The faster the whole public becomes acquainted with their provisions, however, the shorter the Congressional enactment delay.

President TRUMAN'S request to Congress that legislation be enacted raising payments on social security is a quickly needed measure, urged to prevent a spiral of unemployment and economic chaos developing from the admitted economic dislocations of the immediate reconversion period. And it is on this question that may come President TRUMAN'S first great difficulty with a recalcitrant Congress fearful of social betterment.

At present, most states have maximum payments of $15 to $16 a week, many allow payment no more than 16 weeks for unemployment compensation. The President proposes this be lifted to a federal minimum of $25, payable if necessary for 26 weeks. G.I. Bill of Rights gives veterans $20 a week. President TRUMAN suggested to Congress this be revised upward also. He said in his message of May 28:

> "These provisions are essential for the orderly reconversion of our wartime economy to peacetime production. They are badly needed for the duration of the reconversion emergency.
>
> "Decent unemployment benefits would serve as a bulwark against postwar deflation. By assuring workers of a definite income for a definite period of time, Congress will help materially to prevent a sharp decline in consumer expenditures, which might otherwise result in a downward spiral of consumption and production. Adequate unemployment insurance is an indispensable form of prosperity insurance."

Congress reaction: Sen. GEORGE, chairman of Senate Finance Committee and Rep. DOUGHTON, chairman of House Ways and Means, key figures, were cold. No legislation has been introduced. No discussions have been scheduled in committee.

Public reaction: Labor supported proposal. Republican organs forecast partisan opposition by suggesting $25 a week was far too high, more pay than many get for working (implying approval of low wage scale).